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**RETURN MIGRATION AND MĀORI IDENTITY  
IN A NORTHLAND COMMUNITY**

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.  
The University of Auckland, 2011.**

## **Abstract**

Autobiographically motivated and using two separate approaches, the study aims at exploring interlinkages between voluntary intra-national return migration, place and identity, paying particular attention to the social, political and personal contexts within which individuals' return decisions are made. The first approach represents a theoretical one based on existing literature, discussing the three core concepts – place, identity and return migrating – independently while applying conclusions and findings to the current case study of Māori return migration.

The second part of the study consists of a field study of eight actual returnees to a Northland community, one non-returnee and two potential returnees. Information about the two potential returnees is derived from published interviews while data from actual returnees and the non-returnee is gathered by semi-structured interviews. After applying Social Identity Theory, all data is analysed qualitatively and discussed in relation to conclusions derived from the theoretical analysis, and in relation to the international context of indigenism, the national context of the Māori renaissance and to the regional context of the Muriwhenua land claim.

Confirming findings of literature about return migration returnees' characteristics vary, as do return motives which are usually deeply personal. Nevertheless, two clusters of return motives emerge amongst informants: family- and culturally related ones. Profiles of culturally motivated returnees are in line with those suggested in literature on Māori return migration of young urban individuals of Māori descent who are influenced by the current social and political context of the Māori renaissance and the propagated Māori prototype.

The study provides a departure point for practical purposes such as rural and urban planning, while arguing the importance of individuals' identification practices for return decisions in light of anticipated increases of ethnification and indigenist movements. The interdisciplinary and contextual approach appears suitable for a holistic understanding of the complex phenomenon of return migration.

Key words: Māori, return migration, place, identity, ethnification, traditionalisation, prototype, Social Identity Theory;

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## **Chapter 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The current study brings together two disciplines, psychology through the concept of identity, and geography through the concept of (return) migration and place, for the holistic investigation of Māori return migration, a phenomenon that received nationwide recognition and prominence in New Zealand during the 1980s. The use of an interdisciplinary approach is in response to calls by earlier researchers of return migration on the one hand, and, on the other, reflects the author's interest and training in both disciplines. Furthermore, the author's choice of focusing on voluntary return migration reflects an autobiographical motive of a migrant who is frequently confronted with the decision of returning 'home' to the place of origin where her roots are firmly placed.

The choice of a Māori topic by a non-Māori researcher, however, didn't appear as a good idea initially, when the ideology of the Māori renaissance as an 'all embracing mysticism' (informant 1) gave way to an ideology of property rights and ownership. This generated a discouraging study environment for non-Māori interested in Māori topics, and the study of Māori topics by a non-Māori was unusual (Webster, 2001) as non-Māori '...are not finding it easy to confront cross-cultural research among a Māori population which has become increasingly suspicious of the motives behind Pākehā interest in their lifestyle, aspirations and problems' (Bedford & Heenan, 1987, p. 153). The view that Māori topics are the exclusive preserve of Māori researchers triggered an initial sense of insecurity by the author, which was eventually replaced by more encouraging experiences as soon as field data collection commenced, exposing her to an overwhelming Māori hospitality and generosity. Not only were informants happy to share at times highly personal information resulting in rich and informative interviews, but some went to great lengths to recommend other returnees and arrange interviews with them.

Nevertheless, bearing early experiences in mind, the initial approach of an exploratory study based predominantly on field data was reformulated to include a theoretical first part which deals with the core concepts of return migration, place and identity individually and in depth as well as with the theoretical framework of Social Identity Theory, and a second part containing the field study.

## **1.1 Aims and research questions**

The current research aims at providing a rare example of a case study of a voluntary intra-national return migration, adding to a field of research that has traditionally taken macro approaches to the study of international, mostly involuntary returns based on quantitative evidence (Rumbiak, 1985; Leman, 1998). Because of the highly personal nature of voluntary returns, the need for in-depth investigations using qualitative methods (for example, personal testimony and autobiographies) was acknowledged by several authors (King, 2000; Hägerstrand, 1975 cited in Chapman, 1985, p. 4), providing the departure point for the current study. More specifically, the focus of the current study is on the role that identity plays in the migration process, a link that has been neglected in favour of economically and politically driven moves (Rapport & Dawson, 1998).

Through a micro-approach of locating individuals' return experience within the wider regional, national and global context, a holistic approach should unravel complex patterns of voluntary return migration through linking the individual and the collectivity, the private and public as well as the local, national and global (Christou, 2006). Social Identity Theory (SIT) was chosen as the theoretical framework as it allows for links between individual and collective phenomena, while taking the context for individuals' behaviours into account, thus providing a coherent theoretical framework that has been lacking in migration literature (Ghosh, 2000) which has accumulated a wealth of field research at the expense of theorising findings (King, 2000).

The phenomenon of Māori return migration not only provided a suitable case study for the above aims, but also an opportunity to expand on a phenomenon that attracted considerable attention in the media and public discourse at the time of the onset of the study but had generated few efforts for a systematic investigation beyond a collection of anecdotal evidence (Heenan, 1985; Parr, 1988; Khawaja, Tang, Parr & Ny, 1991).

The current study focused on Māori returnees' motives in order to verify suggested motives in the literature based on anecdotal evidence on the one hand, and on the other, in-depth interviews were chosen to unravel the role of the context of the Māori renaissance and the propagated prototype for returnees' decisions, and shed light on the complex decision making process associated with individuals' returns.

Based on existing literature, six specific research questions were formulated. Research question one relates directly to cited anecdotal evidence about Māori individuals' return motives, some of which may be deeply personal or family related, while others are linked to cultural reasons associated with the external context of the social and political climate of the Māori renaissance. As an extension of research question one, research question two postulates that cultural reasons related to the search for a Māori identity will be particularly pronounced amongst young urban Māori, especially those with young children. Young urban Māori with children will constitute a large proportion of those who returned during the 1980s and 90s (research question three). Culturally motivated returnees are more likely than those who returned for family and personal reasons to encounter settling problems such as disillusionment and disappointment as a result of a nostalgic pre-return view of rural and traditional Māori lifestyle upon their return (research question four), while research question five postulates that regular contact and visits prior to a permanent return will have an alleviating effect on post-return difficulties. Research question six is derived from studies investigating the concept of 'home', predicting the concept's variable application by Māori returnees to their respective destination places to include 'home' in its traditional understanding as well as in its more abstract sense for second generation returnees and spouses.

As recommended by Chapman (1985), the enquiry of the New Zealand wide phenomenon of Māori returns migration is restricted to a defined subsection, in this case, to the geographical area of Muriwhenua.

## **1.2 Study location – Muriwhenua lands**

The area was chosen for pragmatic reasons such as accessibility and personal connections to a family that had recently returned 'home' as well as for its significance as the cradle of Māori civilisation which is characterised by a rich tradition and a dense Māori population (Urlich-Cloher, 2002). The Māori population in Northland is about twice as high as the national average, as, for example, the 2001 census at the time of the research demonstrates, which recorded a Māori population of 31.6 percent, compared with 14.6 percent for all of New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2002).

Muriwhenua territory is in the far north of New Zealand's North Island, extending from the Maungataniwha Range up to Cape Rēinga. It forms the tail of the fish that

the legendary hero Māui pulled from the ocean – Te Ika-a-Māui, the North Island. Kupe, the great navigator, discovered this region after thinking he had seen a whale: in fact it was Houhora Mountain, north of Kaitiāia (Taonui, 2009b).



Figure 1: Map of Muriwhenua with approximate locations of the main tribes (Taonui, 2009b).

### 1.2.1 Muriwhenua tribes

The Muriwhenua people belong to six iwi (tribes): Ngāti Kurī, Ngāi Takoto, Te Pātū, Ngāti Kahu, Te Aupōuri and Te Rarawa (Taonui, 2009a):

Ngāti Kurī tribal members descend from Pōhurihanga, the captain of the Kurahaupō canoe, which landed at Takapaukura near North Cape. On landing, Pōhurihanga

declared, 'Te muri o te whenua' ('this is the end of the land') – hence the founding tribe's name, Muriwhenua. A traditional account explains why this tribe was named Kurī, which means 'dog'. Many generations ago these people besieged a strongly fortified pā<sup>1</sup>. Unable to take the pā by direct assault, they constructed a whale from dog skin and hid beneath it on the beach in front of the pā. Their enemies, lured out by the sight of the 'whale' and its promise of bone, blubber and meat, were surprised and heavily defeated. Traditions variously place this event at Maunga Piko in Kapowairua Bay, Whangatauatea near Ahipara, or at Waitaha, between Herekino and Whāngāpē. A different account tells of a feast of dogs on Motu Whāngaikurī Island in Pārengarenga Harbour, for the funeral of the chief Ihutara.

The tribes Ngāi Takoto and Te Pātū also trace descent from the Kurahaupō canoe. Pōhutihanga's descendant Tūwhakaterere married two women. With the first, Tūterangi-a-tōhia, he had Pōpota, who became an important ancestor of Te Pātū. With Tūpōia, the second, he had a son, Hoka. In an account of how Ngāi Takoto got their name, it is said that when Hoka was killed in battle, Tūwhakaterere was so overcome with grief that he lay down and eventually died. 'Takoto' means to lie down.

The tribe of Ngāti Kahu takes its name from Kahutianui-o-te-rangi, the daughter of Tūmoana. Tūmoana was captain of the Tinana canoe. He returned to Hawaiki where his nephew Te Parata renamed the canoe Māmaru. The Māmaru returned to Muriwhenua territory, first sighting land at Pūwheke Mountain. Te Parata married Kahutianui-o-te-rangi, and their descendants settled the Rangaunu and Tokerau harbours. They spread south to Whangaroa Harbour, Matauri Bay and Te Tī, where they intermarried with the descendants of Pūhi, the captain of the Mataatua canoe. Ngāti Kahu were well known as coastal raiders and traders as far south as the Waipoua Forest, Whāngārei, Mahurangi and beyond.

Te Aupōuri and Te Rarawa descend from several canoes, including Matawhaorua, captained by Kupe, Kurahaupō, captained by Pōhutihanga, Ngātokimatawhaorua, captained by Nukutawhiti, Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi, captained by Rongomai and Whakatau. Te Rarawa emphasise descent from the Tinana canoe, captained by Tūmoana. Tūmoana's descendants spread throughout the northern Hokianga and eastward to Maunga Taniwha. Tūmoana later returned to Hawaiki, leaving his son

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<sup>1</sup> fortified village, stockade, inhabitants of a fortified place, blockade, city

Tamahotu and daughter Kahutianui-o-te-rangi at Tauroa. The name Te Rarawa comes from an incident on the shores of the Kaipara Harbour. Te Ripo, a high-born woman, was killed by a war party from the Kaipara. An avenging party led by Ngāmotu pursued the warriors south to Kaipara Harbour. However, the fleeing party crossed the harbour to their pā at Okika. They performed incantations, making the waters of the harbour too rough to cross. Frustrated, Ngāmotu's people raided a cemetery on the shores of the harbour, removing the remains of a deceased priest. They burnt the remains and threw the ashes into the harbour to calm the waters. They also ate part of the body. Toko, an old woman who witnessed these events, exclaimed, 'Kātahi anō te iwi kai rarawa!' ('Who would have heard of such cannibalism?'), and 'Te rarawakaiwhare!' ('The people consume all!') Te Rarawa then became the tribal name.

The main canoe for Te Aupōuri is Māmari, captained by Ruanui, whose descendants dominated much of the west coast of the Tai Tokerau. Te Aupōuri was originally known as Ngāti Ruānui. They were closely related to Te Rarawa, particularly through the marriage of Waimirirangi to Kairewa. Their daughter, Haere-ki-te-rā, was the ancestor of the Ngāti Ruānui chiefs, Whēru and Te Ikanui. Another daughter, Pare, along with her husband Te Rēinga and brother Tamatea, were important early leaders for the predecessors of Te Rarawa. Ngāti Ruānui dominated the Whāngāpē and Herekino harbours. Over time they came into conflict with their relations Ngāti Te Rēinga, Ngāti Kairewa, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Te Aewa, which were emerging as a strong unified group out of settlements at Motutī, Whakarapa and Motukauri on the northern shores of Hokianga Harbour. The two groups fought several battles in the Whāngāpē and Herekino harbours, and at Ahipara and Hukatere along Te Oneroa-a-Tōhē. During one of these battles, Te Ikanui and Whēru were besieged in their pā at Pawarenga on the Whāngāpē Harbour. One night they burned their possessions in order to create a screen of smoke, and then escaped unseen across the harbour. From then on Ngāti Ruānui was known as Te Aupōuri, from 'au' (current) and 'pōuri' (smoke or ash).

While tribal histories have been handed down orally over generations, pre-European information about numbers, tribal membership and tribal boundaries are hard to come by. Records following European settlement, however, indicate, that Muriwhenua suffered under government policies on Māori land and about 60,000 hectares of land was lost before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi with further alienation of

113,000 hectares by 1865 and another 31,000 by 1890 (Taonui, 2009d). As a consequence Muriwhenua tribes did not hold sufficient land to continue their traditional way of life and many took up paid employment or left Muriwhenua. At the time of the research as recorded by the 2006 census, less than a third (almost 12,000) of the original population of Muriwhenua people (almost 40,000) still lived in Muriwhenua with the majority living in the Auckland region. The 2006 census recorded almost 40,000 Muriwhenua Māori (Taonui, 2009d).

Closer to the time of the research, the 2001 Census recorded as the strongest iwi Te Rarawa with 11,526 members, followed by Te Aupōuri with 7,848 members, Ngāti Kahu with 6,957 members, Ngāti Kuri with 4,647 members and Ngāi Takoto with 489 members, with no numbers available for Te Pātū (Taonui, 2009c; appendix 2).

### **1.3 Timing**

The temporal context of the study centres around two regional expressions of events on national level: The Muriwhenua land claim is linked to the Māori renaissance representing the latter's regional expression, and a wave of unemployment, especially within the vicinity of Auckland as the manufacturing hub of New Zealand, linked to the aftermath of the economic restructuring in New Zealand between 1984 and 1994 by the incoming labour government. The deregulating mechanisms of the restructuring had devastating effects on most sectors of the New Zealand economy, leading to redundancies following firms' offshore moves, company mergers and legal deregulation (Srikanta, 1996). The impact of such an economic climate on individuals' lives is mentioned in subsequent interviews, providing a context for return moves by informants 5, 6 and 7.

### **1.4 Chapter outline**

Information relating to the immediate context within which informants' returns took shape is presented in chapter 7.1, including accounts of efforts to define tribal boundaries in the context of the Muriwhenua land claim that was in preparation during the time of the interviews based on existing literature as well as on first hand sources of two local kaumātuas (tribal elders) whose interviews are included. The kaumātuas' two points of view are later referred to by informants, demonstrating the impact of the wider legal, political and social impact of the land claim onto



individuals' decisions and everyday lives. Chapter 7 concludes with a summary of return motives to provide an overview of and link to subsequent chapters 8 and 9, containing informants' accounts and a discussion of their culturally and family motivated returns respectively. Chapter 10 rounds off informants' personal experiences in a discussion of valuable points based on informants' observations of other returnees.

Informants' personal accounts are discussed in relation to the three key concepts used for the investigation of Māori return migration, return migration, place and identity. Return migration is reviewed and discussed in relation to ethnic and indigenous identification practices in chapter 3, with particular focus on return motives and destination places. The concept of place is reviewed and discussed in relation to identity, with particular focus on the concept of home as site of identity in chapter 4. The third concept, identity, is reviewed and discussed in chapter 5, with particular focus on ethnic movements and indigenism, and previous efforts of linking identity and place. All three chapters on key concepts contain an elaboration on the respective concept's relevance for the phenomenon at hand based on existing literature dealing with Māori return migration, Māori place and Māori identity.

In chapter 6 Social Identity Theory (SIT) is presented as a suitable theoretical framework to demonstrate links between the three core concepts while linking individual decision making to social processes and their respective contexts such as the Māori renaissance, which in turn may be viewed as an expression of the global indigenist movement. The core concepts of SIT, self-enhancement, optimal distinctiveness and uncertainty reduction are discussed in relation to place and identity, as is the function of a prototype for return migration.

Chapter 11 concludes the study by discussing findings of the field research in relation to each research question and to the key concepts of return migration, identity and place. The latter includes a critical assessment of the contemporary use of the concept of home as well as the application of roots migration, homesteading and homecoming to the case study.

Spelling of Māori terms follows largely the official online Māori dictionary (Moorfield, 2003-2010) which is also the source for translations contained in appendix 1 and footnotes. Where spelling differs from the online Māori dictionary,

the spelling of an original source may have been retained. Additional information referred to throughout the text is included in the appendices.

## **Chapter 2**

### **METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION**

#### **2.1 Literature review**

The current thesis consists of two types of analyses, one theoretical contained in the first part of the thesis, and one empirical contained in the second part of the thesis.

The first type of analysis consists of a theoretical argument based on a review of existing literature about the three core concepts of return migration, place and identity, and already published case studies, taking an interdisciplinary approach by demonstrating the three concepts' interlinkages. Each chapter concludes with a section that links the theory to the case study of Māori return migration.

In line with the humanistic paradigm, the various contexts within which Māori return migration took place are highlighted through the inclusion of a theoretical analysis of indigenism on global scale, of the Māori renaissance derived from literature as well as first hand information by returnees on national scale, and, on local scale, by the Muriwhenua land claim sourced predominantly from first hand accounts by returnees as well as two tribal elders as key informants. Additional information derived from official websites and publications may be included in the main body as well as in the appendices.

Linking individual and collective phenomena and contexts at various levels of inclusiveness is achieved through the application of Social Identity Theory (SIT), which provides a tried and confirmed theoretical framework for linking individual cognitive processes to collective phenomena while stressing the wider social context of intergroup relations (Tajfel, Jaspers & Fraser, 1984). In so doing, SIT does justice to Māori conceptions of identity which are based on individuals' microcosms on the one hand, and on the macrocosm of Māori culture (Royal, 1999) on the other. SIT furthermore represents an approach similar to Māori approaches for the investigation of phenomena which are based on the principle of whakapapa (genealogy, lineage) for the organisation of information into a coherent form by stressing relationships between phenomena and their dependency on more than one antecedent phenomenon (Royal, 1999). According to the latter, the researcher is drawn out to a wider picture rather than drawn in to a smaller focus until a comprehensive picture emerges that

may connect to other phenomena generated by the same principle based on whakapapa (Royal, 1999).

The second type of analysis is based on the collection and analysis of field data derived from interviews of informants who had returned just prior to data gathering.

## **2.2 Interviews**

After a method section detailing recruitment methods and analyses, summaries of informants' characteristics both in written as well as in table format are provided. The variables which describe the sample are derived from existing literature on return migration to include returnees' destination places, age of return, qualification and pre-return employment, post-return employment, and problems encountered upon a return, resulting in 'bundled individual biographies' as suggested by Hägerstrand (1975 cited in Chapman, 1985, p. 4) as a suitable method for the investigation of the complex phenomenon of return migration.

The order in which informants are presented reflects a logical progress starting with two prospective returnees, followed by a returned family as described by a close family member. Summaries about first-hand interviewees are then presented in random order. The list is concluded by a summary of an adamant non-returnee. Full transcriptions of interviews and notes taken during informal conversations with returnees about their returns appear in appendix 10 in the same order as in the table. With the exception of the published interviews of two prospective returnees, informants' names and other information that may allow for identification have been omitted for privacy reasons.

The main body of the discussion (Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10) aims at linking findings of the interviews to the previous theoretical argument through the application of Social Identity Theory (SIT), while analysing the core question of why informants had returned, were planning to, or refused to return within their respective contexts.

Summaries of main and additional motives as well as returnees' contexts are presented in Chapter 7 in table as well as written format. While some informants were able to cite their return motives very clearly, others found it difficult to answer the question.

First discussed are those two informants who could identify their reasons for returning (informant 2) or not returning (informant 9) clearly. After discussing their individual

viewpoints separately, accounts of those informants who were grouped as returning or intending to return predominantly for cultural reasons are discussed jointly in Chapter 8. The discussion about informant 8 is presented as the link with the next broad group of informants who returned predominantly for family related reasons (Chapter 9) as her return motives could be interpreted as cultural as well as family related ones.

Because in none of the cases was there just one single return motive or event, but combinations, main motives are not discussed separately, but together with additional ones, while putting the return experience into the returnee's immediate and wider social, economic and political context. Themes that emerge from more than one informant are discussed together and summarised at the end of the chapter. Additional valuable points raised by the informants based on observation of other returnees are discussed subsequently (Chapter 10) before findings are related to research questions as spelt out in section 1.1.

### *2.2.1 Method*

Nine Māori returnees were interviewed by the researcher at their homes or their offices between December 2000 and February 2003. Out of these, five interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. In four cases a recording was deemed inappropriate or impractical. In the latter cases (informants 5, 6, and 7), impromptu discussions arose throughout the daily routine during the researcher's stay with the family, or, in one case (informant 4), information was gathered parallel to a recorded interview (with informant 3) in another room. Non-recorded information about the parallel interview as well as through participant observation as suggested by Cohen and Gold (1997) of the returned host family was written in note form immediately after or during the returnee's account. Although the accounts centre on the informants' personal experiences, there are occasional references to others' return experiences.

Informants were recruited using the snowball technique starting with an acquainted family who had returned to Northland (informants 5, 6, and 7). The snowball technique was not only a suitable recruitment method in light of missing regional and national information databases about returnees but it also provided an appropriate technique that did justice to Māori introductory practices based on word-of-mouth references by already acquainted persons. An announcement by the host family (informants 5 and 6) opened the doors of informants 3 and 4 as well as informant 8.

Informant 8 in turn facilitated contacts with the two kaumātuas who were subsequently interviewed about the Muriwhenua land claim. Informant 2 was located with the help of informant 1 who was brought to the researcher's attention during the theoretical preparation for the paper and subsequently contacted, while informant 9 was approached personally at university.

The conducted interviews were semi-structured focusing on informants' motives for a return or non-return. Semi-structured interviews were chosen to unravel the phenomenon 'in depth and to uncover the complex and multi-layered nature of the return migration process and decision' (King, 2000, p. 18). Informants were encouraged to tell their story as freely as they wished, allowing for complex and potentially very personal motives to be addressed subtly (King, 2000) and additional motives from observation of other returnees mentioned. Only occasionally were there interruptions to follow up on valuable points and contextual information such as problems encountered, job-related aspects, destinations and wider political or social considerations.

Two additional interviews of prospective returnees (Brenda Burt and Nin Thomas) were taken from a written source (Metro, 1984) for discussion, to contrast with returnees' experiences, and in order to provide a more comprehensive account of the phenomenon of Māori return migration. Although the two published interviews were conducted some fifteen years prior to the other interviews, the time of their publication corresponds to the time of return as described by informant 1 and to the time when the phenomenon of Māori return migration came to prominence in New Zealand as part of the 'idealism' (Rata, 2000) that was associated with the Māori renaissance. As such, they are typical examples of the rhetoric at the time.

The interviews were not aimed at being representative of the entire population of Māori returnees and no random, systematic or stratified sampling was attempted. Instead, informants' personal testimonies, as suggested by Benmayor and Skotness (1994), aim at providing in-depth accounts of individuals' decision making while linking personal decisions to the contexts within which they took shape. In line with the social constructivist approach, the current investigation focuses on provisional rather than essential patterns of meaning, emphasising local and personal rather than universal meanings and providing input for practical utility and application.

Despite its small size, the sample of key informants covers a range of experiences by Māori returnees, one non-returnee and two prospective returnees of different ages and backgrounds, demonstrating the complexity of Māori return migration.

Interviews are analysed qualitatively and informants' return decisions are linked to the various personal, political, economic and social contexts within which they took shape through the application of SIT in an effort to uncover the dynamics of territorial identity, as suggested by Tonkinson (1985).

### *2.2.2 Sample – Summary of informants' characteristics*

Informants' characteristics varied in relation to their destination place, age of return, pre- and post return employment, motives and problems encountered.

The concept of 'home' is applied in the wider sense and takes on different meanings as evident in the informants' destination places which include second- as well as same-generation returns. Second generation returns are described by the two prospective returnees as returns to 'family land', which is not further specified. Specified second generation returns are to the mother's birthplace as described by informant 1 and to the place where the father had been raised (informant 7). First generation returns are to the very place where the returnee had been born and raised (informant 4) or raised but not born (informants 2,6 and 8), where the husband had been raised but not born (informants 5) or where the husband had been raised and born (informant 3).

Ages of returnees span all age groups: Although only referred to by actual informants, the youngest were the grandchild of informant 2 at toddler age and the young children (pre-schoolers) of the two prospective returnees as well as those (primary school-aged children) of the young family as described by informant 1. The youngest actual informant had returned with her parents in her late teens after finishing school (informant 7). There were several young parents, including the two prospective returnees, the daughter of informant 2 and those described by informant 1. Informant 8 was in her mid-forties, informant 2 in her late forties, and informants 4, 5, 6 and 7 in their sixties while the study's non-returnee was in her 50s.

Qualifications and pre-return employment also varied: two informants (2 and 8) returned with tertiary degrees, while the non-returnee also has a tertiary qualification. Informants 3, 4, 5 and 6 as well as the two prospective returnees were qualified and

held senior positions prior to their returns or their planned returns. Returnees as described by informant 1 were unemployed prior to their return without information regarding their qualification, and informant 7 returned with her parents immediately after school, but was in the process of gaining a computer related qualification during the time of the field research.

In most cases, returnees were overqualified for their post-return employment which included seasonal work (informant 5), unemployment, occasional work and truck driver (informant 6), relief teacher/secretary (informant 8), occasional jobs and bus driver (informant 4), communal and unpaid work (informant 3), while returnee 7 worked in seasonal jobs during her computer training. Informant 2 returned to her pre-departure position as a manageress, and only in the case described by informant 1 was there significant improvement from pre-return unemployment to self-employed entrepreneur. Post-return employment is not specified in the case of the two prospective returnees and the non-returnee.

The economically successful return case described by informant 1, however, was not without problems as the family had to work much harder than expected to achieve self-employment, and accept family fall-outs and disappointment regarding the communal lifestyle they had anticipated. Disappointment also dampened the return experience of informants 3 and 4 who struggled to gain acceptance and approval by the local community. For informants 5 and 6 the post-return problematic were initial financial insecurities while informant 7 ran into 'trouble' during the adjustment phase of her urban lifestyle to a rural one. Informant 8 struggled with bureaucracy and permits, but was happy to exchange her urban financially secure lifestyle for a 'poor' rural one. Informant 2 did not encounter post-return problems.



Table 1: Summary of informants' characteristics<sup>2</sup>

| Informant   | Destination                                | Age of return | Qualification/pre-return employment | Post-return employment            | Main motive                                                | Problems encountered                        |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Brenda Burt | prospective to family land                 | young parents | qualified employee                  | -                                 | cultural                                                   | -                                           |
| Nin Thomas  | prospective to family land                 | young parents | qualified employee                  | -                                 | cultural                                                   | -                                           |
| Informant 1 | mother's birth place                       | young parents | unemployed                          | entrepreneur                      | cultural & economic                                        | disappointment, hard work, family fall-outs |
| Informant 2 | where she had lived before                 | mid forties   | tertiary degree                     | manageress                        | family support, safe environment for grandchild, economic, | none mentioned                              |
| Informant 3 | where husband had been raised              | mid-sixties   | qualified/entrepreneur              | voluntary, communal               | husband's family obligations                               | non-acceptance by community                 |
| Informant 4 | where he had been born an raised           | mid-sixties   | highly qualified                    | occasional, bus driver            | family obligations                                         | non-acceptance by community                 |
| Informant 5 | where husband had been raised              | sixties       | skilled                             | seasonal                          | family & lifestyle                                         | financial insecurities                      |
| Informant 6 | where he had been raised but not born      | sixties       | skilled                             | various, unemployed, truck driver | family links                                               | financial insecurities                      |
| Informant 7 | where father had been raised, but not born | eighteen      | unskilled                           | seasonal                          | family chain migration                                     | 'trouble'                                   |
| Informant 8 | where she had been raised                  | mid forties   | tertiary degree                     | teacher & secretary               | cultural & family                                          | bureaucracy, 'poverty'                      |
| Informant 9 | non-return                                 | fifties       | tertiary/academic                   | not available                     | boring, dull, no opportunities & services                  | -                                           |

<sup>2</sup> Brenda Burt and Nin Thomas are two prospective returnees. Information provided by informant 1 is about a related family rather than herself, and informant 9 provides information about herself as a non-returnee.

### **2.3 Summary and conclusion**

For the first part of the thesis a literature review of the three core concepts, return migration, place and identity, provides the background of the subsequent field research and aims at arguing the interlinkages between the concepts theoretically and the role that contexts at varying degrees of inclusiveness play for individuals' return decision through the application of SIT.

For the empirical second part of the thesis, data was gathered through participant observations of a returned host family and through semi structured interviews allowing informants to tell their story freely and thus providing comprehensive accounts of personal experiences of returnees. Informants were recruited using the snowball technique to do justice to Māori traditions of personal contacts and in response to a lack of databases about returnees. The sample thus generated cannot be viewed as representative of Māori returnees in general, but provides in-depth accounts of personal experiences by returnees covering a considerable range of characteristics as summarised in 2.2.2, to do justice to the scope of the phenomenon of Māori return migration.

## **Chapter 3**

### **RETURN MIGRATION**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Traditionally, return migration was defined as the movement of emigrants back to their homelands to resettle (Gmelch, 1980) and it was viewed as the concluding phase of the migratory process (Callea, 1986) back to the 'place from which an individual sets out and to which s/he will return, at least in spirit' (Hobsbawm, 1991, p. 65). Although this view included a variety of movements such as the forced and voluntary return of emigrants whose intention was to settle permanently abroad, the return of migrant workers upon the expiration of their temporary contracts, the repatriation of administrators of overseas colonies and the return of second generation migrants (UN, 1986) return migration was viewed as a unilinear and definitive move back to 'places where returnees lived before, where they were born or raised' (DaVanzo and Morrison, 1981, p. 85).

This traditional view of return migration has been found inadequate and replaced by a number of more contextual approaches that view migration not as a single relocation event but as a socially embedded process and an episode (Castles & Miller, 1998), an evolution of a more complex migration project that implicitly included the return upon achieving the target set before the departure (Ganga, 2006). With particular reference to globalisation the approach of transnational communities has gained increasing popularity amongst researchers of return migration who regard emigration and return as interlinked events (King, 2000; Overbeek, 2000; Eastmond, 2006).

Despite a remarkable increase in studies of return migration in recent years and some apparent convergence of approaches and methods, the study of return migration continues to be contentious and the following chapters will provide the reader with a brief overview of the topic before demonstrating the link between identity and return migration.

#### **3.2 History**

The systematic study of return migration as a fairly recent undertaking 'failed to receive the attention it deserved until the 1970s' (Callea, 1986, p. 62) while some

lament that the study of return migration continues to be neglected (Black and King, 2004) as it is considered an individual or family affair (Arowolo, 2000). The 'late' discovery of return migration as a study topic can also be attributed to the fact that traditionally, migration had been viewed as a one-way stream of people, a view that was based on the one hand on the nineteenth century transatlantic experience that dominated migration studies during the past century (Gmelch, 1980), and on the other, on massive urbanisation processes, with the associated rural to urban flux of people (Rhoades, 1979). During the 1970s a reversal of the trend became evident (White, 1983) following the dismantling of Europe's guest worker programme and the repatriation of labour migrants as a result of the economic crisis (Lepore, 1986; King, 2000). Subsequent research concentrated on international return movements at an aggregate level with particular focus on the economic effect of sending and receiving countries, especially underdeveloped ones (King, 2000) and led to the emergence of three basic categories of returnees, namely returning refugees, displaced persons and voluntary migrants (Arowolo, 2000) with the latter being grouped based on long- or short-stay intentions, reasons for return and length of stay in the host country (King 2000).

However, the surge of interest in international return moves led to a relative neglect of studies on national scale (Rumbiak, 1985; Leman, 1998) and out of those, most focused on returnees moving from urban to rural areas rather than vice versa (King, Strachan & Mortimer, 1985).

### **3.3 Problems for the study of return migration**

The urban-rural flow to an apparently less advantaged situation was particularly hard to explain by the traditional push-pull model and some have proposed a more contextual (Kulu, 1998) or dynamic socio-psychological approach (Lee & Kim, 1980). Not only were traditional migration models inadequate to explain return moves, but the progress of the study of return migration continued to be hampered by the variety of return moves (King, 2000), disagreement on and diversity of terminology (Lowenthal, 1985; UN, 1986), frameworks and definitions, such as who is considered a returnee (UN, 1986; Sowell, 1996), by the difficulty of quantifying volume and frequency of return movements, and by spatial as well as time limits of traditional approaches to scientific investigation (Gmelch, 1980). Examples of the

diversity of terms employed for the investigation of trans-boundary return migration are 'reflux migration', 'homeward migration', 're-migration', 'return flow', 'second-time migration' and 'retro migration' (Gmelch, 1980, p. 136). On a national scale, the term 'internal migration' as used by Chapman and Prothero (1985) has alternatively been investigated as 'circular/tory migration' (Bonnemaïson, 1985), 'counter stream migration' (Stoller & Longino, 2001) or 'pendular migration' (Skeldon, 1977).

However, 'despite a number of attempts to theorise return migration through law-like statements based on empirical and statistical evidence and through epistemologies of migration and human behaviour' (King, 2000, p. 40) 'there has been neither a satisfactory and coherent effort to investigate the social and economic implications of return moves nor has return as an integral part of the migration process received adequate attention from policy-makers' (Ghosh, 2000, p. 1). Another shortcoming of the study of return migration was that most studies undertaken both within the sending and the receiving country as well as inter-regionally (UN, 1986) looked predominantly at an aggregate level such as the census (Ghosh, 2000) at the expense of investigating individuals' motivations underlying different types of return, returnees' profiles (Stark, 1996 cited in Ghosh, 2000) and providing links to the context within which the return took place.

### **3.4 Research methods**

In order to link return migration to the context within which it took place and to supplement information gained from statistical sources as traditionally employed, alternatives included and continue to include a variety of methods.

Methods to recruit participants for the study of return migration include the snowball technique and personal information collected by local authorities (King, et al., 1985), public advertisements in local newspapers and databases of real-estate agents (Lidgard, 1991), and interviews with key informants (Bedford, Joseph & Lidgard, 1999).

Strategies to collect statistical data are large scale census, local data banks (King, et al., 1985), arrival and departure cards and interviews (Lidgard, 1991). Additional information can be derived from participatory observation (Cohen & Gold, 1997).

The most frequently employed method to investigate why people return is to ask returnees directly (Gmelch, 1980; Cohen and Gold, 1997), either by means of structured interviews (King, et al., 1985; Lidgard, 1991; Lee and Kim, 1980), semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions (Macpherson, 1985; Lidgard, 1993), unstructured narratives (Lidgard, 1991; Scott & Kearns, 2002) or composite narratives of observations (Bedford, et al., 1999). Interviews, however, are based on the assumption that people are consciously aware of their reasons, which does not necessarily apply (King, et al., 1985). Often, there is a multitude of reasons, which may be conflated into one main reason (Gmelch, 1980). Alternatively, underlying reasons may be too personal to be admitted or too complex to be accounted for or (King, 2000). Other limitations of interviewing returnees include a number of biases both by the interviewee as well as the interviewer and analytical problems such as classification of responses. An alternative to this approach is the use of Likert scales on items (Toren, 1975) such as strength of 'coming home' feelings (Lidgard, 1991), which reduces biases, but limits interviewees' options of responses. It appears that none of the methods can be entirely satisfactory due to the complexity of the process of return migration, but the qualitative approach has been found as more promising. This approach appears to be suitable to unravel the phenomenon 'in depth to uncover the complex and multi-layered nature of the return migration process and decisions' (King, 2000, p. 18). For example, Hägerstrand (1975, cited in Chapman, 1985, p. 4), when investigating people's return to a Swedish community, has found bundled individual biographies as useful sources for the identification of broader patterns of movement and constraints upon peoples' movements which in turn have great utility for planning on community, regional and national level. King (2000) has taken the approach even further by employing 'long-range personal biographies and cross-generational family histories' (King, 2000, p. 44) to investigate people's motives for returning. These 'life stories' have now become popular and commonly employed techniques for the investigation of return migration (Bolognani, 2007) with some researchers conceptualising return migration as 'collections of life stories that illuminate private-personal-individual, public-national-collective, professional-family-intimate spaces as well as the spatiality of rural to urban and traditional to modern' (Christou 2006, p. 1041).

These qualitative studies may be subsequently complemented by statistical data derived from aggregate studies and censuses to draw a comprehensive picture about the phenomenon of return migration at various levels of analysis. The choice of the research method depends on the more general approach taken and on the topic under investigation.

### **3.5 Recent approaches and topics**

An early attempt to use a holistic approach was by Rumbiak, (1985) who looked at a host of socio-cultural variables, the historical background of the initial migration to the urban destination and the moving intentions by members of a Nimboran society. A more recent example is Kulu's (1998) study of returnee Estonians by relating people's action to the context in which the action takes place. Advocates of the contextual approach such as Kulu draw on the work of the structuration school of Bourdieu, Giddens and Thrift. Contextualists criticised traditional approaches to the study of migration firstly, as naturalist-determinist that left little room for individual choice and secondly, as overemphasising momentary environmental conditions as well as current personal preferences of the migrant. Instead, they advocate the approach that migration and choice of residence lie in the migrant's entire biography which is viewed as the outcome of the interaction between the individual and his/her earlier social environment. By abandoning the more traditional impulse-reaction approach, contextualists thus allow for individual (re)action within a certain context as well as influences deriving from the subject's socialisation (Kulu, 2002). These comprehensive studies necessitated a departure from previous methodologies and there was a shift towards qualitative methods such as the study of individuals' biographies as advocated by Halfacree and Boyle (1993, cited in Kulu, 2002, p. 290).

The biographical approach gained popularity quickly despite different emphases and foci within migration research. The approach was particularly suited to demonstrate the importance of migrants' identities for their decision to move. Li, et al. (1995, cited in Kulu, 2002, p. 291) for example found how the social environment shaped the identities of people and how the identities influenced people's migration behaviour in Hong Kong. Similarly, Gutting (1996, cited in Kulu, 2002, p. 291) related life course, identity, and residential history of a family of Turkish origin in Germany. Kulu (1998) looked at the choice of migration destination among ethnic Estonians in Russia and

also demonstrated the importance of identity formed in childhood for returnees' decisions. Several other studies followed that also supported the conclusion that migrants' identities are crucial for the decision to move as discussed in more depth at a later stage. With reference to the contextual approach it can be summarised that agreement exists on how the context is influential twofold, namely as being fundamental to the person's socialisation process as well as for the momentary practical consciousness that triggers the visible action, that is, the decision to move. At the same time, researchers adhering to the contextual approach supported the idea of the individual's role both in the lifelong process of socialisation and in his or her actions, thus ruling out a possible return to determinism (Kulu, 2002).

Another approach to the study of return migration that has also gained popularity recently is the perspective of transnational communities, a view that interprets migration as a reflection of globalisation and the cultural geography of diasporas rather than a move between a bounded place of origin and destination (King, 2000; Eastmond, 2006). This view advocates that migration is not a single relocation event rather than a socially embedded process (Castles & Miller, 1998) as emigration and return are interlinked events of an ongoing process of global mobility (King, 2000; Overbeek, 2000) and migrants are actively involved in creating social fields that cut across geographical and political boundaries (Riccio, 2006). Especially in post-war situations where returns are risky and may take place outside of established programmes returnees' oscillation between the country of origin and of asylum may be essential for returnees in order to leave their options open and to ensure survival while holding on to possessions in their respective politically insecure countries of origin (Eastmond, 2006). While this process continues, and at times may not be resolved at all within one generation, the concept of 'home' as a bounded place or a structure is thrown into question. Following the transnational approach, the concept of 'home' needs to be viewed as a site of cultural meanings and as a set of social relations that may span a number of places (Eastmond, 2006). This conclusion is in line with and a reflection of a much broader development in cultural studies where core concepts of various disciplines such as 'place' and 'identity', amongst others, began to be re-defined and re-investigated as generative of and generated by globalisation. The ongoing process of global mobility has been considered the result of interrelated, expanding and overlapping networks of communications, exchange and production



relations (Overbeek, 2000) at a time when cross-boundary movement has been facilitated by a drop in cost of travelling, enhanced communication – especially along migration chains – increase in brain drain, historical linkages and cultural affinity (Overbeek, 2000).

Historical linkages were of particular relevance to a group of studies of return migration that emerged following the establishment of the European Union (EU) which led to the opening of borders, facilitation in cross-border moves and approximation of national economies, and the dismantling of the Soviet Empire which was followed by the establishment of a host of more or less independent nation states. With reference to the former, noticeable return moves were found, for example, amongst Italians leaving Germany (Rieker & Sala, 2005), and Albanians leaving Greece and Italy (Labrianidis & Kazazazi, 2006). With reference to the latter, examples of studies are the problematic of Russian returnees (Pilkington & Flynn, 2006), Greek returnees from the former Soviet Union (Voutira, 2004), Kazakhstani from Mongolia (Diener, 2005) and the return of Circassian tribes from Turkey to Russia (Kaya, 2005). And, affected by both the establishment of the European Union as well as the dismantling of the Soviet Union, a host of studies was undertaken to investigate Estonian return movements from a number of angles and their effects (Kulu & Billary, 2006; Kulu & Tammaru, 2000; Kulu, 2000).

Another series of studies emerged following conflicts in the Balkans in general (Black, Eastmond & Gent, 2006), and in particular in Croatia (Harvey, 2006; Blitz, 2005), Albania (Labrianidis & Kazazazi 2006) in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Eastmond, 2006; Stefansson, 2006) as well as in Iraq (Romano, 2005) and Palestine (Khalili, 2004; Cox & Connell, 2003; Hanafi, 2005).

Although globalisation is viewed as intimately linked to regionalisation (Overbeek, 2000, Friedman, 1994) the bulk of studies of return migration continued to be undertaken on an international scale with much fewer studies focusing on national or regional scales. This could be due to the difficulty of quantifying such movement (Gmelch, 1980). One group of studies on national scale that has attracted relatively high interest due to its immediate implications for national economies and social planning are urban to rural returns. One early study was the one by Chapman and Prothero (1985) who found that the return of individuals from urban to rural regions appeared to be part of a traditional circular migration pattern in Melanesia. Examples

of more recent studies undertaken in industrialised countries are about the contribution of returnees to rural areas in China (Wang & Fan, 2006; Antal & Bartz, 2006) and in Scotland (Stockdale, 2006). Much less work has been undertaken to investigate rural to urban returns, such as the one by Benali (2005) who explained a return to the inner city by post-war gentrification and re-vitalisation development of urban planners in Canada.

Moving away from a spatial approach another group of studies on national scale focused on one particular social or ethnic group of people. Newbold (1997), for example, compared primary, return and onward migration patterns for blacks and whites in the United States and found that although migration patterns of whites and blacks resembled each other, a higher incidence of return migration was found amongst blacks, which was explained by stronger kinship networks amongst the minority group. Another, recurring theme of studies of a social group is the one of returns following retirement, for example, in Sweden (Klinthall, 2006) and the US (Stoller & Longino, 2001).

Amongst the previously mentioned the study of return migration by members of an ethnic group (subsequently referred to as 'ethnic return') has been particularly characterised by growing interest of scholars (Kulu, 1998). This type of study centres on terminology such as 'home', 'home coming' (Basu, 2004a), ancestral homeland (Christou, 2006) and 'identity' and should not be confused with repatriation of members of an ethnic group after forced displacement due to 'ethnic cleansing'. One specific phenomenon amongst studies of the voluntary return of members of an ethnic group is the return of second generation members such as second generation Greek-Americans (Christou, 2006) and second-generation British-Barbadians returning to the land of their parents (Potter & Phillips, 2006).

### **3.6 Impact of return and problems of re-integration**

Studies on an aggregate level about the economic effects associated with return have revealed changes in wages, employment, savings and investment (King, 2000) as well as changes on social dimensions such as age and ethnic composition (Bedford et al., 1999). Comparing profiles, returnees were found to differ from long-term residents and migrants in general in their skills and education levels as well as other socio-economic attributes (DaVanzo & Morrison, 1981). Often, returnees bring back not

only money, but also new skills and changed attitudes (Sowell, 1996), which is, as a study by Antal and Bartz (2006) has revealed, expected to stimulate organisational learning in existing organisations and in new companies. Changed attitudes can express themselves in different voting patterns compared to long-term residents and impact on local policies, such as resource management in the rural context. A noticeable influx of returnees may impact on the housing market and on public services (King, 2000) while stretching local infrastructure, especially the provision of employment opportunities and the provision of health (Scott & Kearns, 2000).

Studies of returnees through a micro-approach have found that returnees also frequently bring with them unrealistic expectations (Gmelch, 1980) which may be a result of outdated, idealised and nostalgic views of 'home' (King, 2000) or of a rural lifestyle (Scott & Kearns, 2000) that may be reinforced during brief home-visits that allow the returnee to focus on the positive aspects only while neglecting unpleasant realities (King, 2000). When expectations are not fulfilled, the consequence is dismay and disappointment (Lidgard, 1993; Storti, 2001), which can lead to problems of adjustment (King, 2000; Voutira, 2004).

Adjustment problems are a consequence of and can be grouped into those related to people's various motives for both emigrating as well as returning, and according to when and under what circumstances problems surface (Lepore, 1986). Although the vast majority of returnees report one or more symptoms of a 'reverse culture shock' upon arrival in the place of origin, only few studies deal with the issue let alone with the practical implications for the individual (Storti, 2001, Arowolo, 2000). This is because the study of individual experiences of the re-entry is not an easy undertaking as they 'are deeply personal and cultural experiences' (Storti, 2001, p. xx) and may depend on life-cycle stages and gender (King, 2000).

However, studies, predominantly on an international level, indicated there is indeed considerable evidence of reintegration difficulties for returnees (King, 2000; Black, Eastmond & Gent, 2006). According to Arowolo (2000) many difficulties and failures of rehabilitation programmes stem from ad hoc approaches that tend to be spontaneous responses to emergency situations which are usually donor country driven (Arowolo, 2000) and highly politically charged (Black, Eastmond & Gent, 2006). In addition, rehabilitation programmes tend to focus solely on the repatriation process itself which is measured by inadequate dimensions (Arowolo, 2000).

Studies of difficulties from an etic perspective (Gmelch, 1980) include objective criteria such as finding employment, social networks and housing while emic approaches (Gmelch, 1980) focus on subjective outcomes such as the migrants' own perceptions of their adjustment, satisfaction with the return and feelings about being 'at home' (King, 2000). To what extent the returnee is satisfied may depend on his/her value orientation as suggested by Cerase's (1974) dual hypothesis which maintains that people who are characterised by a more urban and industrial value structure encounter more difficulties during re-adapting in the rural context, and vice versa, people with a more traditional and rural value orientation encounter less difficulties re-adapting in a rural context. Cerase's model has been supported in a number of studies that have looked at urban to rural returns (King, 2000).

As the Danish philosopher Kierkegaard once argued one cannot ever return, for it is never the same place the person had left behind, no return to status quo ante (King, 2000). Not only do developments take place over time 'in place' and within the returnees themselves, but returnees may also be viewed differently and expected to behave in a certain manner, to which they may or may not respond (King, 2000). Problems that returnees encounter upon their return is jealousy as a result of competition for jobs and services or preferential treatment by the government (Voutira, 2004), rivalries due to different values and survival tactics (Herbert, 1990), resentment and distrust. Even more drastic, a study by Potter and Phillips (2006) found that second generation returnees to Barbados were accused of being 'mad' and treated accordingly. With reference to second generation returnees adjustment problems may also stem from the early childhood socialisation of emigrants' offspring in a foreign country (Kulu, 2000).

Others maintain, that successful return is possible, if one does not confuse the 'same place' with 'identical place' (Casey, 1993) and after going through a number of stages of re-entry (Storti, 2001). These stages commence with the leave-taking and departure stage, followed by the honeymoon of coming home which is ended by a reverse culture shock and the eventual re-adjustment of the person (Storti, 2001). Providing the context that enables individuals' successful return Arowolo (2000) proposes a framework that commences prior to the actual return, for example by creating employment as well as awareness of political and social conditions, and which continues beyond the simple repatriation scheme by providing counselling, career

guidance and the setting up of suitable infrastructures to allow for a successful long term re-integration of returnees into civil society. Another approach to investigating the successfulness of the return move is by looking at people's motives.

### **3.7 Motives for a return**

For the investigation of the motives for return moves it has been found useful to look at the motives and reasons for the initial departure (Lidgard, 1993). For example, a distinction between voluntary versus forced initial migration can be extrapolated to whether the motives for a return are predominantly individual or group related. Aggregate data about the reasons for the initial departure of returnees have in the past led to the conclusion that the majority of returnees had left their country of origin more or less voluntarily as opposed to refugees who seldom return (Sowell, 1996). More recently however, the return of refugees has increased in popularity as it is viewed as essential to peace processes in war-torn societies (Stefansson, 2006), and in order to ensure the sustainability of individual as well as facilitated returns, precise recommendations for national policy makers and international organisations facilitating such moves are offered (Black & Gent, 2006; Blitz, 2005). As this review is concerned with voluntary return migration, reasons such as forced repatriation or refugees of war where people have little choice are not discussed in depth, but only mentioned when appropriate.

In general, motives for a voluntary return differ from those motives that prompted people to leave initially and they can vary from macro-scale economic or political to individual perspectives (Ghosh, 2000). In an attempt to systematise a vast variety of return motives Alberts and Hazen (2005) came up with three categories of motivating factors, namely professional, societal, and personal. More commonly, however, the causes of return migration are viewed as complex and varied (King, 2000) and returnees may not even be consciously aware of and able to specify the reasons for their return. Kulu (1998), for example, suggest that a return may be preceded by a more far reaching change in values, habits and identity.

The traditionally employed aggregate research into return migration indicates that pull motives appear to be the deciding basis for people to return rather than push motives which appear to provide the context for the more important deciding factors (King, 2000; Richling, 1985). Economic contextual factors that have been mentioned in

research include economic recession (King, 2000; Gmelch, 1980), the decline of available land, the fragmentation of family holdings (Gmelch, 1980; Richling, 1985) and lay-offs (King, 2000). Non-economic push motives include prejudice, racism and discrimination (King, 2000), difficulties in adjusting to a drastically different climate in the host country (Gmelch, 1980), difficulty in working abroad (Callea, 1986) and political reasons such as restrictive policies and the lack of benefits associated with citizenship (King, 2000).

Amongst the more common pull motives, economic factors such as higher wages and economic development in the country of origin are cited less frequently than non-economical reasons (King, 2000) and socio-cultural (Rumbiak, 1985) as well as affective motives that are of a personal nature (UN 1986).

One well-researched pull motive is the return after retirement (Callea, 1986; King, 2000; Klinthall, 2006). Although there is some evidence that people who return to their place of origin after retirement make up an important part of returnees, the assumption that elderly are more prone than non-elderly to 'return home' has been challenged (Rogers, 1990; Richling, 1985). In order to shed light on who actually moves and why, a study by Stoller and Longino (2001) systematically analysed survey data in the US and found support for a life course model of retirement migration proposed by Liwak and Longino (1987 cited in Stoller & Longino, 2001). More specifically, a move by the elderly was motivated by a desire to be closer to family as a person's health begins to deteriorate. However, this move was only realised when place ties to the home community made such a move possible. Although ties with siblings and others that were established during home visits, had an impact, ties to children were the most influential ones in the decision to go home. Siblings were found to be crucial for the provision of both emotional as well as instrumental support and so were the characteristics of kinship and family networks (Stoller & Longino, 2001). Others have challenged the assumption of a binary distinction between the return and stay of retirees altogether claiming it to be an 'outdated conception of a sedentary society in which migration was considered an abnormal, temporary and exceptional behaviour' (Bolzman, Fibbi & Vial, 2006, p. 1373). Instead, they propose a circulation model to account for the complexity of the decision-making as to where to retire (Bolzman, Fibbi & Vial, 2006), which is in line with the previously mentioned transnational approach.

Other non-economic motives are strong family and kinship ties (King, 2000; Gmelch, 1980; Richling, 1985; Lidgard, 1993), patriotic reasons (Richling, 1985) as well as long-term friendships and family obligations such as looking after an ailing family member, taking care of family business and homesickness (Gmelch, 1980). These motives are paramount amongst returnees who re-settle specifically in their communities of origin rather than in cities close by where there may be better economical opportunities (Gmelch, 1980). Other, less common motives include the desire to live in a rural setting (Scott & Kearns, 2000; Walker, 1979 cited in White, 1983, p. 482) or lifestyle related motives (Lidgard, 1993), mutual help (Rumbiak, 1985), improved status (King, 2000) and children's education (King, 2000).

Less tangible motives of an affective nature usually relate to a very specific place and include nationalistic sentiments (Glaser, 1978), feelings of loyalty or allegiance to the home society, or 'love of the homeland' (Gmelch, 1980) and nostalgia (Callea, 1986) as well as strong psychological attachments to the place of people's upbringing (White, 1983) or to family land (Scott & Kearns, 2000). Taking a psychological approach even further, Di Sparti (1993, cited in Ganga, 2006, p. 1396) interprets the wish to return whether real or planned as a *topós* common to the collective unconscious and nourished by real needs of self-esteem and historical and geographical self-placement', in other words, as re-connecting with 'roots'.

Bearing in mind the warning that the 'concentration on public affection for the homeland may lead to inattention to any private reservation about it as well as a neglect of other motives that are essential to a complete explanation of the phenomenon of return' (Macpherson, 1985, p. 262) some researchers have opted for a contextual investigation of affective motives for a return while incorporating the study of the returnee's identity as advocated by Chapman (1985, p. 6) that 'future efforts should focus on the meanings of land and identity as expressed through mobility; on movement as a strategic and consequential behaviour for families, broader social groupings, and the nation-state ... and on how different scales of enquiry might be joined with variations in experience to unravel the complex links between mobility ... and identity'. As these links have come to be considered changeable, a comprehensive analysis of return migration needs the inclusion of the time dimension 'as the sense of identity derived from belonging to a certain place is marked both by change (globalisation) and permanence (traditionalisation)' (Lowenthal, 1985, p. 316).

These latter statements by Chapman and Lowenthal foreshadow the main themes for the study of return migration to come, namely that return migration is deeply personal and intimately linked with both personal as well as collective identity, that these identities are not fixed but flexible, fragmented and negotiable, and that the comprehensive study requires a move away from macro- towards microapproaches characteristic of oral research methods such as interviews, personal testimonies and life stories spanning more than the generation of returnees under investigation.

### **3.8 Return and identity**

#### *3.8.1 Setting the stage*

Although it had been accepted for some time in migration studies that 'migration and identity are profoundly interconnected' (Benmayor & Skotness, 1994, p. 8) and the movement of people can be regarded as an expression of personal as well as collective identity (Chapman, 1985, p. 2) with some even maintaining that 'motives of movement are of the quintessence in the conceptualising of identity' (Rapport & Dawson, 1998, p. 26), the study of identity in conjunction with return migration in particular continued to be neglected in favour of studying return moves as economically and politically driven phenomena with the quantitative research methods to match the macro-approaches most commonly employed. Some explanation of this neglect was described in earlier chapters as the focus remained on international return moves. Only paradigm shifts in a number of disciplines allowed for the focus on smaller scale phenomena – such as the study of intranational or regional return moves through micro-approaches employing qualitative research methods. Qualitative methods brought the importance of identity for return moves to the fore, not only as an *a priori* variable but in its complexity. While in migration studies in general identity was studied as impacted upon and often destroyed, fragmented or otherwise changed negatively by the move studies of return migration increasingly found a reverse connection in that identity was regarded a motivating force for a person's return. Examples of two early such studies are the one by Bonnemaïson (1985) and Richling (1985).

Bonnemaïson (1985), for example, concludes that the commonly practiced circular migration to people's places of origin found amongst Melanesians is the traditional process whereby communities re-discover the roots of their culture and hence their



identity (p. 60). 'Identity' in the study by Bonnemaïson refers to 'cultural identity in Melanesia' which is equated to a geographical one that 'flows from the memories and values attached to places' (p. 30). Through membership in a clan both individual as well as collective identity is inherited through a network of places – a territory – and hence, this 'territorial society derives its identity through appropriation of a common territory as well as from identification with that homeland' (p. 31). Identification is regarded as an act of bondage with the ancestors and expressed through voyages along the pathways of mythical or actual clan ancestors prescribed and reiterated frequently in the oral tradition of the poetic code of myths of origin (p. 32). The original root place – 'stamba' – where the founding ancestors first appeared plays a central role within this myth (p. 41). A person of full standing is one that is able to trace his or her lineage down the whole chain of ancestors to the original root place. Similarly, the status of groups is tied to traditional rights to a territory. Relations between groups were egalitarian except for members or groups who had lost rights to their territory and had to live in foreign territory, allowing for inferior status and eventually the loss of their separate identities which were subsumed by the local group. Thus, the structuring of places generated a social structure that was paramount as the identity of places was regarded to exist above and beyond that of humans and their personal destiny (p. 50).

In another early study by Richling (1985) identity was blatantly voiced as a motive for return and informants expressed social and cultural values as the reasons for returning to a traditional life style and the preservation of Newfoundland identity (p. 246). Remarkable about the study of 420 Newfoundland born returnees is that identity is regarded as a motivating force for individuals to return, a finding which contrasts with the then common interpretation of return and other inter-provincial migration as driven by macroeconomic forces. Although the motivation for the initial departure had been to seek work, a large proportion of the participants remained unemployed upon their return as the economic situation had not improved during their absence and unemployment rates for returnees were found to be even higher than for non-returnees, discounting economic motivations even more strongly. In addition to challenging the view that return migration is economically driven, the study challenges the macro-approach to investigating return migration on the basis of its disregard of cultural factors (p. 238). An emic approach, which involved the

evaluation of returnees' responses gathered through field interviews led to the conclusion that Newfoundland-based affective-pull factors outweighed mainland-based economic pull factors. Such affective pull-motives included a more favourable evaluation of the rural home-community than life on the mainland with particular reference to co-operative kin and neighbour relations, the idealisation of rural values as well as patriotic statements such as 'Newfoundland is my homeland' (p. 243). The latter statement, however, was interpreted to imply more than solely patriotic feelings but also self-sufficiency and independence. In summary, Richling concluded that, although the rural community was viewed by many returnees as idealised and even romanticised, the motivating factors for a return were cultural ones tied to Newfoundland identity, while the macro-economic situation provided the context for the final decision.

### *3.8.2 Methods*

Both studies by Bonnemaïson (1985) and Richling (1985) are early examples where quantitative research methods were supplemented with qualitative ones. Other qualitative methods that have been recommended for the study of the link between identity and migration – and return migration in particular – are longitudinal observations in combination with methods such as autobiographies (Cohen and Gold, 1997), life histories and personal testimony (Benmayor and Skotness, 1994). The latter have been considered as particularly useful 'in order to do justice to the complexity and multi-facetedness of the impact that migration has on individual's identities in the contemporary globalised world of transnational communities' and because they 'offer a glimpse into the interior of migration experiences, into the processes of constructing and reconstructing identity without forgetting that, both theoretically and empirically, the problem of identity is a complex and multi-faceted one' (Benmayor and Skotness 1994, p. 3) and to uncover the dynamics of territorial identity (Tonkinson, 1985). As these approaches can result in a vast undertaking in light of the volume of data collected and its analysis, it has been found useful to reduce the level of enquiry to a community or an ethnic enclave of an urban neighbourhood (Chapman, 1985).

### 3.8.3 Return, identity and transnationalism

An example of the study of return migration exhibited by a particular community is the one by Bolzman, Fibbi and Vial (2006) who limited their in-depth investigation of return to guest workers from Southern Europe in Switzerland. The analysis of answers to interview questions indicated that rather than returning to Spain or Italy upon retirement, the majority of former guest workers opted for a half-way choice between the two extremes of remaining in Switzerland and returning, thus exhibiting a dual preference by maintaining cultural, symbolic, concrete and affective ties with both their country of origin as well as their host country. Although this manifestation of the 'circulation of migrants' has been demonstrated previously amongst migrants of higher socio-economic status (Casado-Díaz et al. 2004, Huber & O'Reilly 2004, both cited in Bolzman, Fibbi & Vial, 2006, p. 1371), the finding of the phenomenon amongst migrants of lower socio-economic status appeared novel to Bolzman and his team. The explanation for the findings was the importance that cultural identity plays in interviewees' choice of residence. Those who opted for a return were more likely to be symbolically orientated towards their country of origin which expressed itself in watching TV programmes in their native tongue, not naturalising their children and generally adopting a positive image of their country of origin. By contrast, those who were more orientated towards their host country, Switzerland, exploited the advantages of a dual reference. While members of the former group returned irrespective of material resources, members of the latter group could be differentiated based on their material resources, where the more affluent travelled back and fro while those with fewer material resources were more likely to remain in their host country. In this study individuals' symbolic orientation is taken *a priori* and is thought to influence social networking and the level of adaptation within the host country, decreasing the likelihood of return.

Intrigued by the previously described dual reference, Ganga (2006) looked at the sometimes unconscious reasons of older Italians living in Nottingham/UK for not leaving and the effect of their non-return. Amongst the voiced reasons for not leaving were affective ties to Nottingham, childrens' well-being, potential need of care and sense of belonging, which made it impractical for potential returnees to return. Having failed to return, many participants were found to return periodically in an attempt to bridge both places of their 'lived experience', and to reconcile their wish to remain

close to their children while satisfying their need of a recurring 'pilgrimage' to their places of origin (Ganga, 2006, p. 1408). As such, participants generated a shift 'from a culture of roots to a culture of routes' (Fortier, 2000 cited in Ganga, 2006, 1406), allowing membership in both places of origin as well as residence and exemplifying 'a transmigrant' (Bailey, 2001) who is a member of a transnational community.

Related to the previously described concepts is the one of 'hybridity'. This concept was proposed to transcend the inadequacies of and to challenge existing static approaches to identity by aiming to capture the complexity of cultural configurations and identity formations of groups and individuals (Hall, 1990). 'Hybridity' refers to identities that emerge after the mixing of two or more identities, such as German-Turk, British-Pakistani or Swiss-Italian, a case that can be more commonly observed amongst relatively welcoming and less discriminating host societies and even more so, amongst second and third generation offspring of migrants (Aydingün & Aydingün, 2007). Having investigated the case of Crimean Tatar returnees, Aydingün and Aydingün (2007, p. 119) caution though, that 'hybridisation' may occur to a group's cultural identity, but not necessarily to its ethnic identity, that is, communities may perceive themselves as a distinctive group within the host society and, vice versa, be perceived by the host society as outsiders despite various levels of integration.

Distinguishing between cultural and ethnic identity for the study of hybrid identities is also useful when studying second and third generation returnees who return to their parents' or ancestors' places of origin in search for their roots without having lived there before. Investigations of this type usually centre on notions of 'ancestral land' or 'homeland'. One such example is the study by Christou (2006) who addressed the way identities and acts of identification occurred within the complex context of a Greek-American return and how they vary in relation to the ethnic place of origin and destination and in relation to social and cultural spaces. This study is an in-depth longitudinal analysis of one returnee's experience using narratives and biographical approach to demonstrate a multilayered identity that is continuously negotiated and constructed. These ongoing identification processes highlight issues of 'home' and 'belonging' and bring to the fore dualisms that surface as the returnee 'reinvents' her life. Dualisms are generated by the returnee's contrasting roles within the country of upbringing and the country of residence, between generations, and in response to the changing representations of Greekness in- and outside Greece. Thus, the returnee's

articulation of 'who she is' inevitably becomes 'where she is'. This 'where' has further implications for the notion of 'home'. In this study it is demonstrated how 'home' has taken on a dual meaning to imply both the place of upbringing as well as the place of the parents' origin and of eventual return, challenging the returnee's sense of belonging and ultimately, who she really is (Christou, 2006, p. 1048).

In contrast the duality of the meaning of 'home/land' has been found to have quite the opposite effect, namely a unifying one for people's identity, if the longing for 'home' is not realised by a return but remains a myth.

### **3.9 Identity, the myth of return and Diaspora studies**

The myth of return connotes a wishful fantasy or a belief of migrants that they will return permanently to their homeland at an unspecified date (Cohen & Gold, 1997). The myth of return has been found to act as the vehicle by which a collective identity in relation to a place is created, activated or maintained for a variety of reasons (Bolognani, 2007). It serves to strengthen ethnic solidarity but in many cases has little practical implications (Shuval, 2000) beyond making life of members of a displaced group easier by adhering to an utopian belief of the eventual return (Clifford, 1994).

While some time back Macpherson (1985) warned that it is necessary to distinguish between the desire to return and the actual act of doing so when investigating the likelihood of Samoans living in New Zealand returning to Western Samoa, later researchers who have looked beyond the expression of the wish to return in order to investigate its function, have found the distinction redundant. More commonly, the term 'myth' is used in the Malinowskian sense of an allegorical representation that legitimises contemporary patterns of social action (Bolognani, 2007) by those who tell it and believe it to be true (Cohen & Gold, 1997).

The investigation of the myth of return has most commonly been the domain of Diaspora studies which have proliferated in recent times. While diaspora has been traditionally understood to refer to a collective sense of nostalgia for the homeland and thus to exemplify a belonging in one unified cluster of 'we' (Christou, 2006, p. 1052), contemporary approaches have begun to account for the fluidity and volatility of the concept in a global context within which individuals experience their identities as fragmented and which enables them to draw on a choice of identities selectively,

depending on the needs and requirements of particular situations (Bolzman, Fibbi & Vial, 2006; Cohen & Gold, 1997). Thus, the term 'disport' has acquired a broad semantic domain to encompass various groups such as political refugees, alien residents, guest workers, immigrants, ethnic and racial minorities, and overseas communities (Shuval, 2000). The commonalities of Diaspora studies are that researchers have moved beyond descriptive studies towards the investigation of social processes involved using concepts such as the history of dispersal and alienation from the homeland, myths, memories and the collective identity of group members. Diaspora studies link strongly both with the transnational approach as well as ethnic theory through the assumption that dispersed people increasingly seek a shared identity and an authentic past in an era of large-scale urbanisation and weakening of localised relations (Shuval, 2000; Cohen & Gold, 1997). The common myth of a return then provides the group members with a shared identity and uniqueness and implies commonalities of history, shared cultural symbols, reinforcement of shared biographies, language, past achievements (Cohen & Gold, 1997) and a common place of origin or 'homeland' with which links are maintained in a number of ways, at times spanning more than one generation and to which group members are considered to have a natural right to return (Shuval, 2000). Even more radically, Aydingün and Aydingün (2007) argue that solely the myth of return or nostalgic feelings towards a homeland is sufficient for group members to form boundaries around their ethnic identity through their 'state of mind', which is referred to as 'symbolic ethnicity' (Gans, 1979 cited in Aydingün & Aydingün, 2007, p. 117).

When studying Israelis in Toronto, Cohen and Gold (1997) noticed that the myth of return was used in conjunction with 'us versus them' stereotypes in order to justify the exclusion of outsiders and to achieve uniqueness of and distinction from another group, in this case from the Jewish community in Toronto. This effort was supplemented by efforts of members of the Israeli community to reflect the prototypical Israeli of the pioneer nation building generation by being extra zealous about religious events and requirements for a prototypical Israeli, financing projects in the homeland and spending holidays there (Cohen & Gold, 1997). The use of stereotypes as a mode for exclusion has also been found not only amongst prospective returnees, but amongst successful ones after their return. Tsuda (2003) for example, found that Brazilian-born Japanese returnees displayed various forms of stereotypical

Brazilian identity such as different dress code, maintenance of a foreign accent, Latino dancing competitions, in order to confirm and strengthen existing stereotypes about them within the larger Japanese society and in an effort to mark their 'resistance identities' (Castells, 1997, p.8).

On an individual level, the adherence to the myth of return provides migrants with a practical solution to the dilemma of being part of two, at times conflicting cultural contexts (Dahya, 1973 cited in Cohen & Gold, 1997, p. 376), reducing a potential identity conflict, hence contributing to individuals' wellbeing and enabling them to postpone their absorption or integration into the host society (Al-Rasheed, 1994; Cohen & Gold, 1997). At the same time, by adhering to the myth of return individuals avoid a sense of homelessness in an increasingly mobile and global world by adopting some sort of nostalgia for a home of the past that is imagined as peaceful and secure and which is based on uniform and meaningful social structures (Rapport & Dawson, 1998). In cases where the initial migration was intended to be temporary but the return is not effected, the adherence to the myth of return is a way of reducing the sense of guilt and avoiding more serious mental conflicts of the unsuccessful returnee (Leavey, Sembhi & Livingstone, 2004).

Bolognani (2007) looked beyond the effect that the myth of return plays for the maintenance of identity both on a collective as well as an individual level to investigate the underlying motivation for its active revitalisation recently amongst Pakistani living in Britain. While for the pioneer generation the myth of a return justified the economically motivated migration to Britain, the myth of return amongst the foreign-born second and third generation has been revitalised and taken on a political significance in response to political tensions and Islamophobia. Thus, the act of emphasising their Pakistani ethnicity allows the young generation to draw a firm boundary around themselves as an ethnic group that has become disenchanted by the current political stance of Britain and to be differentiated as such from the majority (Bolognani, 2007).

Recently however, owing to the transnational approach and a change in the global dimension, the concept of the myth of return has been extended by the idea of circulation which is viewed by Ganga (2006) as an evolution thereof. Abandoning the idea of migration and return migration as a unilinear system of movement, migrants are increasingly found to oscillate periodically between the places of their lived

experiences in order to bridge them and to create their own transnational space rather than settling in one place for good (Ganga, 2006; Bolzman, Fibbi & Vial, 2006). These periodical returns may function as the affirmation of the myth of an eventual return and to re-activate personal bonds (Cohen & Gold, 1997), to provide returnees with 'the well from which to draw their cultural, religious and social being' (Bolognani, 2007, p. 74) and these temporary visits 'back home' may extend to the offspring of migrants. Bolognani (2007) for example found that, in addition to a pilgrimage-type compulsory voyage of young Pakistani living in Britain to Pakistan, so called 'Journeys of Knowledge' to get to know their roots (p. 63), 'fallen youths' were also sent back 'to Pakistan for rehabilitation and to learn about their parent's past and local values' (p. 69).

Recently, a host of studies emerged that looked at entire communities returning to their country of origin, often after large scale changes in the political or economic set-up of the home or the host country. Involving both voluntary or less voluntary returns of migrants who may have left their home country voluntarily or not so voluntarily after ethnic conflicts, this group of studies has been referred to as 'ethnic migration'. Not discussing ethnic return that is a consequence of repatriation schemes or otherwise forced returns, the following examples aim at demonstrating commonalities of more voluntary recent ethnic returns to highlight the role that identity and globalisation play for this type of return.

### **3.10 Ethnic return**

As opposed to individuals' returns back to their place of origin, ethnic return commonly refers to groups of migrants returning to their country, region or place of origin, from where they have been displaced by macro-scale events such as war, political restructuring, or economic necessity. In most cases, a return is implicit and group membership which may extend beyond first generation migrants pre-dates the return and may constitute the motivation for it. These studies have proliferated recently due to political re-formation, for example, in the Soviet union and the European Union as described earlier. The vast majority of this type of study is undertaken on an international scale involving the crossing of national borders and the focus is on the integration processes (Voutira, 2004; Arowolo, 2000) and the role that governmental policies play (Kulu, 2000).



With reference to the latter, governmental policies have been attributed a decisive role for attracting returnees through special privileges, a practice which has increasingly been criticised as nationalistic and disadvantaging of other immigrant groups. The justification of a more favourable treatment of former residents are moral obligations by a nation state to honour those who had suffered from hardship due to their ethnic origin (Kulu, 2000), but also for demographic and labour related factors (Groenendijk, 1997 cited in Kulu, 2000, p. 136). The pioneers who followed aggressive policies promoting ethnic return were Israel and Germany after World War II (Kulu, 2000). With the establishment of the European Union and the disintegration of the former Soviet Union several other countries followed suit, notably Finland (Kyntäjä, 1997 cited in Kulu, 2000, p. 136) and Greece (Voutira, 2004). However, as a consequence of criticism and unexpectedly high influx of migrants to Central and Eastern Europe, especially from the former Soviet Union, several countries have now reversed the trend and started to restrict ethnic migration (Kulu, 2000).

In an attempt to close a gap in a host of studies on return migration both within as well as into Europe, Kulu initiated a comprehensive series of studies to investigate Estonian ethnic return migration which followed Estonia's re-independence in 1991 by adopting a contextual approach (Kulu, 1998, 2000, 2002; Kulu & Tammaru, 2000). Despite the general conclusion that Estonian return migration is most decisively determined by state policy, which favours ethnic returnees out of humanitarian concerns, Kulu qualifies his conclusion by stating that Estonia, belonging to the transition countries, is much less attractive for its diaspora than other wealthy EU countries (Kulu, 2000) and hence, additional factors may play a role in Estonian's decision to return. Earlier in the study Kulu notes that initially displaced Estonians had settled in more than 300 settlements within the former Russian Empire (Nigol, 1918 cited in Kulu, 2000, p. 137). These Estonian settlements as 'transplanted communities' (Ostergren, 1988 cited in Kulu, 2000, p. 137) were the cornerstone of the Estonian ethnic identity and became centres where Estonian traditions and language were maintained and passed on to younger generations during the course of everyday life (Kulu, 1997a cited in Kulu, 2000, p. 137). These communities were found in a subsequent study (Kulu, 2002) to provide the context for later generation Estonians' socialisation, and hence, to impact on their return migration behaviour in general and more specifically, on their decision of where to re-settle. In addition to

early socialisation processes momentary contextual factors were also found to be influential in the returnee's decisions (Kulu, 2002). Thus the hypothesis about the 'contextualised' individual was confirmed twofold: through the socialisation process within a transplanted Estonian community where Estonian traditions, language and values were passed on to foreign-born descendants of Estonian emigrants, as well as the contemporary political context such as state policies favouring Estonian ethnic return.

While most studies are based on the assumptions that membership to an ethnic group is conscious, pre-dates a return and may be the motivating force behind it, other studies have found that ethnification moves surfaced after the return in response to rejection and assimilative pressures by the majority (Tsuda, 2003) or competition with other ethnic groups (Aydingün & Aydingün, 2007).

Tsuda (2003) when investigating the 'newest ethnic group' in Japan found that Brazilian-born Japanese who had initially returned independently to the country of their parents' origin for economical reasons engaged in an active struggle for ethnic recognition as a distinct minority group in response to assimilative pressures when cultural differences emerged due to their socialisation in Brazil. Adopting 'resistance identities' (Castells, 1997, p. 8) this struggle involved the active display of Brazilian-ness as propagated by stereotypes on TV and in public consciousness through dress, language, activities such as dance parades, and in every day situations (Tsuda, 2000). The surface of Brazilian national sentiment was interpreted as an attempt to create a distance from the Japanese and to draw firm boundaries around the culturally different group that had been regarded highly in Brazil for their middle-class socioeconomic status, which no longer applied to the situation in Japan.

Similarly, Aydingün and Aydingün (2007) investigated how Crimean Tatars who had been deported under Stalin reconstructed and redefined their ethnic and cultural identities upon return in response to perceived threat by other ethnic groups. The process was initiated by Crimean Tatar intellectuals to achieve equality with other ethnic groups and required the establishment of boundaries as a distinguishable and distinct ethnic group (ethnic revival) as well as the filling in of the new space with cultural symbols (cultural revival). As opposed to the Brazilians who were content with the status of a minority group within an existing nation state, the Crimean Tatars extrapolated their efforts to inaugurate nationalistic sentiments amongst their

compatriots with a view towards an independent nation state. In preparation for this, the cultural revival involved teaching children a specifically Tatar group consciousness, enhanced by their own language, literature, myths, customs, traditions and others. Success of this effort by nationalistic leaders was supported by findings that Crimean Tatar returnees identified largely in terms of group relations *vis a vis* other Central Asian nations (Aydingün & Aydingün, 2007).

This finding by Aydingün and Aydingün (2007) is in line with several other studies that have 'cultural revival' and 'ethnification movement' at their core and which employ a constructivist approach to their investigations of ethnic groups following Barth (1969). After Barth's benchmark thesis in which he criticised the equation of cultural and ethnic groups and thus initiating a radical change in ethnicity theories at the time, contemporary studies now focus on 'the constitution of ethnic groups and the nature of the boundaries between them' rather than solely 'on the cultural differences between them and their historic boundaries and connections' (Barth, 1969, p. 9). Thus, Barth's approach re-defined traditional ethnic theory in three main aspects: ethnicity is regarded as a form of organisation instead of the reflection of the group's culture and consequently, the cultural content can not function as the basis onto which ethnicity is organised. Instead, ethnicity is organised in relation to other groups' boundaries so-called 'dichotomisation'. Thirdly, ethnic identifications should be understood as based on ascription and self-ascription rather than on the 'possession' of a particular cultural inventory. Thus, ethnic identification is situational and depends on external factors and interaction with the environment. As interaction between societies has increased both in real terms, that is, spatially, as a result of the opening of borders, drop in cost of travelling and technological possibilities as well as virtually through facilitation of communication there has been also a rise in the need for groups to differentiate themselves from others and to confront one's own identity in the context of an increasingly pluralist society (Aydingün & Aydingün, 2007). Friedman (1994) referred to this development as the 'crisis of identity in a more general global crisis', which is due to the weakening of former national identities linked to dissolution of citizenship and the emergence of new identities or replacement of former ones by identity based on primordial loyalties', ethnicity, 'race' and local community (p. 86). This process of re-definition and fragmentation has been linked to movements for autonomy in various forms as well as ethnic movements, which, at the highest level of

segmentation beneath that of the national state, are nationalist-ethnic, ethnic and cultural autonomy movements, as observed, for example following the formation of a pan-European society, amongst Basques, Scots, Bretons, Flemish, and others (Friedman, 1994, p. 86).

Fundamental to these moves are the link to a homeland, a place of origin, to which traditions and myths are anchored and the consolidation of group boundaries that differentiate one's group from others. Frequently, especially after long periods of dispersal and absorption into host societies, certain cultural elements are lost. However, as Aydingün and Aydingün (2007) argue, even when a group has experienced total loss of culture, an ethnic and national consciousness may be preserved. As the loss of cultural elements is viewed by the group's intellectuals as a step towards the disappearance of ethnic identity, cultural revival projects are initiated which may involve more or less comprehensive re-constructions of the cultural identity of the group in question focusing on both historical institutions as well as cultural practices such as language and traditions. At times, this newly 'reconstructed culture' may be different from the original, and traditions may be invented (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983 cited in Aydingün & Aydingün, 2007, p. 117) to emphasise homogeneity amongst group members and distinction from other groups.

Less ambiguous, though, and better documented through historical records is the link to the original homeland, whether real or mythical, upon which group identity is build and where it can be revived and nurtured.

### **3.11 Destination places**

In addition to returns to the original homeland, destination places may be referred to at various levels of analysis such as a locality, city, region or nation state.

The most specific reference to place is by naming a particular locality such as the village in Melanesia to which village members return to after their ritualistic voyage (Chapman & Prothero, 1985) or the village of origin in Nimborian society (Rumbiak, 1985). Reference to a particular place is also stated, albeit implicitly, in studies on return migration to a place 'from which an individual sets out and to which s/he will return, at least in spirit' (Hobsbawm, 1991, p. 65) and places where returnees lived before (White, 1983), 'where they were born or raised' (Da Vanzo & Morrison, 1981, p. 85). Implicit reference to places, but less specific are return to places based on

kinship networks (King, 2000; Gmelch, 1980; Richling, 1985; Lidgard, 1993), family ties (Klinthall, 2006; Stoller & Longino, 2001), family obligations (Gmelch, 1980) and homesickness (Gmelch, 1980).

Moving up one level of analysis from a locality to a region where reference to a place is implicit are studies about urban to rural return migration, for example a return after retirement (Klinthall, 2006; Stoller & Longino, 2001), upon attainment or failure of a target (King, 2000) or for identity purposes (Richling, 1985). Concepts that have been used for returns both on sub-national as well as national scale, most commonly in conjunction with ethnic or second and third generation returns are 'homeland' (Gmelch, 1980), 'home', 'home coming' (Basu, 2004a), 'ancestral homeland' (Christou, 2006), places of origin (Ganga, 2006) or 'historical homeland' (Voutira, 2004). Examples where a specific nation state is named are Estonia (Kulu, 1998, 2000, 2002), Croatia (Harvey, 2006; Blitz, 2005), Albania (Labrianidis & Kazazazi, 2006), Bosnia-Herzegovina (Eastmond, 2006; Stefansson, 2006) Iraq (Romano, 2005), Palestine (Khalili, 2004; Cox & Connell, 2003; Hanafi, 2005) and Italy or Spain (Bolzman, Fibby & Vial, 2006).

In the latter cases where the 'return' is to a nation ambiguities may arise as returnees may find themselves in an entirely different context to the one they had left behind as a consequence of political, economic or social changes during their absence within the place as well as changes within themselves. A change of context may also be due to the choice of settling in a different community 'back home' with different social networks, or in an urban context rather than the rural departure point and vice versa. Changed contexts may lead to a variety of problems as discussed earlier and demonstrates that a contextual approach to place is both essential and determinant for the conclusions of the study as is the scale of place. This applies both to real as well as imagined places as they continue to be constructed and re-constructed in response to needs and requirements. With reference to ethnification movements place may function as a marker for the in- or exclusion of members of a particular group as will be argued in the following chapters theoretically as well as by analysing the case study of Māori return migration which gained nation-wide recognition during the second half of the 20th century in New Zealand. Positioning Māori return migration within the field for return migration studies, the case study is an example of an ethnic return on inter-regional level and characterised by mostly urban to rural moves.

### 3.12 Māori return migration – 'Te hokinga mai'<sup>3</sup>

Since the nineteenth century Māori movement has been characterised by a significant rural to urban flow (Manatu Māori, 1991), which has been considered the most rapid amongst any indigenous population in the world (Pool, 1991). Māori urbanisation became particularly pronounced between the two World Wars and during the 1960s (Manatu Māori, 1991) (for a benchmark study on Māori urban migration see Metge, 1964).

After 1986 the trend changed as Māori migration turned from a collective phenomenon into a predominantly individual one (Butterworth, 1991) while quantitative surveys indicated a small, but significant number of Māori moving from urban to rural areas, counter-balancing the stream of mostly young Māori moving into cities (Parr, 1988; Khawaja, Tang, Parr & Ny, 1991). During the intercensal period between 1986 and 1991 there was a reversal of Māori stayers (from 52.6 per cent to 46.6 percent) and Māori internal movers (from 47.4 percent to 53.4 percent) with internal movers continuing to increase at the expense of Māori stayers in the subsequent three censuses (appendix 9, table 7; Statistics New Zealand, 2002). Although internal moves do not necessarily equate to returns it was during the time when numbers of movers surpassed stayers during the late 1980s that the phenomenon of Māori return migration emerged in public and academic discourse (Parr, 1988). Migrants to rural areas were mainly families (Khawaja, et al., 1991) with the for Māori characteristically high birth rate (Bedford, Joseph & Lidgard, 1999) and elderly Māori (Khawaja, et al., 1991; Wereta, 1994; Herbert, 1990).

Despite disagreement about the extent of the urban-rural migration pattern with some arguing that the data derived from the census was too conservative, quantitative evidence suggested a continuation of the pattern during the 1990s, albeit at a slower rate than previously (Bedford & Goodwin, 1997).

However, although census data allowed for insights regarding numbers of Māori moving to and from various area types as defined by the census (appendix 9, table 6), there exists no data on whether these moves actually constitute returns (Khawaja, et al., 1991), even when broadly defined, reflecting a problem inherent in studies of

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<sup>3</sup> 'The return home' (Rata, 2000, p. 106)

return migration generated by the unavailability or inaccessibility of data (Gmelch, 2000).

Support for the phenomenon of Māori return migration during the 1980s was based predominantly on anecdotes and speculation that older city Māori, many of whom were former rural to urban migrants, return to housing on an ancestral marae in the country side (Heenan, 1985) and to 'their traditional tribal lands which so many had left after the second world war' (Parr, 1989, p. 21). Other speculations about motives for Māori returning related to instrumental motives in response to urban redundancies, high costs of urban living (Khawaja, et al., 1991) and to escape the hassles of the city (Ayrton, 1996). In line with Kulu's (2000) conclusion that governmental policies may influence return decisions was the suggestion of new possibilities following changes in policies and legislation regarding the incorporation of Māori values to accommodate both economic efficiency as well as preservation of Māori concepts as a return motive (Maughan & Kingi, 1997) or, at least, in support of return decisions. Preservation of Māori concepts and a heightened awareness of Māori cultural links with ancestral land were also suggested by Khawaja, et al. (1991) as potentially supportive of Māori migration to rural areas (p. 50), despite the fact, that many returnees had not lived in their anticipated or actual places of return before, and in several cases, links had to be established through detailed genealogical research by second generation returnees.

One rare example that looked at Māori return migration in more depth was a study of a Māori community in the Mangakahia Valley in Northland undertaken by Scott and Kearns (2000). In their in-depth analysis of narratives by 16 returnees that were put in context, Scott and Kearns (2000) concluded that the phenomenon of Māori return migration needed to be viewed in response to wider changes within New Zealand society associated with the Māori renaissance and economic restructuring. Employing the traditional pull-push approach, findings that pull motives predominated but were supplemented by push motives such as beneficiary status in cities, were in line with existing literature on return migration (King, 2000; Richling, 1985). Confirming previous conclusions that voluntary return motives are multi-faceted and highly personal (UN, 1986), three re-occurring themes found by Scott and Kearns (2000) confirmed anecdotal evidence of pull motives for Māori return migration: the wish 'to come home' to live on ancestral land, to live near family and extended family, and a

rural lifestyle. The problems that returnees of Scott and Kearns' (2000) study encountered were in line with existing literature to include lack of job opportunities, disappointed expectations related to a rural lifestyle, and, more specifically to a Māori lifestyle as propagated by the Māori renaissance. While the study heads a number of calls such as putting return migration in the context (Kulu, 1998) of the New Zealand wide economic restructuring and the Māori renaissance, using a micro approach (Ghosh, 2000) by focusing on a particular community, and qualitative methods for data collection as well as analyses of individuals' experiences (Ghosh, 2000), the study nevertheless remains within the boundaries of the traditional interpretation of pull-push motives without situating field data within an established theoretical framework (King, 2000).

Although migration patterns observed amongst Māori followed the same trend as the general population at the time (Bedford, Joseph & Lidgard, 1999) – unlike Newbold's (1997) findings of differences between patterns of return migration amongst different ethnic groups – the phenomenon of 'Māori going back home' (Manatu Māori, 1991) attracted specific attention. The rhetoric of 'Māori going home' by Māori and non-Māori alike typifies cases of ethnic returns (Basu, 2004) and it was especially pronounced since the Māori renaissance associated with the land marches and Treaty settlement debates of the 1970s (Stokes, 1979). This can be viewed as a reflection of a persistence and perpetuation of the stereotypical view of rural Māori (Wall, 1997) within the dominant political theme of the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and a re-assertion of Māori identity (Butterworth, 1991; Bedford, Joseph & Lidgard, 1999) in opposition to others with the aim of creating an us-them contrast (Cohen & Gold, 1997). The ongoing discourse of nostalgia and return, surfacing also in written accounts and films at the time was identified by Scott and Kearns (2000) as legitimising the idea of return, especially amongst younger urban Māori.

Both the recognition of the Treaty as well as the re-assertion of Māori tribal identity required the return of tribal members either to tribal areas or to identify with their tribe to allow for settlements under the Treaty of Waitangi Act. At the same time groups required a clear sense of the tribe to which they belonged, creating a reciprocal relationship between tribes and their members (Rata, 2000) which may have been based on and characterised by a nostalgic feeling towards the homeland to achieve group boundaries (Aydingün & Aydingün, 2007). The return of tribal members was



not an easy undertaking as at times there were conflicting historical records of tribal lands and tribal histories, leading to claims that restorations of tribes were deliberate constructive political projects (Rata, 2000) linked to national and global politics (Overbeek, 2000; Friedman, 1994).

Despite the fact that re-tribalisation progressed in line with governmental policies, by 2006 numbers had levelled out with the sizes of outflows and inflows to and from area types being very similar except for a slight gain by main urban areas at the expense of secondary urban areas that experienced a comparable loss of Māori residents (appendix 9, table 8). The slight urbanisation registered by the 2006 census contrasts with the rhetoric of massive rural returns at the time and further supported by statistical evidence of Māori constituting a predominantly urban society with more than three quarters of Māori living in rural areas of 30,000 or more (appendix 9, table 6). Nevertheless, Māori continue to represent a more mobile ethnic group in New Zealand than the general population, which is mostly due to their younger age structure (appendix 9, figure 3) and despite strong place ties as prescribed by the traditional Māori prototype.

### **3.13 Summary and conclusion**

'Return migration' as a recent study topic has gained popularity in the past few years in response to large scale political and social re-organisation such as the establishment of the European Union, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and the conflict in the Balkans. The increase of interest in return migration was paralleled by the abandoning of traditional approaches to the study of migration and a proliferation of more contemporary ones, such as the contextual and transnational approach, which allowed for comprehensive studies of return migration in a globalised world by complementing macro-and micro-level analyses.

A relevant example of an attempt to bridge macro-and micro data by using a contextual approach to the study of Māori return migration by Scott and Kearns (2000) aimed at an in-depth understanding of returnees' experiences and impacts on Māori population change in a rural community in Northland. The current study aims at improving the study by Scott and Kearns (2000) by tying empirical data to an established framework while emphasising returnees' individual experiences rather than their impact on the destination community. As in the study by Scott and Kearns,

a combination of methods is used to investigate the various contexts within which individuals' return decisions are made, as well as to investigate the latter's personal experiences through a micro approach.

Micro-approaches employing methods such as personal testimonies, narratives and individual autobiographies have been found particularly useful to link return migration with identity and to 'demonstrate the multilayered identity that is continuously negotiated and constructed' (Christou, 2006) in relation to place both on an individual as well as on collective level. Although the latter has been at the core of a host of emerging studies investigating 'ethnic return', the concept of 'identity' has rarely been defined let alone been used uniformly. However, despite the frequent reference to concepts that have traditionally been dealt with in psychology such as 'stereotypes', 'identity', ethnic/group boundary, ex- and inclusion, there is a lack of one coherent concept that allows for bridging studies undertaken on individual as well as collective level and to explain the driving forces and mechanisms involved in identity construction as a motivating force for or as a consequence of return migration under contemporary conditions.

In a subsequent chapter such a concept will be proposed and applied to the case study of Māori return migration in an attempt to draw together the conclusions from studies of return migration and to point to the role that 'place' plays in relation to identity, while expanding on Christou's conclusion that 'the dynamic interplay of migrant, place, identity and culture need to be combined into 'social spaces of action' as the unit of analysis to enable a sensible understanding of a phenomenon that has until recently attracted little attention' (Christou, 2006, p. 1055).

## Chapter 4

### PLACE

#### 4.1 Introduction

'Place' is one of the most central concepts to humans as everything that happens to and around a person happens in a certain place rather than in a vacuum or empty space (Casey, 1993). Yet, despite its use ever since the existence of geography as a discipline (Cresswell, 2009) place remains one of the most ambiguous and contested concepts. Aristotle already admitted that the question of what a place is was difficult to answer, but concluded that it referred to the precise dimensions of the space that contained something (McKeon, 1941 cited in Relph, 2001, p. 11448). Aristotle's early definition is strikingly similar to a more recent one that defines place as 'as a portion of space that is occupied by a person, persons or a thing' (Johnston, Gregory & Smith, 1998, p. 442), a definition that is based on the assumption that a place is an identifiable, distinguishable territorial unit with defined boundaries to ascribe similarities with and differences from other places (Gustafson, 2001; McDowell, 1997a). While researchers concerned themselves with investigating similarities with and differences from places within the discipline that became geography, the question of what a place is was left unexplained because 'place' was apparently an unproblematic concept' (Relph, 2001, p. 11448).

In the 1960s new theoretical and scientific approaches necessitated a more critical view of the concept of place to allow for diversity and meaning of places generated by people's everyday experience and since the 1970s place became conceptualised as a particular location that contains a set of meanings and attachments (Cresswell, 2009). Inspired by Heidegger's and Merleau-Ponty's ideas, phenomenology allowed for places to be viewed as very specific, as territories of symbols, memories and associations that constituted the centres of people's life worlds to which they belonged and felt a special attachment to (Relph, 2001). Concepts reflecting the phenomenological approach include sense of place, place identity, place dependence and place attachment, all of which became central to humanistic geography. Humanistic geography as a newly emerging academic discipline drew attention to everyday geographical experience, not only for individual human persons, but also for

the diverse cultural worlds whose home territories are increasingly invaded by globally organised technological and commercial systems (Buttimer, 2001).

The latter development gave rise to the transnational approach for geographical investigation, which advocates the view that people's moves are socially embedded processes (Castles & Miller, 1998) in response to globalisation and the cultural geography of diasporas rather than a move between bounded places (King, 2000; Eastmond, 2006). Thus, places resemble social fields that cut across geographical and political boundaries as people are actively involved in their construction (Riccio, 2006).

The 'social construction of places' (Relph, 2001) is central to the social construction theory as advocated by Jackson and Penrose (1993) which aimed at offering a radical form of analysis for envisioning societal transformation (p. 3) and at re-investigating conventional 'givens' and categories (p. 2) such as people's identities in relation to specific places and the concept of home.

#### **4.2 Social Construction Theory**

Social construction theory is concerned with the ways in which categories are used to structure everyday experience and for the analysis of the world (Jackson & Penrose, 1993). In scientific research, constructivist approaches refer to an epistemological position in which knowledge is regarded as constructed, a position that is the core assumption of all versions of scientific constructivism such as radical constructivism (that questions every possibility of truth), social constructionism (which views knowledge as the result of social interaction in contexts which form the foundation of shared knowledge) and constructivism as engaged in learning and instruction (Gerstenmaier & Mandl, 2001).

The generic view can be traced back to the 1970s when it was generated by postmodernism, deconstruction and feminist scholarship. The latter approaches challenged, problematised and disputed fundamental categories of knowledge and systems of explanation as rigidly defined categories that had long been accepted as based on 'natural,' self-evident differences and as being disparate from one another, were now subject to critique and redefinition (Lerner, 2004; Jackson & Penrose, 1993).

The widespread use of the approach was paralleled by the search for research methods that were better suited for scientific investigation which was based on the assumption that 'categorisations are the product of socially embedded processes, thus allowing for their de-construction and disempowerment to achieve more equitable ends' (Jackson & Penrose, 1993, p. 3). Commonly referred to as 'qualitative' methods, they include the analysis of narrative processes in spoken and written 'text', discourse analysis, repertory grid technique and biographical approach, with their associated variations for specific applications (Neimeyer & Levitt, 2001). The commonalities of 'constructivist' or 'social constructionist' methods were their focus on provisional rather than 'essential' patterns of meaning construction, their consideration of knowledge as the production of social and personal processes of meaning making, their emphasis on the 'local' as opposed to 'universal' meanings, and finally, their concern with the viability and pragmatic utility for application (Neimeyer & Levitt, 2001; Gerstenmaier & Mandl, 2001).

The view that knowledge is actively constructed was developed over several decades and came to be accepted in almost all social sciences and humanities, leading to more or less radical re-definition of core topics such as race and class in anthropology (Lerner, 2001), ethnicity and social group in social psychology and sociology (Gerstenmaier & Mandl, 2001), and place and nation in geography (Jackson & Penrose, 1993), while others became core-concepts of new disciplines such as gender in women's studies.

The widespread acceptance of the social construction theory was not without criticism. One aspect that attracted criticism was that social construction theory was trying to do away with categories that were essential to human thought and thus fundamental communicative devices (Jackson & Penrose, 1993). Proponents of the construction theory however, re-affirm the need for categorisation, but challenge the idea that some categories are more fundamental than others as they exist *a priori*, and thus challenging power relations that are inevitably associated with these more 'fundamental' or 'real' categories (Harvey, 1993; Jackson & Penrose, 1993; Lerner, 2001). Rather, social constructions are investigated for their material effect on people's everyday lives and how they came into use out of a choice of possible alternatives (Harvey, 1993). These choices of categories employed by certain groups are aimed at providing its members with a structure and guidelines for their everyday

lives, and in fact, they are fundamental to the coherent functioning of that society (Harvey, 1993). Thus, certain socially constructed categories are viewed more like objective facts by individual members as transgressions may lead to severe penalty, disputing the criticism of categories as artificial, arbitrary, subjective or lacking reality (Harvey, 1993).

By accepting that the human understanding of the world relies heavily on constructed categories allows for the identification of the components and processes involved in category construction, a topic that has been investigated in depth by psychology, and, with reference to the everyday effects for various groups and its members, by social psychology. Within social psychology categories are defined as 'fuzzy sets organised around prototypes' (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 38), where prototypes refer to standards or ideal representations of a certain category. While categorisation processes and functions in relation to social groups have taken centre stage in social psychology, social construction theory has opened up new grounds for the investigation of current topics also in other disciplines involving prototypes and stereotypes, group relations and group boundaries.

One such topic that has attracted a noticeable amount of interest recently is the one of ethnic movements. Ethnic movements involving the construction of group boundaries along ethnic markers, frequently derived from a traditional past, have been observed at an increasing number on global scale and as paradox to the unifying forces of globalisation, or, in response to and as an essential part of globalisation (Friedmann, 1992, 1994). The majority of these movements involve nationalistic discourse of in- and exclusiveness based on membership to a specified region or place of origin. This brings back geography with its core topic of place and the discussion of how it has been undergoing changes associated with the constructionist approach and with insights derived from ethnification and migration studies.

### **4.3 Place in Humanistic Geography**

The systematic study of place in humanistic geography began during the 1970s following a departure of geographers from the previous positivist approach towards more complex models of place (Johnston, Gregory & Smith, 1998, p. 442) to 'restore human subjectivity to a field where scientific objectivism had been dominant, with some emphasising human attitudes and values, others cultural patrimony, some

focusing on the aesthetic of landscape and architecture and others again on the emotional significance of place for human identity' (Buttimer, 2001, p. 7062). The latter is the focus of this study and will be discussed in more detail after a brief review of the development of place in humanistic geography and its related concepts.

In the early stages of humanistic geography as a newly emerging discipline studies were undertaken with particular reference to created places through architecture and planning. The focus was on how 'authentic' places could be maintained rather than destroyed and replaced by 'inauthentic' ones (Buttimer, 1980; Relph, 1981). Eventually, inquiries came to include the natural environment which ceased to be viewed as a given, as backdrop to human action. Instead, the power of places in constituting and describing societies was recognised as people became to be viewed as active agents in the construction of 'their' places (Pred, 1984; Harvey, 1989) through social and cultural practices (Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995), determining the identities of those inhabiting them (Somers, 1997 cited in Bird, 2002, p. 521). This reflected a departure from economic, political and social models emphasising the place-transcending and homogenising qualities of place towards an interest in local particulars and the uniqueness of places (Daniels, 1992). The focus on particulars and uniqueness has been found useful for the investigation of 'otherness' and 'difference' as territorial place-based identity, particularly when conflated with other variables such as ethnicity or class differentiation, has been a common basis for political mobilisation and exclusionary politics (Harvey, 1993). Exclusionary politics of differentiation expressed themselves as a resurgence of nationalism on a new scale and with new intensity during the late 1980s (Massey, 1995), often aiming beyond material advantages. Such place-based political movements have been interpreted as the retreat to place in search for an authentic and unique community with a place-bound identity (Harvey, 1993; Massey, 1995) in response to a global homogenisation of identities (Harvey, 1993; Friedmann, 1994; Massey, 1995) and a sense of placelessness generated by the rapid spread of technology, rationalism and the penetration of the global market (Relph, 1976).

Despite the multitude of research topics and aims by humanistic geographers the common denominator for most studies remained within Yi-fu Tuan's formulation that 'the humanist's competence lies in interpreting human experience in its ambiguity, ambivalence, and complexity' (Tuan, 1976, p. 275). Place can thus be understood as a

unit of 'environmental experience' (Canter, Craik & Griffiths, 1984) as territorial definitions of place became replaced by an emphasis on metaphorical and psychological meanings of place (Harvey, 1993) that could be personal and restricted to individuals as well as shared and thus social (Cresswell, 2009). Places were investigated in relation to the outside world as points of intersection by the emerging humanistic approach, as integrating the local and the global (Massey, 1995) that was mediated by information and communication technologies (Gustafson, 2001) and thus open to challenges of existing meanings (Cresswell, 2009).

The novel approach, subsequently referred to as 'humanistic geography', necessitated new methodologies such as ethnographic techniques borrowed from anthropology, sociology, folklore studies, humanistic psychology and cultural geography (De Wit, 1992) and generated a search for a suitable definition of 'place' within the discipline.

Relph (1976), for example, in his benchmark study on place and placelessness identified three components of place: physical setting, activities and meanings. This was closely followed by Canter's (1977) similar three-part model of place, derived from psychological studies, stressing the importance of the relationship between actions within, as well as conceptions and physical attributes of a place. The psychological influence was developed further and incorporated into a subsequent definition of place by Agnew (1987) to encompass locale (the settings in which social relations are constituted), location (the geographical area encompassing the settings for social interaction) and sense of place (a structure of feelings). The latter aspect of place may be the most complex one as it refers to feelings and emotions that a place evokes, and it may be individual and based on personal biography, or it may be shared with group members (Cresswell, 2009).

While the location of the destination place is essential for its definition as a returnee's place of origin and locale plays a crucial part for providing the setting in which a traditional Māori lifestyle can be realised, it is locale that plays the most relevant part for the current study of Māori return migration through the emotional and spiritual bond between a returnee and his or her place of origin as well as between tribal members and 'their' traditional territory. Such bonds are not only enshrined within the Māori prototype propagated during the Māori renaissance, but the emphasis of such bonds are the defining characteristic amongst a number of indigenous groups and,



according to Niezen (2000), a salient difference between indigenist and ethnic movements.

#### **4.4 Concepts for the study of 'place'**

In search for an adequate definition to 'seek to understand place in a manner that captures its sense of totality and contextuality is to occupy a position that is between the objective pole of scientific theorising and the subjective pole of empathetic understanding (Entrikin, 1991 cited in Johnston, Gregory & Smith, 1998, p. 442), a number of concepts were introduced, which, rather than providing an unambiguous definition of the concept of place, provided new challenges through the diversity of both theoretical as well as empirical approaches and by their overlap.

'Sense of place' embodied one of the key concepts used by humanistic geography in the 1970s to distinguish its approach from that of positivist geographers (Johnston, Gregory & Smith, 1998, p. 442). It is perhaps the most general of a variety of concepts investigating people's unique relationships with places, encompassing dependence (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001), attachment (Altman & Low, 1992), and identity (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983; Proshansky, 1978; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996).

The latter – place identity – refers to two distinct, but related perspectives. One refers to the unique character of certain places that have become known to a number of people as distinctive and/or memorable, for example through their unique physical characteristics or through their association with a significant event (Johnston, Gregory & Smith, 1998, p. 548). The other perspective refers to a more subjective concept based on people's attachments to places through intentions, memories and experiences (Johnston, Gregory & Smith, 1998, p. 548) which emerge through involvement between people, and between people and place (Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003). The latter view has become the more commonly referred to concept and alternatively defined as a structure of feelings in relation to a particular locale (Agnew, 1987; Tuan, 1979; De Witt, 1992; Lalli, 1992; Hay, 1998a, 1998b; Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001). In line with the constructivist approach a study by Young (1999) found that such a structure of feeling may not necessarily be the result of people's actual experiences or an outcome of people's involvement with places, but rather, as investigated by analyses of tourist places, be dependent on pre-existing information, knowledge and

personal preference. During the 1980s the concept of place identity attracted a fair amount of interest even beyond the discipline of geography and it was developed further in psychology, where Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983) coined the term 'place identity' as a coherent framework, which will be discussed in more detail later.

Place dependence is conceptualised as the goal-oriented behavioural component of residents' sense of place (Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003), which is described by Stokols and Schumaker (1981) as consisting of two dimensions: one refers to the quality of the current place in terms of the availability of social and physical resources to satisfy goal directed behaviour, and the other one refers to residents' comparisons of their place with other places. In their attempt to conceptualise dimensions of sense of place as attitudes, Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) came up with a measure which they labelled as place dependence and which they distinguished from identity and attachment.

Place attachment refers to the bonding with a place and the emotions associated with it (Altman & Low, 1992; Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004) on two dimensions referring to the geographical locale as well as the local community providing personal resources and enabling social involvement (Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003). Studies that aimed at investigating place attachment have been hampered by an inadequate theoretical as well as empirical differentiation from related concepts such as sense of place, place dependence and place identity (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). In order to delimit the concept of place attachment more clearly from related ones, Hidalgo and Hernández (2001, p. 274) refined earlier definitions by drawing on studies undertaken within psychology, arriving at the definition of place attachment as being 'a positive affective bond between an individual and a specific place, the main characteristic of which is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place'. Most studies of place attachment have focused on neighbourhood or community environment at various levels of analysis (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001) and its usefulness for environmental management (Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004). Cuba and Hummon (1993), for example, found that people identified least with the community, more with the house, and most commonly with the region while others have looked at place attachment to different types of environment such as to the house (Marcus, 1992), to a forest (Pellow, 1992), to children's playgrounds

(Chawla, 1992), to a square (Low 1992) and a tourist trail (Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004).

The majority of these studies confirm the two-dimensionality of the concept referring to social relationships within a certain place and its physical dimension. Social relationships have alternatively been termed 'bonding' (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981) and 'local bonds' (Taylor, Gottfredson & Brower, 1985; Pretty, Chipuer & Bramston, 2003), while the physical dimension has been referred to as 'rootedness' or 'physical attachment' (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981), and 'rootedness and involvement' (Taylor, Gottfredson & Brower, 1985). One study of the dimensions of place attachment gave rise to the curious term 'potato principle' as coined by Gellner (1991 cited in Eriksen, 2002) which refers to a strongly territorial identity and feeling of 'rootedness' assumed to be prevalent among peasants, where there is little social mobility and people are tied to a place and webs of kinship. Webs of kinship or, more generally, the social dimension of place attachment has been consistently found to be greater than the physical one, and to vary with age and sex (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). However, while there is agreement about the existence of a relationship between the concepts of place attachment and place identity, researchers disagree about the nature of this relationship. For example, while Hernández, Hidalgo, Salaza-Laplace and Hess (2007) consider place attachment as a pre-cursor to place identity, Kyle, Graefe, Manning and Bacon (2004) view place identity as one of the two dimension of place attachment, together with place dependence, and vice versa, others (Lalli 1992) have considered place attachment as part of place identity while for Pretty, Chipuer and Bramston (2003) dependence, attachment and sense of community appear all implicated in place identity.

While the argument about the relationship continues, there is agreement about the rising challenge that studies of identity in relation to place pose in times of globalisation and transnational communities. This type of research has become the domain of migration and Diaspora studies. At a time when cross-boundary movement has been facilitated by a drop in cost of travelling, enhanced communication, especially along migration chains, increase in brain drain, historical linkages and cultural affinity (Overbeek, 2000), the concept of place as bounded is increasingly thrown into question (Eastmond, 2006). Instead, places are regarded as actively created by migrants as social fields that cut across geographical and political

boundaries (Riccio, 2006) in order to bridge places of lived experiences and to create transnational spaces rather than settling in one place (Ganga, 2006; Bolzman, Fibbi & Vial, 2006). This view advocates the concept of place as sites of meanings and social relations that may span a number of locations (Eastmond, 2006), an approach that has been widely applied and explored in relation to the concept of home and to transmigrants' identities.

#### **4.5 Home in a transnational context**

In everyday conversation the term home is used without much reflection. Traditionally, home was conceptualised as a safe and still place as investigated on various scales, to leave and return to (Casey, 1993), while providing an individual with sites 'where one is known and trusted and where one knows and trusts others, where one is accepted, understood, indulged and forgiven' (Storti, 2001, p. 3), a 'place of rituals and routine interactions of entirely predictable events and people, and of very few surprises, where one feels safe and secure and where one can be oneself' (Storti, 2001, p. 4). Tied to this concept of home were others such as homeland, which represents a constitutive element of nationalist discourse (Skrbis, 1997) with its connotation of belonging and national identity (McDowell, 1997b; Skrbis, 1997), fatherland, a term used for the sacred land where the bones of the ancestors lie buried (Kristof, 1994), and mother country as source of group identity (Cohen & Gold, 1997). To return to such a place in which one could move about with ease and familiarity has been termed by Casey (1993, p. 290) as 'homecoming', which refers to the move to a previously known place that contains personal memories of a past self and precious acquaintances. 'Homecoming' is to be distinguished from another kind of move associated with home, 'homesteading', which is the journey to a previously unknown place with the intention to make it a new home (Casey, 1993). Despite the use of the concept at various levels of inclusiveness referring to a nation, region, town/village or house (Wessendorf, 2007), the definition of 'home' continued to be based on the assumption of a bounded and definable locality that was distinct and distinguishable from another.

During the 1970 and 1980s the idea that a home is always somewhere in particular (Casey, 1993) became increasingly scrutinised as new approaches to the concept of home came into use that were associated with an intensification of migration studies

out of which grew the topic of return migration and the recognition that individuals' mobility could not be reified with a fixed and stationary home. This led to a break with the traditional concept of home as a stable physical centre of people's lives and its progressive replacement by a more mobile one (Rapport & Dawson, 1998). While the concept of home continues to encapsulate a number of meanings representative of a psychological and phenomenological approach on the one hand, and sociological approaches on the other (Somerville, 1997), the commonality became the view that home is no longer bound to a physical structure, a particular locality or national community. Instead, home is considered to be actively constructed as site of social relations and cultural meanings – termed 'nodes' within a transnational network – that may well extend to several places, each of which may hold its own particular sets of relations and meanings to those concerned (Eastmond, 2006). These resulting social spaces may be anchored to fixed nodes in a number of places or – as observed amongst return migrants or 'sojourners' (Gmelch, 1980) – bridge the host country and that of origin. For individuals, the concept of home may express itself as a transnational 'way of being', which refers to actual practices and social relations that individuals engage in, and 'ways of belonging', which refers to the emotional connections to persons or localities that are elsewhere, and practices that signal a conscious connection to, or identification with, a particular group (Glick Schiller, 2004 cited in Wessendorf, 2007, p. 1090).

A constructed and multilocal concept of home has proven a challenge not only within academia but also for practical purposes. While governments consider the conceptualisation of a constructed translocal home as challenge to notions of 'repatriation' or 'return' (IOM, 2003), others view it precisely as the means by which a successful and sustainable return is possible (Black & King, 2004). Black and King (2004), for example, found that the ability to return and re-emigrate in the African context not only strengthened the bond between migrants and home communities and thus enhancing the potential for development within the community and the state at large, but at the same time allowed for a continued connection with previous homes and their incorporation into contemporary life spaces (Robins, 2006 cited in Novicka, 2007, p. 84). This has been found particularly crucial for highly qualified individuals who stated that the continued access to the wider international professional and social

world in which they had worked and lived as essential for a return to their country of origin (Black & King, 2004).

Another example of a case where the incorporation of a 'temporary' home into people's life spaces became essential for a return is a study by Eastmond (2006) who found that in the volatile situation after the crisis in the Balkans, retaining their homes in the host society acted as a safeguard for former residents and the basis onto which a return was enacted (Eastmond, 2006).

The practice of maintaining links with a host country over several decades, during which children may be raised in the host country, has been found to impact onto the young generation's sense of belonging and sense of identity in relation to home as it may refer to the country of both residence as well as the parents' or ancestors' origin (Bolognani, 2007; Eastmond, 2006; Christou, 2006; Basu, 2007).

The latter has been investigated by Basu (2007) amongst North American tourists who visit their ancestors' homeland in Scotland. This move has been linked to feelings of nostalgia and appeared to be motivated by the search for one's roots and the quest for belonging and homecoming. The roots tourists' journeys to their ancestral homeland were seen as pilgrimage and experienced as a 'journey of discovery' and a 'life changing experience' (Basu, 2004b, p. 151).

Although she does not label it as such, Bolognani (2007) observed similar practices amongst Pakistanis living in Bradford (UK) who re-affirm bonds with the homeland of their parents through life-cycle events such as trans-continental weddings, birth, funerals and so called 'journeys of knowledge' by UK-born Pakistanis. These pilgrim-like journeys are expected of community members at least once and their aim is to acquaint adolescents and young adults with the traditions and values of their parents or ancestors, especially 'fallen' individuals who appeared too assimilated to the host society, as well as to transmit homeland attachment from the older generation to the younger one.

A related, yet more permanent concept of transnational link with one's 'place of origin' or 'homeland' is the one of 'roots migration'. Similar to roots tourists, the motivating force to return to places of their parents' origin is the search for a strong sense of identification and belonging (Wessendorf, 2007). However, drawing on second-generation Italians in Switzerland, Wessendorf concludes that, in contrast to roots

tourists who had lived away from the country of origin for two or more generations and who return temporarily, roots migrants' connections to the homeland are based on everyday translocal ways of being and belonging during their childhood and adolescence and the intention is to settle permanently in the country of their parents' or ancestors' origins. This may not be simple as the migrant may be faced with challenges to previous perceptions of him/herself, of what constitutes home, and with new roles and responsibilities, requiring a dismantling and re-construction of previous categories about oneself as well as the immediate social and spatial environment (Christou, 2006).

In summary, the previous studies refer to homes as residing at particular places while providing a small selection of meanings associated with home: while for some 'home' refers to the place one has left and returns to (Casey, 1993; Eastmond, 2006), others continue to call it home despite the choice of remaining in a host country (Bolognani, 2007), or consider both the place of origin as well as the host country their home, while others have actually never lived in the place they call home before, but refer to it as such due to their parents' origins to which they return for visits (Basu, 2004a) or permanently, in which case home refers to both the place of upbringing as well as the one of the parents' origin (Christou, 2006; Wessendorf, 2007).

Very recently though, the analysis of home as made up of nodes and networks has been extended further to do away with a spatial fixity all together and to break away from the bi-local or multi-local approach of classical migration studies and of certain transnational studies, challenging the persisting methodological nationalism (Novicka, 2007). After investigating highly mobile professionals working for international companies, Novicka (2007) concluded that homes can be viewed as placements of practices and as entities that are attached yet mobile stretching over house, locality, city and continent and thus representing truly mobile homes that include globally-spanning elements such as social and technical networks and as such binding together the present and the past, elements of spatial proximity and distance, as well as objects present and excluded (Novicka, 2007).

Paradoxically, parallel to findings of a decreased importance of locality, or multilocal approaches to place and home are studies that draw specific attention to the crucial role that certain places play in people's lives. A whole host of these types of studies are associated with the link between specific places and identity as investigated for

individuals and groups, as link to one single home or multiple homes, as real return or mythical. Accordingly, meanings of home vary and, at individual level, may refer to, amongst others, an alternative of a set of identities (Christou, 2006; Bolognani, 2007), that can be drawn on for political purposes (Eastmond, 2006), to defy assimilation (Cohen & Gold, 1997), for self esteem and kinship networks (Richling, 1985), as justification for the initial migration (Wessendorf, 2007) and as basis for personal identity (Novicka, 2007). At group level, the adherence to a mythical home allows the group to defy assimilation (Cohen & Gold, 1997), to strengthen and demarcate group boundaries (Bolognani, 2007; Cohen & Gold, 1997), and to strengthen community activities, traditions and the maintenance of language (Wessendorf, 2007; Cohen & Gold, 1997) while maintaining certain ways of being (Wessendorf, 2007).

#### **4.6 Home as site of identity: the problem of a multi-local concept**

The concept of home has been proposed as a useful proxy for people's identity as it includes, in addition to the more traditional classifications such as ethnicity and nationality, the important component of the universally affective power of home (Rapport & Dawson, 1998) and thus compounding place and belonging into the one concept of home (Rapport & Dawson, 1998).

However, the current view of home as a construct that brings together memory and longing, the ideational, the affective and the physical, the spatial and the temporal, the local and the global, in sum the 'totality of life' (Simmel, 1994 cited in Rapport & Dawson, 1998, p. 8), can be as paradoxical and transgressive in times of global mobility as the concept of place as described earlier, but at the same time, act as an apposite for a charting of the ambiguities, fluidities and paradoxes of identity in today's world (Rapport & Dawson, 1998).

In an attempt to do exactly that, Christou (2006) addressed the way her participant's identity and acts of identification occur in relation to social and cultural space and in response to the ethnic place of origin and destination, both of which are referred to as 'home'. Using a narrative approach the study addresses the multiple layers of a series of negotiations, compromises, struggles and actions that a female, single, highly skilled and ambitious second-generation Greek-American encounters when deciding to move to the ancestral homeland. During the adjustment process a series of in-between spaces surfaced that highlight a number of identification processes while



issues of 'home' and 'belonging' challenge the nation as constantly 'reinvented' in the diaspora and 'at home' as well as the participant's own life.

While links to more than one home may have a dividing effect for individuals, on a group level the real or mythical return to home, or simply the claim of a particular location as home, may have the opposite, a unifying effect. One such example of the construction of group identity in relation to a distant home is the study by Bolognani (2007). This study highlights the impact of the current political situations, as UK-born Pakistanis revive and re-assert their Pakistani identity through links with their parents' homeland in response to Islamophobia. Although the actual return to Pakistan is rarely realised by second and third generation Pakistanis in this study, strong emotional ties are frequently and demonstratively exhibited and these serve as bases from which citizenship in Britain, their alternative home of upbringing is negotiated politically and socially. Thus, Pakistan as home provides young Pakistanis who have become disenchanted with the home of their upbringing with an alternative set of a number of sets of identities available for the individual crucial to the defence of the ethnic boundary (Barth, 1969). Such alternatives may be selectively drawn upon, for example in response to assimilative pressure (Tsuda, 2003), in competition with other ethnic groups (Aydingün & Aydingün, 2007), as political statement (Bolognani, 2007; Cohen & Gold, 1997) or to justify ways of being (Wessendorf, 2007).

The phenomenon of drawing on a distant place of origin of ones' forefathers for identity purposes has been central to a group of studies that investigated people's adherence or inaugurations of the myth of return. Cohen and Gold (1997), for example explored the role of the desire to return amongst Israelis living in Toronto to the mother country in the production of a distinctive Israeli ethnic community and concluded that, although the return was rarely effected, the adherence to the myth contributed to both the individual's psychological well-being as well as the group's need to defy assimilation. In line with Bolognani's (2007) findings, individuals' identification with Israel enabled group members to live in two social worlds while, on a social level, group boundaries were created to distinguish members from non-members, including those of the same religion, and thus providing the foundation onto which the Israeli ethnic community in Toronto was constructed (Cohen & Gold, 1997).

In addition to the construction of a group identity based on a distant home, Cohen and Gold's study (1997) also addressed an increasingly popular theme, the one of people's nostalgia for home as a safe and secure haven. These studies, usually centring on nationalist and ethnic movements, have accumulated mounting evidence of the crucial role that particular places play as anchors for groups of people, an approach that is in contrast to and challenges the current aspatial approach to place in its various levels of resolution (Murphy, 1991).

Interestingly, and as paradox to the conceptualisation of home as involving mobility, home continues to be considered a location in space and the tension between mobility and fixity has not yet vanished (Novicka, 2007). On the contrary, mounting evidence of the persistence and, in some instances, intensification of localist attachment and influences has prompted many to question the aspatial assumptions that have dominated the Western social science literature in the twentieth century (Agnew, 1987; Johnston, 1990). With this development the concepts of region, place and locale have been accorded increasing attention in the social sciences and humanities (Murphy, 1991) and most studies continue to be undertaken on an international scale with identifications based on a defined territory, usually a nation. Considerably fewer studies deal with place and identity on an intra-national scale where identification occurs in relation to a different location within a nation state. One of the rare examples is the study by Richling (1985) who investigated motivations for individuals' decision to return to their rural home community in Newfoundland after their temporary, commonly urban, residence elsewhere. The cited motive for the return as identity in this study has two meanings: one is a rural lifestyle that is generic and not tied to a specific location. The other one, however, being personal relations and kin affiliations can only be claimed for a particular location, usually the one of the person's upbringing.

While most studies explore the multilayeredness and complexities of a double identification with the current place of residence as well as a real or mystified place of origin the investigation of processes of identity-building amongst highly mobile persons may prove an even bigger challenge. A departure point to investigate identification processes in relation to place amongst highly mobile Western individuals may be provided by studies of nomads or Gypsies and their strategies of constructing identity. For these groups of people 'being at home' does not have a

stationary connotation, but rather, 'home' provides individuals with a sense of being centred (Storti, 2001).

Although these individuals carry their home with them without any apparent harm to their identities, mobility amongst Western people has been claimed to endanger people's well being as territorial collectiveness, usually contained within a nation state, is viewed as the source of individual and collective identity, and severing roots extracts them from identity-building structures, thus leading to pathologisation (Novicka, 2007). However, some very recent studies indicate, that an increase in mobility, at least amongst highly qualified professionals, is paralleled by a decrease of the importance of a spatial locality as source of identity, but rather, personal links with a number of places appear to take on this role (Novicka, 2007; Black & King, 2004).

While the effect of 'nomadisation' of Western societies for individuals' and societies' identities provides fertile ground for future studies, a related topic has already attracted a considerable amount of interest. This is the importance of links with specific places, often referred to as 'home' of indigenous groups for identity purposes.

#### **4.7 Home-places as anchor for indigenous and ethnic identity**

As paradox to recent findings of places playing an increasingly minor role for individual's identifications in an increasingly mobile world, are several studies that have investigated effects of land loss amongst indigenous and other minority groups. These studies have drawn attention to the importance that certain places, referred to as homeland (Gmelch, 1980), ancestral homeland (Christou, 2006), historical homeland (Voutira, 2004), place of origin (Ganga, 2006), father- or motherland or -country and home (Basu, 2004a & b), constitute for certain groups of people and the detrimental effect of the loss of or displacement from that land for the groups' well being, both as a coherent group as well as for individual members. If a return is not possible potentially serious consequences can ensue that are much more profound than plain homesickness (Casey, 1993), including both mental as well as physical diseases (Hudson-Rodd, 1998). This has frequently been studied and documented in relation to the aftermath of colonisation of indigenous peoples whose severing of the intimate link with the land led to the denial of experiencing 'their' place through ceremony (Hudson-Rodd, 1998) and everyday experience. Consequences of this range from

disproportionally high crime rates, drug abuse, poverty, physical and mental illnesses and low performances on a number of social measures both on group level as well as on individual level, often associated with a loss of identity (Durie, 1994; Hudson-Rodd, 1998). To many losing a few square miles of land equates to 'losing one's best, truest self, one's most intimate identity' (Casey, 1993, p. 38).

Studies have focused on various aspects of this strong link between individuals and groups with 'their' land through different methodologies such as narratives (Bird, 2002; Basso 1983), oral histories, the study of place names (Basso, 1983), local legends (Bird, 2002), traditions (Bird, 2002) and others. For example, when investigating Western Apache conceptions about themselves through the method of toponymy Basso (1983) found that place names were not only used frequently in ordinary discourse to reflect the symbolic importance of geographical features with which individuals had established personalised relationships but place names featured also in all forms of storytelling to anchor events (Basso, 1983). These stories could be classified into those that contained a morality, those that told about historical events, those that were about rules and values by which the group lived by, in summary, what it entails to be a Western Apache and about conceptions of cultural identity (Basso, 1983).

This essential link between places and their inhabitants' cultural identities and their intimate and personal relationship with it come through on many occasions, parts of the world and as different statements and it has often been viewed as non-existent amongst large sections of Westernised and urbanised people. A statement by Worral (2001) sums this up by stating that the difference between an English woman and her Welsh husband is that:

'He knows who he is. He knows where is he's from', because he talks about the mountain in whose shadow he grew up as if it was a close relative when saying: 'That was my mountain. In a way it brought me up, it taught me everything I know, it is part of me' (p. 82).

The practice of viewing natural features of the landscape as kin or relations is common amongst indigenous groups and, in addition to referring to a cosmology that is opposed to Western sense of dominion over nature that may prove useful to alleviate environmental crises, the intimate knowledge of natural features in a specific location or region are the basis onto which groups' identification with their places occur.

To underline the importance of this link to specific places there exist terms in various languages that relate to concepts associated with the group's link to its place of origin that frequently require several sentences for translation. For example, the term 'hireath' is one of the core words in the Welsh language which can be loosely translated as a longing for home, reflecting the deep attachment of Welsh people to their original homeland (Worrall, 2001). This attachment has been handed down over several generations so that even today the majority continues to live and die within about fifty kilometres of the valley where they were born (Worrall, 2001). In Māori, the similarly sounding term 'te hiringa mai' refers to the energy received from the environment where a person lives or stays (Barlow, 2001). This may be most pronounced in the place of a person's nurturing, which is termed 'ūkaipō'. Literally translated as the place where a person is suckled, it is the place in which the person grew up, where s/he was raised on the 'fat of the land', especially during childhood and where s/he is expected to be interred after death (Barlow, 1994, p. 143). In Māori conceptualisation this is expected to eventuate within the person's 'turangawaewae', the person's place or region of standing where his or her 'mana whenua' derives from. Mana whenua, which is the power associated with the possession of lands (Barlow, 1994, p. 61) refers to the bond of a group of people or an individual to a specific place which is strengthened by a continual occupation of that place throughout generations (Patterson, 2000). Thus, it is about the links between tribal strength, integrity and survival (Durie, 1994) originating within the land and the community inhabiting it (Durie, 1999). Similarly, the Melanesian term 'stamba' conveys identity and power through political, social or magical functions as well as rights governing access to land and it is derived from links with a root-place where the founding ancestors first appeared (Bonnemaison, 1985, p. 41).

Individuals' strong link with specific places where the founding ancestors appeared or where ancestors' bones are buried is a fundamental theme amongst indigenous people in general and particularly amongst Pacific people which are bound together by a similarity of terms that inadequately translate as 'land', for example, whenua, whanua, vanua or honua (Reeves, 2000). To live within proximity of these lands means to be grounded and linked to one's past and future (Asher & Naulls, 1987) and to share one's territory with the ancestors as well as future children (Bonnemaison, 1985).

Memories of past events are frequently attached to natural features such as a mountain (Worrall, 2001), specific parcels of the land, a river, unique trees or other salient features. These tales about specific places do not only function as monuments of history but also to mark out spatial boundaries by confirming the unique meaning to certain people and who belongs in that place allowing him or her to claim certain rights and who does not and cannot claim these rights (Bird, 2002). In Melanesia, for example, each local group is defined in relations to the space within which it resides and membership in a clan is inherited through a network of historical places, the sum total of which constitutes a territory. Thus, both individual as well as collective identity is a geographical one that flows from the memories and values attached to certain places with which people identify (Bonnemaison, 1985). Similarly, the pre-European Māori tradition of naming landscape features was a means by which tribes staked claims to a certain territory (Walker, 1969), or *takiwā* (Maaka, 1994) and by which they subsequently identified themselves at the occasion of contact with others (Yoon, 1986). These most prominent geographical features represented symbols for the group's sense of tradition from whose enduring nature they would take their moral strength and sense of tradition (Durie, 1986).

Another instance is Basso's (1983) benchmark study where he argues how the physical landscape in which the Apache live is also a social landscape constructed through generations of moral stories as certain locations are charged with personal and social significance and thus work in important ways to shape the images that Apaches have – or should have - of themselves. Knowledge of the correct place names and the tales that go with specific locations appears to be crucial to a sense of Apache community and belonging. The loss of this knowledge is equated with the loss of the land leading to a cultural crisis (Basso, 1983).

In order to avoid such an event, stories are frequently recalled as people pass by a specific geographical feature or the place where a story takes place (Silko, 1994 cited in Bird, 2002, p. 523). Thus, the stories that develop around distinctive geographical features are not at random, but rather they are sites that convey the values and cultural identities with which people choose to define themselves and vice versa, at the same time these places are endowed with a sense of their inhabitants' cultural identities (Bird, 2002), through their traditions such as prayer, practices and ceremony (Hudson-Rodd, 1998).

Traditions as a means to bind individuals together and as expression of their cultural identities are often only possible – or at least are viewed in this manner – in places where they originate from. This has been explicitly expressed by Newfoundland returnees who returned to their rural community in order to lead a more desirable way of life that is based on the preservation of the historical roots of Newfoundland identity which can only thrive in their home environment, their place of upbringing, where natural features tell stories of one's personal past as well as the entire kin groups' history (Richling, 1985). To be born into a specific community that resides in a specific place is the basis onto which an intimate relationship with the homeland develops, a passion, understanding and identification that is fundamentally different to that of an outsider (Akiwenzie-Damm, 1996).

Conversely, not only do individuals and groups derive their identities from the natural environment they live in but the places are also imbued with the identities of those who live there. For example, for the Pintupi people of North Western Australia to hear mention of a place is to identify the persons associated with it, and, vice versa, to hear of people is to think of their places (Myers, 1991). For others, the identity of a place exists above and beyond that of humans and their personal destinies (Bonnemaison, 1985). In all cases, however, the maintenance of the link with the ancestral land is acknowledged as expressed by a Navajo interviewee: '...not to stay in that ultimate place of residence, the ancestral land, that resting-place, is to lose not only one's personal identity but the Great Self that provides the collective identity of an entire people' (Casey, 1993, p. 309). And the Anishaabekwe of Canada know that '...land is people. We are part of the land. It is in our songs and prayers, it is part of everyday life. This is why the connection to our homelands is so vital: without it we cease to exist as people' (Akiwenzie-Damm, 1996, p. 27), or, vice versa, 'as long as the land exists there is assurance that the people exist' (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p. 81).

For societies whose norms and morals are conveyed through stories anchored to natural features a loss of land goes hand in hand with the loss of norms and morals binding communities together. The consequence may be the loss of the group's social identity and its members' individual identities (Basso, 1983). Studies of the effects of land loss amongst colonised or displaced people are manifold and a return to land and sovereignty over it has been proposed as solution to social problems associated with a

group's identity loss (Asher & Naulls, 1987), restoring the group's psychological and economic well being after a colonial interlude (Bonnemaison, 1985).

The view of a return of traditional lands as solution to social ills affecting predominantly indigenous peoples in line with Hay's (1998a) call for a place-based ideology that links people to place through a rooted sense of attachment has paved the way for the introduction of policies aiming at the settlement of Māori grievances in New Zealand. In preparation for these policies, much work was undertaken to demonstrate the intimate links between Māori individuals and groups to their tribal territories and to investigate Māori meanings of place, providing a rich case study and adding to the field of studies of indigenous place identity.

#### **4.8 Māori place**

Over the past 600 years or so Māori relations with the land have not changed much in that traditionally, they have been a source of cultural, spiritual, emotional and economic sustenance (Asher & Naulls, 1987). Māori attachment to land is rooted in mythology, tradition and the long history of tribal wars (Walker, 1990).

According to Māori myth, land is the original mother (Papatuanuku) who gives birth and sustains life (Yoon, 1986; Rankin, 1986) and hence, she is the original ancestor of all Māori (Patterson, 2000). Being the recipient of everything that she provides, one ought to love the earth as a mother is loved and need to take care of her. When people die they are thought of as returning to the bosom of the earth mother, from where they came (Walker, 1990). This relationship is expressed by the term by which Māori describe themselves as 'tangata whenua', people (tangata) of the land (whenua), whereby the latter term refers to the placenta as well as the land (Pere, 1982).

The idea of 'tangata whenua', relates to land in general as well as to defined places for which a particular group of people is responsible and over which they have authority and control (Patterson, 2000; Durie, 1999). The special status of tangata whenua within their defined territory prescribes and allows for the demonstration of the capacity for hospitality referred to as 'mana' (special standing) 'whenua' (land) (Durie, 1999). Thus, in addition to a mystic relationship with land in general, Māori have a strong feeling of attachment and sense of belonging to specific places, their ancestral land (Stokes, 1980; Hay, 1998a) where the bones of their ancestors are buried (Yoon, 1986). The land is therefore the spiritual link between the ancestors and the living



generation as expressed by the saying 'nōku te whenua o ōku tupuna' – 'mine is the land, the land of my ancestors' (Rankin, 1986, p. 21).

Ancestral places represent special places providing individuals with a sense of belonging, security and sustenance, which is also reflected in the custom of the traditional introduction (pepeha). Pepeha are motto maxims (Yoon, 1986) whereby a person would cite the name of the mountain, the river or lake, the marae and the tribe or sub tribe of the territory where s/he originates from and is a member of<sup>4</sup> (Dann, 1988). Thus, reciting a pepeha not only acted as individuals' unwritten identity cards but also as acknowledgement and declaration of tribal territory and group membership (Yoon, 1986). Traditionally, Māori who were unacquainted would ask first where the other was from rather than how s/he was (Rankin, 1986; Dann, 1988). The tradition of referring to physical features of the landscape as source of one's identity and the citation of these pepeha as introduction is still practised today (Dann, 1988) in song, dances and during rituals of encounter on the marae (Walker, 1987). By identifying with a particular peak or waterway members of tribes consolidate their own sense of tradition and take moral strength from the enduring nature of their surroundings (Durie, 1994). This close link between natural features and people's identity was also observed by Talmont (2000) recently who, travelling 'the land of legends', found that there continues to exist a rich tradition of valued relationships between people and very precisely defined and specifically named pieces of land.

Such named places continue to hold great value to groups and individuals alike as they are considered the homelands, 'nga tūrangawaewae', the ageless and timeless soul-centres of Māori who relate back to them in remembrance of their ancestors (tupuna) and to attach stories and songs about events and people who lived there. In addition, 'nga tūrangawaewae' is where people hold on to tribal idioms of speech peculiar to each community (mita), and where genealogical tables (whakapapa) and songs (waiata) are kept (Herbert, 1990).

In pre-European times the naming of landscapes and their features was a means of staking claims to parts of the land. Therefore, named features had a specific significance to mark a group's territory (Walker, 1969). Another group of Māori place names refers to the group's past and acts as a memory of the pre-migration Polynesian

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<sup>4</sup> for examples see Yoon, 1986; Walker 1987; Walker, 1990;

homeland where the Māori originate from. Others commemorate historic events after the arrival of the Māori in New Zealand, and yet another group of place names refers to naturally occurring landscape features (Yoon, 1986). Place names also held the key to major economic resources, for example Tokerau (Doubtless Bay) being named for its multitude of fishing places: Toka (rocks) rau (hundred) (Norman, 1998).

With the arrival of Europeans place names resulted frequently from a hybridisation of Māori and mostly English words, from transliterations, from misspellings and the combination of Māori and European words (Yoon, 1986). In recent times Māori leaders have increasingly argued for their corrections as the original version hold great significance to those applying them (Walker, 1969).

An example of named landscape features holding great significance to individuals is that personal qualities were frequently bestowed on geographical features such as mountains and rivers to underline the close and continuing links between people and their landscape (Durie, 1994).

The close affinity of Māori with land in general and specific places within tribal territory is also evident through the wealth of place related concepts (for examples see appendix 3). To the Māori place and identity, similar to most indigenous groups, are intertwined and cannot be separated as the following quote sums up:

'Māori have a sense of place... Our mountains, our rivers and lakes, our stories, all contribute to our sense of place and clear identity of who and what we are' (Ministry of Māori Development, 2001, p. 3).

Land thus

'.. provides Māori with a sense of identity, belonging and continuity. It is proof of our continued existence not only as a people but as the tangata whenua of this country. It is proof of our tribal and kin group ties. Māori land represents tūrangawaewae (domicile). It is proof of our link with the ancestors of our past and with the generations yet to come' (New Zealand Māori Council, 1983, p. 10).

Land is thus not only defined by spatial boundaries, but also by relationships within a tribal system (Waitangi Tribunal, 1997) as well as a political system where chiefs and elders allocated rights of use to members of their communities. These rights were contingent on actual occupation of the land in question and could never be transferred by individuals out of the group as land was indispensable to the integrity of a tribal group (Kawharu, 1992).

The importance of land and strong links between places and individuals and groups has endured and continues to impact on people's everyday lives as a study by Hawkins demonstrated in 1991. Hawkins (1991) looked at why Māori do not move in times of economic hardship and shortage of employment in rural areas, seeking better conditions in cities. Working within the humanist paradigm, in-depth interviews with family groups, active participant observation and discussions with relevant officials and individuals revealed that Māori participants valued ties to people and place as more important than economic improvement. Ties to people were interpreted as representative of traditional Māori values in relation to a social structure based on whānau, hapū and iwi areas and ties to places reflected a strong sense of place attachment derived from traditional Māori land affiliation, providing individuals with a sense of identity (Hawkins, 1991).

#### **4.9 Summary and conclusion**

The strong link between traditional lands and identity has been a core theme of studies amongst indigenous peoples. Although similar studies exist amongst other groups, the study of the effects and consequences of land loss for indigenous peoples has attracted particular interest in recent years. This can be linked to shifts in social and political values systems as much as to a conspicuous increase in land grievances and mobility, including attempted and realised return migrations by indigenous groups. The study of the intimate link between indigenous groups and certain places, often subsumed under the umbrella term 'home' with its related concepts, continues to be undertaken through various themes and often as interdisciplinary investigations.

Such interdisciplinary investigations have drawn attention to the intimate link that exists between indigenous groups and their land, from which they derive their identity both as a group as well as on individual level. On individual level, to claim heritage from a specific place provides the person with the morals and values system to live by, with personal memories, self esteem and membership to a group, as expressed, for example, by the 'pepeha', the traditional introductory motto maxim by Māori.

On group level, place provides for group boundaries as well as associated rights and obligations such as those associated with 'tangata whenua' status amongst the Māori, cohesion of the group and kinship networks, links between the past and the future as well as morals and values that are conveyed through stories or historical events which

are anchored to salient landscape features and defined places. The affective component of the place-identity link is acknowledged as the place where the bones of the ancestors are buried and where personal memories are tied to.

However, the wealth of empirical evidence of the strong link between identity and place has not yet been matched by an equally strong effort in theorising the phenomenon of ethnic return migration and of reasons why members of ethnic and indigenous groups increasingly cite common origins and place as a qualifier for inclusion and exclusion and to base their identities on. Such a concept should be able to explain an increase in place-bound identities in the contemporary context, such as ethnification movements, and link individual and group strategies in so doing, for example, individual and group return migration or the myth thereof while providing the motivation for it. In the subsequent chapter a number of theories that have been employed in recent times to explain place-identity links from a psychological point of view are introduced followed by a more detailed discussion of Social Identity Theory as a suitable concept to account for ethnification movements that centre around places of origin and as the basis for the investigation of the case study at hand: of Māori return migration.

## **Chapter 5**

### **IDENTITY**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

There is no more central construct in the study of human behaviour than the one of identity. The construct of identity is studied in a number of disciplines including geography and psychology, but even within disciplines there is disagreement about both terminology as well as definitions. Terms include self, self-concept, self-image, self-schema, self-identity, social-identity, social-self, self-esteem, self-consciousness, and several others. At times, researchers employ different terms while discussing the same thing, while at other times, researchers employ the same terms while discussing something quite different (Breakwell, 1983). The choice of the term appears to be based on the philosophical and methodological foundation of the study in question. For the purpose of this study, the term 'identity' will be used and it refers to 'a person's relatively stable mental template that forms the backdrop for interaction with the social environment' (Taylor, 2002, p. 34).

This definition presupposes what has become the widely accepted view of identity in a number of disciplines such as psychology and anthropology. This view implies that identity contains two distinctive components, a personal or individual one and a social or collective one. Personal identity refers to the self-concept as defined in terms of idiosyncrasies and close personal relationships (Turner, 1982), whereas social identity refers to the self-concept defined in terms of specific group memberships (Hogg & Williams, 2000). Interestingly, while psychologists have traditionally focused on the personal aspect and anthropologists on the social aspect, there are not only signs of convergence between the two approaches, but an inversion of the traditional pattern, as some anthropologists argue for the primacy of the individual, while some psychologists attribute primacy to the social component of identity. For example, Cohen, an anthropologist drawing on Turner, a psychologist, argues that 'the essential self is informed by social engagement, but not defined by it, and as such, it is autonomous rather than contingent' (Cohen, 1994, p. 29). Or, in other words, individuals choose to adopt or strive for models of personhood provided by societies, rather than being determined by the society (Cohen, 1994). On the other hand, Taylor, a psychologist working with minority groups, has come to the conclusion that 'the

collective dimension takes psychological precedence over the personal one as it provides individuals with clearly established templates as a basis for the development of unique personal identities and a gauge against which to evaluate themselves for personal self-esteem' (Taylor, 2002, p. 12).

Clearly established templates or prototypes provided by the collectivity seem to be particularly important for minority or otherwise disadvantaged groups whose collective identity is under threat from a dominant group. Threats originate most commonly in other people, but also in the material world or in individuals themselves, and they can be directed towards the content or the evaluation of the disadvantaged group's identity, at both a personal as well as social level (Breakwell, 1983). Collective identity can only be recognised and understood as such by the manner in which it differs from the collective identity of other groups, as identity definition is a comparative process (Taylor, 2002). That is, a group's identity is a constitutive process in relation to a significant other (Friedman, 1994) and it is a deeply context-bound process in which identities are construed in relation to people's immediate conditions and everyday experience (Friedman, 1992). Through social comparison groups strive to maintain or achieve a positive evaluation, a need that is paralleled by individuals' self-enhancement motives aimed at positive self-esteem (Turner, 1982). As a consequence, processes of self-enhancement will emerge to restore groups' and individuals' positive self-evaluation and hence, a positive identity (Hogg & Williams, 2000; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). What strategy in cases of struggles between groups for a positive identity will be chosen is determined by individuals' social belief structure about the relations between groups such as the relative status of the group, the stability of the status relations, the legitimacy of the status relations and the permeability of intergroup boundaries that enable or prevent social mobility (Hogg & Williams, 2000). In cases where individuals perceive group boundaries as permeable and possible to pass from a lower-status group into a higher-status group, they may dissociate themselves from their previous group to gain acceptance in the dominant group (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). In cases where the boundaries are perceived as impermeable, individuals may attempt to achieve positive social identity through group action as a consequence of a social change belief system (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). In cases where no real social change can be expected because the current situation is considered legitimate and stable, social creativity strategies are

employed. These include the change of the dimension on which comparison is made, a re-evaluation of an existing characteristics or the comparison to an even lower-status group. In circumstances, however, where the situation is considered illegitimate, social competition between groups will eventuate (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). These can be more or less violent, and social movements typically emerge under these circumstances (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002).

One particular kind of social movement that has in recent times attracted increased interest is one based on ethnicity. Throughout the world and beginning in the 1970s an increasing number of ethnic minorities have vigorously pursued independent statehood, and a greater number of nation-states than ever before have become divided along ethnic boundaries (Niezen, 2000). The so-called 'ethnic revolution' resonated ethnic pride and solidarity (Taylor, 2002, p. 91), but, on the negative side, has become a more common source of violent conflict and constitutional downfall than aggression between states (Niezen, 2000). New ethnic labels were introduced and previously unified nations became fragmented as a result of an explosion of ethnic movements, a new traditionalism and the striving of new and local identities (Taylor, 2002; Friedman, 1994). These were based on 'primordial loyalties', ethnicity, 'race', language and other culturally concrete forms and aimed at autonomy and community self-control (Friedman, 1994). What had started in the 1970s as a novel phenomenon has been ongoing since and has stimulated a wealth of innovative research amongst a number of disciplines. However, while in the early stages it was argued that ethnic movements might be most useful in the study of the development of new political cultures in situations of social change in the Third World, ethnic studies are now most vigorously pursued in Western societies (Eriksen, 2002).

## **5.2 Ethnic movements and indigenism**

Amongst researchers there is agreement that the rapid increase of assertions of ethnic identity can be linked in one way or another to globalisation. For example, Taylor views the rise of ethnic nationalism and the desire for political separation as a psychological response to the threats to disadvantaged groups' collective identities posed by competing and irreconcilable collective identities ('collective identity overload') (Taylor, 2002 p. 91). In anthropology, ethnic organisation and identity, rather than being 'primordial' phenomena radically opposed to modernity and the

modern state as considered previously, are now viewed as reactions to processes of modernisation (Eriksen, 2002) and an overt expression of resistance against steady globalisation on the basis of their history or current shared similarities, that they are different from the 'others' living around them (Leman, 1998). Friedman contends that '[e]thnic and cultural fragmentation and modernist homogenization are not two arguments, two opposing views of what is happening in the world today, but constitutive trends of global reality' (Friedman, 1990, p. 311). As local communities become more integrated into the global system on a political, economic and cultural level, a reflexive consciousness on local level is stimulated (Eriksen, 2002). One such example is described by Eriksen (2002, p. 126), who analysed the impact that globalisation had on linking previously independent groups to form the nation of the Sami. Once unified further links were forged with other indigenous peoples to strengthen their political, cultural and economic claims. Other examples are described by Friedman (1994, p. 110) where the Ainu of Japan and the Hawaiians sport a rediscovered identity for tourist purposes.

The fact that indigenous peoples make increasing use of modern technology such as having more airtime to link up with indigenous groups in other parts of the world does not necessarily mean that they acquire more members, but their visibility may be greater (Eriksen, 2002), and hence, their political power. Such movements – referred to by Niezen (2000) as indigenism<sup>5</sup> – , have been gaining momentum over the last decade and, despite their smaller scales than the nationalistic movements which characterised the previous century, have nonetheless shown themselves to have sufficient potential to influence the way that states manage their affairs and how alignments of nationalist and state sovereignty are drawn.

Although Niezen (2000) makes a clear distinction between ethnic movements and indigenism, his concept has not yet achieved the same degree of insight as studies of intergroup relations using terms such as 'ethno' or 'ethnic' in various contexts. In subsequent discussion in this thesis, the more traditional terms of 'ethnic' and 'ethno' will include indigenous groups as well as others in discussing aspects of intergroup relations with particular reference to their spatiality.

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<sup>5</sup> For more comprehensive information about the term 'indigenous' as well as definitions see Niezen, 2000, p. 119.



Like most social movements 'indigenism' is an oppositional one and a form of primordial claim of distinctiveness that is tied to assertions of self-determination (Niezen, 2000) in an attempt to redress post-colonial grievances by a number of indigenous groups such as the Maya uprising in 1980, the 1973 siege at the Wounded Knee reservation in South Dakota (Castree, 2004) and the 1978 Bastion Point land occupation by local Māori in Auckland, New Zealand. Most group assertions aim at self-determination, autonomy or sovereignty within an existing system (Niezen, 2000) rather than at seceding from an oppressive state or autonomous statehood, which is more typical for ethnic or ethno-nationalist movements (Niezen, 2000). In addition, while ethnic movements are commonly restricted to one particular community and its unique idiosyncratic situation, indigenism has become a global movement (Niezen, 2000). However, unlike most other global social movements such as the environmental or peace movements, it is defined with reference to a particular constituency of individuals and communities that claim an indigenous identity for which they seek recognition (Castree, 2004). Once a separate and recognised identity is achieved and a community is established, leading members engage in claiming rights through lobbying on electronic communication networks (Niezen, 2005) and international fora such as the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations both on behalf of their own group as well as on behalf of other indigenous groups (Niezen, 2000). Indigenous identity then becomes a resource for political and economic struggles on local as well as global scale. This latter feature of indigenous groups linking up to lobby their rights on international scale is one of the most salient distinctions between indigenism and ethnic or ethno-nationalist movements (Niezen, 2000).

Despite the argument that the likening of indigenous movements to ethnic or ethno-nationalist movements 'does not do justice to the recent complexities of the international movement of indigenous peoples' (Niezen, 2000, p. 140) ambiguities remain about how to usefully distinguish between indigenous and ethnic groups. While Maybury-Lewis (1997 cited in Niezen, 2000, p. 141) suggests a continuum, ranging from indigenous/tribal peoples to indigenous (but not tribal) peoples, to peoples stigmatized as tribal, to people considered ethnic minorities, to people considered ethnic nationalities, though they coexist in a single state, there continue to remain ambiguities, not least because of a number of similarities.

One of the most salient commonalities between ethnic and indigenous groups is their primary attachment to land and territories that exist 'through occupancy since time immemorial', albeit with a more spiritual resonance in the case of indigenous peoples (Niezen, 2000). Similarly to certain ethnic movements, indigenous peoples derive much of their identity from histories of state-sponsored genocide, forced settlement, relocation, political marginalisation, and various formal attempts at cultural destruction. In an attempt to redress these historical grievances states frequently resort to providing special aid in various forms of affirmative actions that are tied to individuals' group membership and group size. As will be discussed later, this is problematic because indigenous identity is not given but ascribed, adopted or drawn upon depending on circumstances, and hence is volatile. It is now increasingly accepted that ethnic groups are not fixed, and that the traditional conception of individuals as members of inflexible, separate and often isolated societies and cultures is redundant. Instead, flux and process, ambiguity and complexity and the constructed nature of identities are emphasised in contemporary analyses (Rapport & Dawson, 1998; Friedman, 1990; Eriksen, 2002), reflecting a fundamental change in the mode of thought when conducting research with ethnic groups. The increase of research has been paralleled by a proliferation of terms and therefore the most commonly used terms are briefly elaborated.

### **5.3 Ethnicity – ethnic group – ethnic identity**

As a consequence of the increase of ethnic movements 'ethnicity' and related terms have become popular terms within both public as well as scientific discourse and numerous publications exist that deal with them in more detail (for example, Eriksen, 2002) than the following brief overview.

Most approaches to the study of ethnicity have in common that the term has something to do with the classification of groups and group relationships (Eriksen, 2002). Most broadly, 'ethnicity' has been defined as a concept that describes both a set of relations and a mode of consciousness, which conditions social action (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1992). As such, ethnicity reflects an overarching and dynamic concept that contains both social and psychological phenomena (Jones, 1997), and may include elements of 'race', cultural traits such as language and customs, nationality, ancestry and others (Kukutai, 2001; Marie, 1999; Jones, 1997). This categorisation of people

sorted by cultural and historical characteristics has been criticised as imprecise and as unsuited to deal with people of mixed ethnic origin (Lerner, 2004).

In contrast to more dated analyses, which viewed ethnicity as primordial and as a static constant where individual members are simply reflections of the larger group whose behaviour and cognition is predetermined by a behavioural trait inventory (Marie, 1999), contemporary analyses stress the elasticity of the concept. The decline in popularity of this largely top-down analysis where the group aspect is emphasised has been paralleled by an increase in popularity of the instrumental and transactional views. These views emphasise ethnicity as a relational construct, which can be mobilised by individuals according to social (Marie, 1999), economic and psychological needs (Christou, 2006).

On a group level, this has been demonstrated to occur even in the absence of cultural symbols but in response to social and cultural processes in relation to other groups, most commonly within a larger system such as the state (Eriksen, 2002; Jones, 1997; Guneratne, 1998). Therefore, ethnicity is not a property of a group but changes as circumstances change (Eriksen, 2002; Guneratne 1998). Most fundamental in this process is the development of both 'us-them' contrasts as well as a shared field for interethnic discourse and interaction (Eriksen, 2002). The 'us-them' contrast eventuates as ethnicising groups seek out cultural symbols or referents (Marie, 1999), core features that are most commonly derived from tradition, around which to organise or anchor their identity and to demarcate group boundaries (Eriksen, 2002; Barth, 1969). These symbols need to be mutually acknowledged and agreed upon and they may include cultural aspects such as a common name, shared language, customs and religion. Additional factors around with ethnic groups form may be a common origin and descent – or the myth thereof (Jones, 1997), a shared history, a sense of solidarity and the link to ancestral land or place.

Important in the process of defining group boundaries is that it happens from within, that is, by group members, in order for ethnicity to be effective on a group level (Barth, 1969). Ethnic groups, then, are groups of people who set themselves apart and/or are set apart by others with who they interact or co-exist (Jones, 1997). Individuals within ethnic groups may or may not identify with 'their' group, depending on their ethnic identity. Ethnic identity hence refers to that aspect of a person's self-conceptualisation, which results from identification with a broader group in

opposition to others on the basis of personally perceived cultural differentiation (Jones, 1997) and/or other factors that had been negotiated collectively. How and under what circumstances individuals identify with their group is the result of complex decision making and is by no means uniform and predictable. In light of the current worldwide ethno-politics which are frequently associated with affirmative policies and/or tangible consequences such as economic gains and for policy making, it is crucial to be able to enumerate ethnic group membership. Efforts to do so have in the past century progressively moved away from classifications based on racial aspects towards self-identification by members of various groups. This has been problematic as a result of issues related to multiple identification and ambiguous categorisation practices.

#### **5.4 Ethnicity reporting and measuring ethnicity**

For example, Kukutai (2001) in a study on Māori ethnicity reporting in New Zealand identified a host of variables at macro-, meso- and micro-levels as well as mediating factors that account for the way that people report their ethnicity. Macro-level influences included the political and popular discourse, people's perceived and anticipated benefit of group membership and inter-group status. For example, Thornton (1997 cited in Kukutai, 2001, p. 28) has drawn on a change of stereotypes to explain why, from 1960 onwards, individuals who were counted as white or some other 'race' in earlier censuses, subsequently changed their response to American Indian in later counts. The impetus to report differently, he argues, was spurred on by the political mobilisation of Native Americans, the emergence of 'ethnic pride' movements from the 1960s and the subsequent removal of stigma. Similarly, Friedman (1994, p. 244) concludes that 'the assertion of ethnic identification within the neotraditionalist ideology has seen the rapid increase in the population of North American Indians as being 'not a fact of biology but of identity' along with five new 'tribes'.

Inter-group status and associated attitudes can be interpreted on a collective level as related to a country's history, its ethnic structure and socio-political factors. Most crucially, the definition and categorisation of an ethnic group plays an important role as inclusion or exclusion may determine individuals' political and statutory rights. The definition of ethnic categories such as those used in a census will also inevitably

influence the constitution of the ethnic group's identity by defining its boundaries (Gould, 1992, 2000b; Lowry, 1980; Nobles, 1999; Petersen, 1997; all cited in Kukutai, 2001, p. 1). Influences on a micro-level relate to socio-demographic variables such as marital status, family practices, phenotype, and ethnicity of spouse and parents. Individuals' responses also depended on socio-economic factors such as education, occupation, income and lifestyle as well as ethnic social environment and lifestyle (Kukutai, 2001).

Due to the dynamism of ethnicity reporting and the difficulty of enumerating and defining ethnic groups as a result of constructed and ever shifting boundaries some scholars have developed the view that ethnicity is a modern, constructed identity which is reinvented in each generation and reinforced by a variety of cultural means, often in the interest of nationalisms (Sollors, 1989) and there has been a call for the abandonment of the separate study of ethnic groups in favour of viewing them like any other social group competing for resources within a broader context of society (Taylor, 2002). Eriksen even asserts that 'a wider term such as 'social identity', would be more true to the flux and complexity of social processes than 'ethnic identity', and would allow for the study of group formation and alignments along a greater variety of axes than a single minded focus in 'ethnicity' would' (Eriksen, 2002, p. 173). However, many have continued to pursue the study of ethnic movements and their politics as a separate field of investigation.

### **5.5 The politics of ethnicity**

It is now widely accepted that the prime factor to drive the re-discovery or maintenance of ethnic identity is utility in situations of competition over scarce resources (Eriksen, 2002, p. 73), especially in times of economic decline (Friedman, 1994). The popular instrumental view asserts that ethnicity represents a resource to maximise individual and group level strategic advantage (Hechter, 1986; Sowell, 1994, both cited in Marie, 1999, p. 93) such as political recognition, land ownership and the retention of revenues from it (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005). Most commonly, an initial ethnic discourse that centres on selected symbols and markers (frequently drawn from tradition – see later), lead to the formation of political organisations (Eriksen, 2002) and ethnic platforms (Tilley, 1997) to legitimise ethnic claims for power and political recognition (Friedman, 1994).

To achieve these goals, ethnic discourse emphasises cultural similarity amongst group members irrespective of social differences through images of past suffering and injustice, references to members' personal experiences, a contrast between first-comers and invaders and the reduction of complex societal structures to a set of simple contrasts (Eriksen, 2002). This rhetoric is particularly pronounced amongst indigenous peoples whose demand is commonly for traditional lands that had been lost through colonisation. Colonisation is also viewed as the process by which non-Western cultures were shattered (Taylor, 2002) and the return of the land is claimed to provide for both the base of economic activity (Friedman, 1994; Eriksen, 2002) as well as the re-creation of a pre-colonisation society, and hence, a separate identity. Thus, land represents the link with the past and the way to a better future, because 'as long as the land exists, there is assurance that the people exist' (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p. 81).

Although ethnic discourse claims to be inclusive and proposes to reflect opinions and views of all group members, individuals are often not aware of the dynamics underlying the ethnic discourse that originates from within their leaders. Instead, individuals act upon personal motives to improve their individual situation (Friedman, 1994).

Personal motives have also been regarded by critics as the driving force behind ethnic leaders who secure themselves a generous share of political power and more tangible advantages while riding a wave of ethnic pride, awareness and political correctness. Under these circumstances the fluidity of ethnic categories is concealed by leaders who propose a fixed ethnic category with clear-cut borders where individuals have no real choice of membership in order to mobilise and unify members behind their political agendas (Brown, 2001). The concealment of fluidity is accomplished by constructing narratives of unfolding (Bhaba, 1990; Harrell, 1996), origin myths (Keyes, 1981; Williams, 1989) or a reified 'history' (Duara, 1995) all of which portray groups as having a long and unified history distinguished from other groups (all cited in Brown, 2001, p. 153).

Leaders, or 'ethnic brokers' (Rata, 2000) may originate either within the 'emerging' ethnic group, or from outside. The leadership of those, however, from within the ethnic group is problematic, as those individuals have risen to their status most commonly through the hierarchies of the dominant group (Taylor, 2002). Being a

formally educated elite with the linguistic and technological skills suitable for acting and lobbying on international scale, these individuals occupy an uncomfortable position, a condition sometimes awkwardly referred to as 'bi-culturalism' and state of 'in-betweenness' or a condition of 'diaspora' but with the irony and complexity that arises from their attempt to bridge a 'traditional' way of life dictated only by the rhythms of the natural world and modern reality enabling them to use the internet as a tool for global networking, self-expression and lobbying (Niezen, 2005).

Often, this circumstance triggers tension within the group on questions of authenticity, in particular when these leaders are in positions to prescribe the normative behaviours of 'their' ethnic group, which is usually based on a traditional prototype that is located in the past (Taylor, 2002). Traditionalist movements, many if not most of which have taken on an ethnic expression (Eriksen, 2002; Friedman, 1991), have seen an unprecedented increase. This has been interpreted as a response to the decline in Western hegemony (Friedman, 1994) and a consequence of modernity (Eriksen, 2002).

## **5.6 Traditionalisation through modernity**

The term 'traditionalisation' is derived from 'traditum', which is anything that is transmitted or handed down from the past (Shils, 1981 cited in Thompson, 1996, p. 91) and may refer to sets of assumptions, beliefs and patterns of behaviour. As such traditions provide the symbolic building blocks for the formation of both individual as well as collective identity (Thompson, 1996). Tradition provides individuals who are unable or unwilling to live in an age of radical uncertainty with a refuge (Thompson, 1996) a clear identity through group membership (Taylor, 2002; Eriksen, 2002) and 'security and salvation through prescribed sets of standards, values and rules for living' (Friedman, 1994, p. 243).

This return to a traditional pre-modern, or in cases of indigenous peoples, a pre-colonised way of life, however, gives rise to tension as the collectively defined identity is aimed at being different from mainstream society while retaining its benefits to improve the group's quality of life (Taylor, 2002). The process of a group's exit from the mainstream culture to re-instate and practice an independent 'former' way of life has been classified by Friedman (1994, p. 88) as 'culture III'. The underlying ideology of this type of culture is resistance to civilisation by creating

local communities that are close to nature and that are based on direct personal relationships of extended family and/or kinship networks. Thus, traditionalist movements can be viewed as reconstructions of idealised communities through the 'organising of the past in relation to the present' (Giddens, 1990) as 'they are motivated by the contemporary existence of the creating subject' (Friedman, 1994, p. 12).

While some researchers have been highly critical of such traditional movements, others have been more supportive in claiming that to view the persistence and renewal of tradition as merely a defensive reaction to the process of modernisation is to fail to see that there are certain aspects of tradition which are not eliminated by the development of modern societies, aspects which provide a foothold for the continued cultivation of traditional beliefs and practices in the modern world (Thompson, 1996). Similarly, Eriksen (2002, p. 174) argues that, although ethnic revitalisation may be an inherent feature of modernity, it 'does not necessarily arise from modernity and it is not necessarily an end-product'. Instead, ethnic revitalisation may be an outcome of the contemporary interest by the scientific world as well as an increased visibility.

Increased visibility has been fundamental to what Niezen (2000) termed 'indigenism', a movement resulting from globally pursued acts of solidarity amongst indigenous groups (Castree, 2004) through the use of ethnic platforms, international fora, various media and recent technology such as the internet (Niezen, 2005). These, along with a new generation of computer literate members of previously oral groups are becoming increasingly crucial as means of political activism and the forging of new identities of marginalised groups that are both local and global (Niezen, 2005). The use of recent technology and global representation by societies who base their identities on a traditional lifestyle that is close to nature and in opposition to modernity is but one of the central paradoxes of ethnic and indigenous movements. Like the term 'indigenous' itself, the widespread usage of it is as recent a phenomenon as indigenous and ethnic movements and can be traced back only about half a century, yet they convey permanence, inter-generational continuity and inviolable tradition (Niezen, 2005). These inviolable traditions of oral iteration, the authority of elders and informal, consensus-oriented systems of justice and politics, however, derive their very existence largely through modern international law, formal negotiation and lobbying at international fora of global governance (Niezen, 2005) and transnational



oppositional discourses of environmental and human rights (Castree, 2004). Traditions relating to everyday life such as subsistence-based economies and local small-scale production to provide for a local community as promoted by group leaders are in stark contrast to the use of advanced information and communication technologies for the affirmation of indigenous identities. Modern technologies are also used to lobby for a group's legitimacy through, for example, web postings and to network with other indigenous groups. The common reference on various internet sites to these 'authentic' groups as oral communities where the 'ancestors and elders speak to those who listen the wisdom of thousands of generations' (Niezen, 2005, p. 535), sounds like an irony but demonstrates the intentional fabrication of those who are in charge of creating a certain purposeful image to enhance the value of cultural distinctiveness.

Although these paradoxes are only in the process of surfacing they have already attracted controversy, like the more general traditionalist movements themselves. Critique of these movements centre around points such as when to locate groups' traditional ways of life. Usually, at least in the case of indigenous peoples this refers to a pre-colonial, or a pre-contact period, that is, pre-Westernised influences. This is problematic as it has in several cases been demonstrated that groups had engaged in contact and trade even before the arrival of Europeans and hence, local groups were in active exchange of not only artefacts but also modes of thinking and technology.

Another problem arises from the fact that many ethnic minorities and most indigenous groups were formerly oral societies where traditions were passed on through stories and wisdoms – often restricted to elders or otherwise specifically chosen individuals. As such it is highly probable that stories were adapted, reformulated or otherwise changed over time, not only because of inevitable errors but also because of the intrusion of hope and wishful thinking, and hence their usefulness for transmitting an authentic past or anything resembling it is questionable.

The counter-argument to this is, though, that the un-intentional or intentional fabrication of the past can be viewed as evidence in itself, namely of the effort of creating a desired collective selfhood by certain groups (Niezen, 2005). Through the use of the internet, which encourages more or less uncensored contributions, there exist almost no limits to the construction of imagined identities that aim at the release

from political repression towards self-determination that is aided by solidarity amongst indigenous groups from all over the globe (Niezen, 2005).

This fact allows current leaders to prescribe the 'traditional' way of life, which subsequently becomes the normative way of life for those who subscribe to this lifestyle providing them with a template – or the prototype – for group membership. Despite the problem of when to locate 'tradition' and its authenticity, there exist striking commonalities amongst ethnic groups with respect to what constitutes their traditional way of life. These include subsistence lifestyles complete with rituals, celebrations, production and farming techniques, types of animal husbandry, as well as associated cultural artefacts. In most cases there is reference to unique oral traditions, stories about the groups' history, ancestors and moral guidelines. The latter are anchored in a specific place, frequently referred to as 'homeland', 'place of origin' as well as 'motherland' or 'fatherland', which, in addition to containing features described in oral tradition is also the burial place of ancestors and, in cases of relocation, the ultimate destination of a real or mystified return. Consequently, places in their various scales of resolution ranging from a suburb to entire territories anchor groups' as well as individual's histories and hence, they are crucial for the construction of group as well as of member's personal identity.

This claim to and appropriation of specific territories and places – Watts (1999, p. 92) cites two examples within the existing state of Nigeria – with the aim to provide newly created identities with space for free expression has been termed by him as 'fetishisation' of geography. In both cited cases two charismatic leaders succeeded in forging new social identities for their respective constituencies, namely the Hausa society and the Ogoni people, both of which were profoundly geographical in character. The cited examples are by no means exceptions, but typical for both indigenist as well as ethno-nationalist struggles, or after political crisis, for example after the series of wars in the Balkans. However, more peaceful processes of the construction of geographically based identities have also seen a remarkable increase in academic and public interest, more commonly associated with returns to already existing nations, both on group as well as individual level, for example, amongst second generation emigrants. Such investigations of the construction of identities in relation to geographical space employ a number of spatial units, ranging from territories within an existing political state via entire nations to individual villages or

cities, and even suburbs within it. Areas within which such investigations might be undertaken is the migration literature in general and studies on return migration and expatriates in particular. The latter has been popularised in Europe following the establishment of the European Union. On a more global scale, studies of indigenous groups have become remarkably popular, not least as a consequence of the environmental crisis in search for alternative lifestyles, the consequence of the postcolonial aftermath and as a result of the current global movement of indigenism.

As a consequence of sympathetic political and societal attitudes towards the 'fetishisation' of geography, the number of case studies continues to increase – even in spite of claims that 'the various geographical imaginations that local actors and institutions have deployed to command their home 'turf' have often been chauvinistic, essentialist, and exclusive' (Castree, 2004, p. 141). Nevertheless, the question remains of how people build such identities in any given situation and who promotes what identifications (Castree, 2004), and, as Castells (1997, p. 7) put it: 'how, from what, by whom and for what....are identities constructed'.

### **5.7 Place identity**

In an attempt to provide insights into the above questions a multitude of case studies focusing on identity building based on geographical criteria – also referred to as 'differential geographies' (Castree, 2004) – has been conducted in recent times. Although these studies aim to assemble individual case studies into a coherent body of research that is supported by a firm theoretical foundation, there continues to exist disagreement about how to conceptualise and investigate links between place and identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004). This may be a result of difficulties conceptualising both concepts, the one of identity and place, as well as in combination, namely as the concept of 'place identity'.

Place identity is one of the core concepts of human geography and has come to span another discipline, the one of environmental psychology (Bonnes & Secciaroli, 1995; Lalli, 1992). Despite, or as a result of, the various angles used to investigate place identity there exists a set of core components that have emerged across a variety of styles of research. It is generally agreed that place identity is forged around a deep-seated familiarity with the environment, also referred to as 'insideness' (Rowles, 1983) or 'rootedness' (Tuan, 1980), that arises from people's – often unreflective or

unconscious – habituation to their physical environment. Associated with these is an affective-evaluative component (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1978) that gives rise to people's preferences for and sense of emotional belonging to particular environments as a result of psychological investment (Vaske & Corbin, 2001), frequently voiced as 'feeling at home' or 'being in place' (Eyles, 1985). This 'being in place' or 'feeling at home' enables individuals to achieve identity-relevant projects, a third component of place identity, that has led Korpela (1989) to define place identity precisely in these terms, namely as a set of cognition about physical settings through which individuals are able to regulate the self with the goals of self-coherence, self-worth and self-expression. Finally, the fourth component concerns the active creation of the physical environment for the expression and symbolisation of people's self both on individual as well as collective level, often through personalisation of the home or work place, but also on grander scale such as entire cities or even nations (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Cuba & Hummon, 1993). In the latter case places represent symbolic repositories of national values (Jackson & Penrose, 1993; Lewicka, 2008) as well as historical referents for the continuity and distinctiveness of self (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) and thus generating a collective sense of nationhood and group identity.

Although the latter is closely related to the previous components of place identity, it allows for the grouping of existing literature into two broad categories. One group, frequently employing the term 'genius loci', consists of studies dealing with processes by which occupants or outsiders infuse places with unique identities in order to maintain the places' distinctiveness and to guarantee their continuity in time (Lewicka, 2008; Stedman, 2002). For the purpose of a brief overview this approach to place identity will be referred to as 'identity for place'.

The second broad group on the other hand, relates to processes by which inhabitants derive their group and personal identities from their relationships with certain places, subsequently referred to as 'place for identity'. While the approach to place identity that investigates the construction of a place's idiosyncratic identity is both common and valid, it will only be briefly touched on as the focus of the current paper is on the other – identically termed – conceptualisation of 'place identity', whereby individuals and groups construct their identities in relation to places, with particular focus on indigenous and ethnic groups. The latter approach has gained popularity in recent years, especially with reference to globalisation and migration studies as well as

ethnification and indigenisation movements. However, the two processes are not independent from one another, as the following statement by Abrahamson (1996 cited in Ramsay, 2003, p. 110) indicates:

'Each distinctive group...occupies a geographical area that becomes intimately associated with the group. Through this linkage, areas acquire symbolic qualities that include their place names and social histories. Each place, both as a geographical entity and as a space with social meaning, also tends to be an object of residents' attachments and an important component of their identities.'

This statement represents the phenomenological approach within human geography to the study of place identity associated with Relph (1976) and Tuan (1979). By focusing on how individuals construct a sense of self through the intentional attribution of meanings to places, for example, through telling stories (Tuan, 1991) and 'emplotment' (Sarbin, 1983), which refers to the autobiographical rendering of self in terms of personal stories, the holistic investigation of 'being-in-place' was propagated by phenomenologists.

An example of an intentional re-creation of the identity of a place and its consequences for people's identities is Petrzelka's study (2004) of the 'Loess Hills' of Western Iowa. Triggered by an economic crisis the identity of a defined area was altered within public and scientific discourse by residents and scientists alike to emphasise its uniqueness based on existing landforms in order to attract tourists. As this purpose gradually evolved the identity of its inhabitants from 'Hills People' to 'Loess Hills People' was also reshaped, providing them with a novel identity based on the appropriation of the 'Loess Hills' name and the re-construction of the place. How the re-construction of a place impacts on people's identity is also described in Dixon and Durrheim's (2004) paper on the effects of desegregation in South Africa. In their case study they argue that the change from a formerly white beach into a multiracial one did not only trigger a change in the relationship between self and other, but also in people's relationship between self and place as a consequence of detachment and a sense of loss of place and familiarity associated with the restorative capacity of the place of the self.

Both case studies have employed both approaches to place identity, demonstrating their interdependence while clearly defining variables. However, there are examples where the concept of 'place identity' is variably applied within the same study and it may not be clear which purpose the researcher is intent on pursuing. This applies

especially to investigations that look beyond one individual or a single group in an attempt to incorporate all contenders to a certain place. For example Ramsay's (2003) study of the establishment of Chinatown within the confines of an Aboriginal settlement in Queensland, Australia extends the more common historical discourse centred on the white-indigenous binary by incorporating a third dimension, to one of the Chinese immigrants. The aim is to demonstrate how the identity of both the Aboriginal group as well as of the newly forming Chinatown were constructed. While the latter came into being through the clustering of the new immigrant group the former was based on a classification through the process of 'spatial othering' involving the appropriation of the out-group label 'Chinese' by the original Aboriginal family to affirm their group identity amidst the subjugation of white dominion. This identification through Chinatown continues until today despite many years of geographical disconnection during which the link with Chinatown has developed into a symbolic connection with the genealogical past.

#### *5.7.1 Identity for place*

The genealogical past of the various groups that are linked to a specific place, namely the 'Bluff' in Southland, New Zealand, has also been explored by Panelli, Allen, Ellison, Kelly, John and Tipa (2008). By applying the original conceptualisation of place identity as developed by humanistic geographers and employed by architects and planners researchers succeeded in unravelling processes that shape the identity of a geographical location. Using a variety of research methods including qualitative and quantitative research methods this detailed case study demonstrates how place and ethnicity intersect via diverse landscapes, social interaction sites and cultural practices, thus providing a deeper understanding of the identity of a specific location.

As much as the past can aid in understanding the existing identity of a place, its future can be actively created through planning and the built environment. Gospodini (2002), for example, argues for more innovative designs to reflect post-modern cultural pluralism in creating place-identities for contemporary multi-cultural and multi-ethnic European cities. By breaking with previous views that cities' place identities are enhanced through their built heritage and maintenance of national symbolism, Gospodini (2002) views intercity competition as aiding in a city's suitability for various groups as well as for tourism and economic activity.

The examples represent the most common strand of research on 'identity for place' studies that document how places are both experienced in every day life and strategically constructed, for example, to serve selected purposes such as the marketing of a place for tourist purposes (Dunn, McGuirk & Winchester, 1995). Research methods for this type of research include the study of symbols, histories, names and narratives as initially suggested by Tuan (1974, 1991).

Another, more critical strand of research on 'identity for place' refers to studies on power relations implicated in the production and bounding of places associated with the commodification of place in order to silence certain groups (Dunn, McGuirk & Winchester, 1995) and to maintain power relations between groups (Massey, 1993). Her work led Massey to conclude that places did not have single, unique 'identities', but were full of internal conflicts [and] a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations.

#### *5.7.2 Place for identity*

Social relations are also important within the other broad group of investigations into place identity, referred to as 'place for identity'. Within this approach places do not merely serve as backdrops for people's behaviour, but are actively 'incorporated' as part of their self (Krupat, 1983) as individuals and groups construct their identities in relation to specific places. The construction of a place-bound identity serves four main purposes according to Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996), as places provide groups and individuals alike with boundaries to be distinguished from others while providing them with a sense of continuity, a positive self esteem and self-efficacy, all of which appear as particularly desirable for members of marginalised groups such as ethnic or indigenous groups.

Most studies of 'place for identity' use the concept in the psychological sense of self-categorisation in terms of place (Lewicka, 2008) at varying levels of inclusiveness ranging from suburb to city to region, to nation and to continent. These varying levels of inclusiveness can be used to rank people's place-related self-categorisation in various countries allowing for some general conclusions. General conclusions are, for example that local identification is generally high (Lewicka, 2005), that regional identity tends to be lower than national or local identity (Lewicka, 2008; Bolognani, 2007) and that national identity is stronger in Eastern than in Western European

countries (Kohr & Martini, 1992 cited in Lewicka, 2008, p. 212). Another conclusion is that most individuals prefer their respective national rather than a European identity (European Commission, 2001 cited in Lewicka, 2008, p. 212).

Despite challenges and problems associated with self-categorisation, the influence of such an approach has been noted in emerging work on the discursive construction of place identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004) which entails that the narrative 'positioning of someone who is of a place can connect a speaker to the multiple established meaning and identities of that place' (Taylor, 2003, p. 193). Discursive practices have been found as being crucial for the reshaping of place identities of local residents as well as the place they inhabit (Petrzelka, 2004) or from which they have been extradited. With reference to the latter, discursive practices relating to ethnic and indigenous groups' connection with a genealogical past, associated with a more or less spiritual attachment to places or territories as a result of 'occupancy since time immemorial' (Niezen, 2000) appear to have a noticeable effect on the successes of claims to sovereignty and land ownership. Discursive practices are also crucial for individuals' groups affiliation both of current inhabitants as well as those living in the diaspora, where it may surface in the form of a myth of return or as everyday practices of those who are actually returning.

In addition to pursuing and achieving respective individual goals, the general opinion about the positive effects of a firm place identity is that '[I]n a rootless, mobile world this anchor to a particular place and community is a source of certainty' (Worral, 2001, p. 82) for people to meet the demands of the current global, fast-moving world (Ministry of Māori Development, 2001).

However, despite a widespread academic and general celebration of the advantages and benefits of well-developed place identities together with the enthusiasm and sympathy towards matters related to 'indigenism' (Niezen, 2000) and ethnic movements, Castree (2004, p. 135) cautions about 'attempts to put 'strong' boundaries around places ... [as they] are misguided because such boundary acts are always false attempts to shut-out (or at least ameliorate the impacts of) translocal ties that in part constitute those places'. As such it would not only be a denial of the current ontological fact that the global is the local as expressed by a relational concept of place, but it is also politically regressive because it may lead to real or potential



apartheid as examples of violent ethnic movements (Castree, 2004) such as the recent crisis in the Balkans demonstrates.

In the Balkans the affirmation of an us-them dichotomy based on spatial criteria erupted into a large scale war. Also on national scale, but evolving over several years has been the construction of an Irish spatial identity. This prompted Devine-Wright and Lyons (1997) to conclude that the us-them dichotomy may be most pronounced at national level. However, this may not be the case as the increasing number of studies of ethnic and indigenist groups indicate where identification occurs with territories or even smaller-scale places within a nation. Despite much variability of these studies the common denominator between efforts to create an identity based on place, be it peaceful or violent, is the distinction from or opposition to another group, be it host or hostile.

An example of an investigation of the creation of the us-them dichotomy and the role that place plays for individuals' identification with an indigenous group is the one by Kana'iaupuni and Liebler (2005). Focusing on Native Hawaiian identification processes within the US, Kana'iaupuni and Liebler found strong ties to Hawaii as the spiritual and geographical home to be vital to the intergenerational transmission of Hawaiian identification. This pattern corresponded to previous findings undertaken in the US with Asian American and American Indians, of geographic, together with kin relationships as being strongly correlated with ethnic and indigenous group identification.

A further example of the central role that place plays for an indigenous group's and its members' identification practices is the case study of Māori. As the link between individuals and certain places is the foundation onto which the analysis of Māori return migration is based, Māori place-identity links are elaborated on in depth in the following subsection.

### **5.8 Māori identity**

Māori identity is based on the one hand on land in general (te whenua) and on the other, on land in particular (te marae) (Dann, 1988). As any organism inhabiting the land is regarded as a descendent of Rangi (Sky Father) and Papa (Earth Mother) including humans. Māori identification – in a social as well as a psychological sense – is based on kinship and ties with the land (Rankin, 1986) through the central

organising principle of society according to genealogical ties (whakapapa) (Lian, 1992). This kinship with the land has its source in the complex network of whakapapa that not only binds people together, but links humans to the gods and to all things that have a force of their own such as mountains and rivers in a personal manner (Wai, 167). While the group's identity was defined by their territory (tūrangawaewae) (Walker, 1990), individuals' identities were grounded within this territory and the group inhabiting it. It is thus a composite identity that embraces self and other, and Māori individuals' identification practices included synonymously their tribe and the land associated with it as a consequence (Kāwharu, 1992). While identification practices based on tribal membership as well as land reflect pre-European traditions, the Māori sense of identity in relation to place is understood to endure for generations as the following quote by informant 9 confirms:

'I still identify myself as coming from [a place in Northland] although I have never ever lived there, that's where granny lived'.

Because a person's identity is grounded in land, its portability is limited. Instead, Māori identity is linked with the earth through the marae setting (Durie, 1999). In the case where a tribe lost its marae setting on its original home base or village (papa kāinga) and its sacred places, it also lost much of its authority (mana). The group's whole universe would have been shaken, its kinship network ruptured, its very identity threatened (Norman, 1998). Places thus provide Māori with a sense of identity, belonging and continued existence not only as a people but as the tangata whenua of New Zealand (Asher & Naulls, 1987).

In pre-European times, Māori identified by their canoes (waka) as the most inclusive frame of reference for group membership and, more commonly, by their tribe (iwi), sub-tribe (hapū) or extended family (whānau). The choice of identification or group membership with any particular level of inclusiveness depended on the situation an individual would find him/herself in. For example,

[T]he Whanganui people identified at various political levels. The first level can be equated with a tribe (iwi), followed by the more regularly functioning political unit, the hapū (extended family). They also operated or identified from time to time as a regional group, generally according to the river's upper, middle or lower parts. Despite occasional hapū and regional rivalries, the hapū of the three regions also identified as a people, or iwi. This larger identity served to remind the people of their common origins that they might work together when confronted by an outside force (Ballara, 1988).

However, with the arrival of Europeans and later migrants from other parts of the world a new level of inclusiveness became available – and necessary – to distinguish between newcomers and the indigenous population, generating the term 'Māori'.

This term, referring to New Zealand's indigenous population originates in the self-ascription as 'tangata Māori', which translates as 'ordinary or usual people' to be contrasted from the newcomers who became to be referred to as 'pākehā' (non-Māori, or European) from the early 19th century onwards as a consequence of the colonisation process (Walker, 1989). This was a fundamental departure from earlier epistemologies, whereby Māori identity was constituted genealogically in relation to ancestors and kinsfolk (Salmond, 1993) and individuals would identify by their tribal or sub-tribal affiliation in relation to ancestral land (Gould 1996). An identification as 'Māori' in opposition to others (Cohen, 1994; Gould, 1996) commenced with the arrival of immigrants and gained specific significance during a later era referred to as Māori renaissance.

With the influx of newcomers Māori identity as the original inhabitants of New Zealand was shaken profoundly as a consequence of colonisation associated with land loss through legislation, confiscation, and to a lesser extent by legitimate sale. Together with new diseases, different lifestyles and political oppression, land loss is blamed for the near-elimination of Māori as a distinctive people (Durie, 1986; Durie, 1994). For individuals and groups whose identities are inextricably tied to place the fragmentation of tribal territory was paralleled by a fragmentation of identities associated with a loss of spirit (Durie, et. al., 1997), loss of group support and the loss of mana (Rankin, 1986; Durie, 1986), generating a widespread Māori welfare dependency that was further exacerbated by the disruption of traditional structures and support networks associated with urbanisation (Wetere, 1991).

In response to rising urban poverty amongst mostly detribalised Māori began a cultural revival movement during the mid-20th century as individuals began to identify with 'their' culture through tracing of their genealogy, renewal of contact with tribal territories, establishing urban Māori organisation and learning the Māori language. This essentially ethnic movement became known as the Māori renaissance as Māori consciously set out to acquire a sense of identity (Rata, 2000) through forging links with their place of origin, frequently and overtly expressed through individuals' return migration, referred to as 'going home'.

Before analysing place-identity links crucial for Māori return migration a brief overview of theories that have traditionally been employed for the investigation of place identity follows.

### **5.9 Theories of place identity**

The name that may be most readily associated with a theory of place identity is Proshansky who was the driving force behind the place identity theory during the 1970s. Derived from self-theory, place identity is conceptualised in terms of the cognitive connection between the self and the physical environment, as 'those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideals, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment' (Proshansky, 1978, p. 155), and could be thought of as 'a 'potpourri' of cognitive, emotional and perceptual processes, formed through individuals' transactions with natural and built environments' (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 60). Although such processes are considered fragmented and constantly re-forming, they eventually crystallise into a distinctive sub-system of the self (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983), into some enduring feature that can be subjected to psychometric measurement, quantification and hypothesis testing (Lalli, 1992; Stedman, 2002). Like identity, place identity develops in a child as s/he learns to distinguish between him/herself and the physical environment (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983). Once this is achieved, personal attachments to places are formed through which the person acquires a sense of belonging and purpose, most notably with the person's home. The latter provides the person with an unselfconscious state of 'rootedness' or centredness' (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 60). A well-developed place identity provides a person with a sense of well-being through a number of functions as well as providing him or her with a role within society (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983).

Despite the noteworthy contribution of this theory and the positive impact it had on environmental psychology as well as interdisciplinary co-operation, Proshansky Fabian and Kaminoff's 1983 theory has attracted criticism. Critics claim that there is no account of what processes guide action in relation to identity (Korpela, 1989) and thus it doesn't answer the question of why and how places become salient for people's

identities (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Another shortcoming is the theory's failure to address the social component, that is, group processes, adequately (Lalli, 1992). Furthermore, the theory has not been located firmly within other theories on identity, nor has there been an adequate empirical and theoretical support to validate it or evidence used to modify it (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003; Lalli, 1992).

In an effort to explain a range of relationships between the physical environment and identity in more detail, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) applied Breakwell's identity process model (1986, 1992, 1993 cited in Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, p. 206) both to existing literature as well as empirical data to argue its usefulness as a theoretical framework through its four principles: distinctiveness, continuity, self-esteem and self-efficacy. Similar to this effort of incorporating the place-identity thematic into social psychology was Stedman's (2002) proposal to conceive sense of place as a social-psychological model of human-environment interaction. More specifically, place satisfaction is viewed as an attitude, symbolic meanings about a place are viewed as cognitions and place attachment as identity. According to Stedman (2002, p. 563) the link between geographical concepts and concepts derived from social psychology offers 'the advantages of a clearer definition of terms, the empirical specifiable relationship between variables and established theoretical foundations for gaps in the sense-of-place theory'.

### **5.10 Summary and conclusion**

Although recent efforts in linking the physical environment and identity for example, by Stedman (2002) or Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) remedy Dixon and Durrheim's (2000, p. 28) statement that 'given the variety of relevant work that has been produced by their companion discipline, environmental psychology, social psychologists' neglect of the place identity nexus is perhaps surprising' somewhat, there continues to exist a focus on individuals at the expense of group processes (Lalli, 1992). The focus on individual processes however, contradict the bulk of recent studies on ethnification and indigenist movements which points decidedly towards inter-group processes, including identity construction for places and their subsequent use for the construction of group identities that are in opposition or contrast to others. Place-based identities may be drawn upon at various levels of inclusiveness as the Māori example of the Whanaganui people demonstrates.

Furthermore, most frameworks that have been suggested to investigate place identity fall into the trap that Castree (2004) has warned about, namely to view places as enclosed entities representing backdrops for people's decision making rather than viewing them as actively constituted by translocal ties and purposefully constructed, and thus serving as 'distinct social units...within which social relationships transpire' (Lobao, 1996, p. 78). By aiming at 'a more supple use of the concept of place that can accommodate the complexities of variegated real world place-projects' (Castree, 2004, p. 133) while employing the concept of multiple identities that are continuously negotiated and constructed in response to changing situations (Christou, 2006) such as indigenous group membership, places are not absolute but enclosed by social boundaries and meaning that has been brought about by the social interactions occurring there (Petrzelka, 2004).

In so doing the analysis of place-projects of ethnic and indigenous groups will follow the same aspects as an analysis of other social groups as suggested by Taylor (2002) and the wider term of 'social identity' will be used to allow for 'the study of group formation and alignments along a greater variety of axes' (Eriksen, 2002, p. 173) than a focus on ethnicity or place identity would.

As social interactions occur both at individual as well as collective level a comprehensive theory to take account of ongoing processes aiming at place-related identity projects that has at the same time a firm theoretical as well as empirical ground is Social Identity Theory, as will be argued in subsequent chapters consisting of a theoretical discussion followed by its application to the case study of Māori return migration.

## Chapter 6

### SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY AND INDIGENOUS PLACE

#### 6.1 Introduction

Social Identity Theory (SIT) is a theory of group membership and intergroup relations based on self-categorisation, social comparison and the construction of a shared self-definition in terms of ingroup-defining properties (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). SIT provides thus a comprehensive perspective on social behaviour that stresses the wider social context of intergroup relations while linking individual cognitive processes to large-scale forces to explain group behaviour (Tajfel, Jaspers & Fraser, 1984). Tested and supported both empirically and theoretically, it is possibly one of the best developed theories linking phenomena occurring at various levels of explanation by encompassing concepts on intrapersonal, interpersonal, situational, positional and ideological levels (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). As the theory is now broadly applied and described in detail elsewhere (for example, Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 298), only a brief overview will be provided, followed by a more detailed discussion of points relevant to this study.

The name most readily associated with SIT is Henri Tajfel, whose work on social categorisation, intergroup relations, social comparison, and prejudice and stereotyping provided the foundation for a comprehensive theory (Tajfel, 1974). Tajfel's work was expanded by John Turner and his associates by integrating their studies of the role of self-categorisation in generating group behaviours associated with collective self-conception (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The basic proposition is that identity is defined on the one hand by an individual's personal identity derived from idiosyncratic characteristics, traits and personal relationships, and on the other hand, by the individual's social identity as determined by his/her group membership (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). The latter is associated with intergroup behaviour such as discrimination, conformity, normative behaviour and ethnocentrism.

SIT represents a collectivist approach that assumes that the behaviour of group members is influenced by unique social process and cognitive representations that specifically emerge from and are fostered within groups (Abrams & Hogg, 1988;

Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Individuals can have as many social identities as there are groups they feel they belong to, and as many personal identities as there are interpersonal relationships (Turner, 1982).

Which identity a person adopts is dependent on the psychologically salient basis of self-conception and the way in which the self is categorised. According to self-categorisation theory (Turner, et al., 1987), an extension of SIT, the process of categorising oneself as a group member provides the person with a social identity which is motivated by the reduction of uncertainty and a positive view about oneself and one's group (Hogg, 2000a). Self-categorisation generates both group as well as intergroup behaviours based on relevant group norms that describe and prescribe the behaviour of both the group and the individual in the form of internalised cognitive representations of an appropriate standard. The aim and effect of a group norm is to minimise differences among group members and to accentuate differences between an ingroup and an outgroup. Thus a group can be described as 'two or more people who share a common definition and evaluation of themselves and behave in accordance with such a definition' (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 200)...while 'striving to achieve mutual goals' (Johnson & Johnson, 1987 cited in Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 201). In contrast to the more traditional view that groups are essentially a function of cohesiveness, often conceptualised as 'attraction-to-group' (Hogg, Hardie & Reynolds, 1995), SIT and its extension of social categorisation theory treats a group as a collection of individuals who categorise themselves in terms of the same social category. The process of categorising self and others into a social category generates depersonalisation, which is the process through which cognition, perception and behaviour is regulated by a group standard, a prototype, rather than idiosyncratic personal standards (Hogg, et al. 1995; Turner, et al., 1987).

Although the macro social aspect of SIT has been tested successfully both in laboratory as well as naturalistic settings (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002), social psychologists have traditionally neglected place in their analyses (Uzzell, Pol & Badenas, 2002). Most commonly, place served as a backdrop for behaviour and, more rarely, as a marker for a place-related social category whereby individuals identify with a place, affirming group membership as defined by location (Uzzell, Pol & Badenas, 2002). Despite the conclusion by Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto and Breakwell (2003) that identity theory could be adapted to incorporate aspects of place if viewed



as a social entity or 'membership group' providing identity, few have afforded place a more central role in their analyses of identity processes both on individual as well as social level.

One rare example where identity in relation to place did take centre stage is a study by Uzzell, Pol and Badenas (2002). In this study the importance of place for the formation of groups through cohesion is argued. Cohesion facilitates social and place identity to such an extent that it is subsequently referred to as 'place-related social identity'. Place-related social identity was found to be crucial for individuals' pro-environmental behaviour in two communities within the wider London area.

Similar to the previous study the importance of place for group members' individual behaviour – in this case return migration – as facilitated by identification processes, is argued. However, unlike the study by Uzzell, Pol and Badenas (2002), not cohesion but self-categorisation of individuals based on a set of group norms that are characterised by strong links with and affection for place as enshrined in the group's prototype plays the central role. Identification processes and individuals' behaviours such as return migration are linked through the concepts of prototype and normative behaviour. Furthermore, the usefulness of place will be discussed in relation to group and individual identification processes as motivated by self-enhancement, optimal distinctiveness and uncertainty reduction amongst indigenous groups.

## **6.2 Social mobility and social change**

In many cases the initial contact between indigenous peoples and colonial powers had been a sympathetic one based on more or less equal powers enshrined in contracts and treaties. However, often such initially amicable relations have undergone power shifts in favour of colonial nations as a result of growing settler populations, increased military power and the decline of numbers of indigenous populations through the introduction of diseases and internal warfare (Niezen, 2000). Subsequent discrimination and policies facilitating the assimilation of indigenous groups have relegated the original inhabitants to the minority status of a marginalised group without legal or material means to redress their miserable situations and to seek compensations from states that had failed to honour treaties (Niezen, 2000).

Although it was occasionally possible for a few selected individuals to pass into the majority group by assimilating, the social mobility belief system whereby intergroup

boundaries were perceived to be permeable, allowing individuals to pass from a lower-status group into a higher-status group in order to improve social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), continued to be thwarted by discriminatory practices of individuals and society alike. Similarly, on group level, the social change belief system, which refers to the view that intergroup boundaries are impermeable and an improvement of a person's social identity can only be achieved through challenging the legitimacy of the groups' different status positions (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), was also frustrated by the initial failures of efforts by indigenous leaders to change their situation through legal means (Niezen, 2000). The status quo of indigenous groups representing marginalised minority groups persisted, often through the use of force. At around the mid-twentieth century the context within which indigenous groups found themselves changed on a number of dimensions triggered by social, political, legal and economic changes.

To list just a few of those developments comprehensively would go beyond the scope of this study and hence, only very general trends are mentioned briefly to set the context for the later analysis. On a social level, the human rights movements generated a much more favourable view about indigenous and other minority groups. Slogans like 'Black is beautiful' demonstrate one of the strategies referred to as 'social creativity' (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 300) that was employed to improve the social identity of a previously marginalised group. This is an example of the effort by groups to re-define the value of an already existing dimension by which groups were compared from a negative one into a positive one, a strategy that came to be widely adopted by indigenous and ethnic groups in all parts of the world.

Further positive impact came by means of the green movement, as indigenous lifestyles that were seen to still be in harmony with nature came to be attributed with the potential for saving a world that was endangered by Western style exploitative behaviour typical for capitalism. As indigenous practices of traditional lifestyles attracted attention while selected indigenous groups were consulted for environmental management issues (Ekins, 1992), a new dimension became available by which groups could be measured and measure themselves, one that strongly favoured previously marginalised groups in various parts of the world, adding to their self-esteem and pride. These developments were often extended by emphasising the groups' uniqueness as communicated not only through consultancy but also for tourist

purposes that generated tangible benefits such as revenues through, for example, guided tours and the sale of artefacts.

Ironically, a third strategy of social creativity employed by indigenous groups was provided by the very type of society that they were to save through their close-to-nature lifestyles. Making use of modern communication technology, indigenous groups that had until then not been aware 'of the widespread, almost global, nature of the crises they faced' (Niezen, 2000, p. 123) hooked up with others through indigenous organisations, networks and international fora that sprang up in the 1960s and 1970s (Niezen, 2000). Ensuing contacts and an abundance of information allowed for comparisons between more similar groups, replacing the often only reference point for indigenous groups, the colonial majority or host group by an indigenous group. In so doing negative comparisons on a number of socio-economic measures devised by and suited to a Western colonial society lost their importance, and more appropriate measures for comparisons could be made with groups that were more similar with respect both to traditions and mistreatment as a minority group. Such networking set off the development of a more positive self-esteem amongst indigenous groups that has to date continued and generated enough pride and confidence to engage in social competition with their respective majority groups after recognising the illegitimacy of their forced fate.

The accumulation of political power opened up the way for a social change belief system in favour of indigenous groups as cognitive alternatives became available where there had been none previously, and existing systems of discrimination and marginalisation became increasingly unstable. Indigenous groups commenced to challenge their existing situation and to engage directly in social competition through a number of strategies.

The crucial development that enabled indigenous groups to engage in fruitful competition with their majority groups was the change in the legal context. In fact, Niezen (2000, p. 121) argues that, '[I]ndigenous identity has grown largely out of...international legislative bodies of states [which] have provided the conceptual origins and practical focus of indigenous identity'. Making use of guidelines and legal requirements by various sub-organisations of the UN (Niezen, 2000) indigenous groups gained recognition for past and current mistreatment. This frequently led to tangible gains such as compensation payments for or return of confiscated lands.

Other economic advantages such as the marketing of unique traditions and artefacts for tourist purposes allowed indigenous groups to deal with their respective majority groups on more equal terms.

From the mid-twentieth century onwards indigenous group membership increased, not least because there was a move away from enumeration practices based on biological racial attributes towards self-categorisation. The increase of indigenous group membership has been linked to politically motivated ethnic pride movements and a change of stereotypes (Thornton, 1997 cited in Kukutai, 2001, p. 28) as well as the assertion of ethnic identification within the neotraditionalist ideology (Friedman 1994). Changes in the social context, the development of economic independence and firm legal structures aided in reducing earlier uncertainties and negative socio-economic measures that had previously impeded a healthy level of self-confidence amongst indigenous group members. Spurred by and generative of pride in one's ethnic and indigenous heritage, many indigenous groups have embarked on their political organisation both within their own group as well as in relation to others. The following sub-chapter on Māori renaissance is an example of one such ethnification movement of an indigenous group, illustrating previous findings and providing the national context for the case study of Māori return migration.

### **6.3 Māori renaissance – national context for the case study**

Although the term relates more commonly to events including and following a series of protests, mobilisation and responses to the recession during the mid-20th century, Webster (1998) dates the roots for the Māori renaissance back to the 1920s when Māori recognised that they were unable to provide for themselves and their kin as a result of decreasing farm sizes and lost struggles to retain land, rising unemployment and the debasing of their previously established skills. The situation of Māori grievances at the time was brought to public and official awareness largely through Māori political leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata, Dame Te Puea Herangi, Sir Maui Pomare, Sir Peter Buck and others, as well as dedicated anthropologists, aiming at developing an ideology of Māori as a distinguishable sector of society to improve the social, legal and political situation of the original inhabitants of New Zealand (Webster, 1998).

At the heart of the effort to create a distinguishable sector of society lay the view that a strengthening of Māori identity would lead to an improvement of the situation of those Māori who were characterised by negative statistics on a number of socio-economic measures and by increasing levels of mental illness which appeared to be pushing them even further towards the fringes of society (Tapsell, 2003). A strengthening of the sense of Māori and cultural identity – especially for children – was argued by some as leading to better health outcomes and better performance on a number of socio-economic measures (Tapsell, 2003) and tests designed to measure skills (Cooper, 1997). The view of the benefits of a healthy Māori identity is detailed by informant 1:

'A lot of it [the wish to return] was due to having children. And thinking that that was...that very essentialistic idea of 'this is our heritage, they must have it'. If they are deprived of it they'll grow up to be delinquent. And that Māori youngsters are underachieving because they are denied their heritage. So if they are given their heritage they'll be fine'.

Steps along the 'road of recovery' (Walker, 1987, p. 46) were the revitalisation of the language and an eventual retribalisation of Māori land through grounding Māori culture firmly within tūrangawaewae and marae (central communal meeting place) (Walker, 1987).

The effort to create a distinguishable sector of society was undertaken both from outside, for example, through governmental policies of biculturalism (Levine, 1997), as well as from within through, for example, the kotahitanga<sup>6</sup> and the kingitanga<sup>7</sup> movements (Gould, 1996).

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<sup>6</sup> In the late 19th century Pāpāwai marae became the focus of Kotahitanga, the Māori parliament movement. Pāpāwai was established in the 1850s when the government set aside land for a Māori settlement near Greytown. In 1888 Hikurangi meeting house was opened, a large T-shaped structure which was built for the Kotahitanga or Māori parliament. This sat at Pāpāwai for sessions in 1897 and 1898. It passed a resolution to end Māori land sales and was visited by Lord Ranfurly, the governor general, and by Premier Richard Seddon. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/Waikato/4/en> [Accessed 22 April 2009]

<sup>7</sup> The King movement (Te Kīngitanga) began in the 1850s, some years after the arrival of Europeans, in an attempt to halt sales of land and promote Māori authority in New Zealand. A number of tribes supported the movement, but it became centred on the Waikato region and people. The desire to retain land was a central concern of the movement, repeated in sayings, songs and haka. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/Waikato/4/en> [Accessed 22 April 2009]

### *6.3.1 Social context*

Participants in the project to create a distinguishable sector of society included not only Māori political leaders and anthropologists, but also a host of young and enthusiastic Māori and Pākehā embracing the idea of Māori renaissance. Fitzgerald (1971 cited in Rata, 2000, p. 95), for example, lists a number of Māori university students of various disciplines who consciously set out to acquire a sense of their identity as Māori. This effort was paralleled by several developments in education, language and arts to revive threatened knowledge and include Māori elements into school curricula, mainstream knowledge and everyday discourse. Specific developments of the renaissance were the introduction of programmes for the regeneration of the Māori language, focusing predominantly on pre-school children, fostering pride in a Māori cultural heritage through cultural groups, language tuition and the spread of marae (central communal meeting places) from rural to urban areas (Voyle & Simmons, 1999). At the same time, media interest grew steadily as newspapers commented almost daily on issues relating to 'Māoridom', a term that demonstrated the success of the effort of creating a social sector distinct from non-indigenous population (Webster, 1998).

Much of the success of the Māori renaissance can be linked to the then current political ideology of indigenous revival of what Friedman (1994) refers to as 'culture III', and 'indigenism' as referred to by Niezen (2000, 2005), with its roots in the European Romanticism and images of primitivism, the noble savage, and folk society (Webster, 1998). The revivalist ideology combines cultural identity with a culturally defined resistance to civilisation, frequently provided with additional momentum through global networking between indigenous peoples. Global networking allows groups to disseminate information about their experiences of similar efforts aimed at achieving greater self-determination and at addressing historical injustices (Voyle & Simmons, 1999; Niezen, 2000).

In the New Zealand context, the success of the Māori renaissance can be attributed to the fact that the initial efforts were in line with the then current academic thesis of social change and an essentialised version of traditional Māori culture dating back to the 1960s that remains almost unchallenged by empirical ethnographic work until today (Webster, 1998). This version of traditional Māori culture is understood as the restoration of the traditional way of life within a traditional-modernity duality and

implies the revival of family relationships, the return to the lands of the ancestors and the placing of individuals within the group structure (Rata, 2000). The following quote by informant 1 is an example of the effect that efforts of restoring a traditional Māori way of life had on people's decision making:

[What motivated the family to return] was certainly part of that movement at the time in the late 70s/80s, the belief that here was a better way of living, the communal way. Yes, Māori things were seen by people of my generation to be exotic, I suppose, and so interesting. And here was the answer. Looking back to the past. Yes, and so it was really that idealism of my generation, I think, that was all part of it. And...just trying to think what it was like then. And a real belief in the idea of community and that Māori had the answer, that they had these truths. And that the more we could be like that the more we would have these truths as well. I wonder, looking back, it was a precursor to new age, that whole mysticism. And trying to find meaning in something, and to check our own world.'

The idealised form of traditional Māori culture continued to be promoted by scholars and Māori and Pākehā supporters of the renaissance alike (Webster, 1998), generating a shift in public attitude towards Māoridom and an expression of ethnic pride that played a part in an unprecedented increase of people reporting as 'full' or 'sole' Māori during the 1980s (Pool, 1991).

A change of attitude was also reflected by the manner in which data was officially collected with the Census of Populations and Dwellings moving from enumeration on the basis of 'race' prior to 1971, 'origin' in 1971 towards the category of 'ethnic origin' from 1976 until 1986. From 1991 onwards two separate categories measuring two different concepts became available to individuals who were able to claim membership within the Māori ethnic group and/or Māori descent group. While the latter is about ancestry and descent, the former refers to cultural affiliation, employing an ethnic concept based on self-perception that enables individuals to identify with groups that they feel they belong to (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The purpose of a refinement of definitions was and continues to be a measure of Māori as a distinct population to understand the dynamics of population and social change and to enable comparisons of socio-economic measures of Māori and the general population (Mako, 1998).

Although the substantial cultural, educational and political gains of the Māori renaissance were generally viewed as positive, there was also critique of the widening gap between the idealised version of Māoridom and the bleak social reality of the

majority of Māori who remained unaffected by the positive impact of the Māori renaissance, able to 'enjoy only its most intangible benefits of cultural and spiritual values' (Webster, 1998, p. 39). Nevertheless, processes of Māori identification became inextricably linked to political and legal issues pertaining to grievances dating back to the 19th century Māori land loss and the dis-honouring of the Treaty of Waitangi which was signed as a partnership between Māori and British Crown in 1840 (Rata, 2000). By the 1975 Māori Land March, the ethnification movement had become shaped as a political movement of indigenisation (Rata, 2000).

### *6.3.2 Legal and political context*

Politically, the sense of Māori identity took shape as the then popular public and academic discourse of multiculturalism was replaced by biculturalism during the 1980s. This was made possible by officially recognising the historical treaty partnership between Māori and the state through the Labour government in 1975 with the Treaty of Waitangi Act and with subsequent Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Acts 1985, 1998 and 2006. This new political partnership propelled processes of Māori ethnification into a politicised indigenous movement, complete with its own institutionalised space for expression through the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal and consolidating the Māori political identity based on their indigenous status relative to the non-indigenous status of Pākehā (Rata, 2000). Fundamental in this process was the recognition of tribes (iwi) as the social, political and economic institution of indigenisation. The devolvement of authority to tribes was part of government efforts during the 1980s to wind down the central influence of the Ministry of Māori affairs in an effort to curb costs and to integrate tribal organisations into the free market (Webster, 1998). This generated unprecedented political mobilisation and organisation amongst Māori during the 1980s.

As part of this movement legal scholars embarked on the investigation of the possibility that aboriginal title to land had not been extinguished properly. In 1993, the Māori Affairs Bill was passed into legislation, encouraging joint retention and utilisation of tribal land by kin groups under various schemes such as trusts or tribal incorporations. This arrangement was influenced heavily by Māori leaders who promoted the ideals of the Māori Renaissance and traditional communal values.



### *6.3.3 Critique and problems associated with the Māori renaissance*

The reconstitution of tribes into legal property owners of traditional lands and waters allowed Māori to submit land and water claims for their return dating back to 1840, the year in which the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. The return of land and waters to tribal institutions was considered as the pre-requisite for the revival of the traditional Māori mode of production, albeit in a modernised technical form (Norman, 1998). As individuals returned from urban areas as part of the revival process an unprecedented re-tribalisation process amongst Māori was triggered, a process that has been termed as 'tribal fundamentalism' (Levine, 1997, p. 139), as 'neotribal capitalism' (Rata, 2000, p. 41) and as inadequate due to the traditional complexities of the concept of iwi (Ward, 1999).

In practical terms the complexities of the traditional concept of iwi entailed difficulties in selecting rightful representatives of iwi claimants by the Waitangi Tribunal (Ward, 1999) and the problematic of defining traditional tribes and enumerating their members (Kukutai, 2001). Furthermore, the policy of tribes as legal property owners and recipients of Māori assets was criticised as leading to an unequal distribution of wealth and to a split between ethnic Māori identity and officially recognised tribal Māori status (Rata, 2000).

As a consequence, there was an urgent need for clear definitions in an attempt to arrive at more equitable distribution of assets and researchers embarked on a search for answers to questions such as what constitutes Māori identity, how to define and measure Māori identity for statistical and policy purposes, what factors influence reporting and identification and what issues impact on reporting as sole or mixed Māori and whether there are intergenerational and inter-group differences (Kukutai, 2003). In an in-depth study on Māori ethnicity reporting Kukutai (2003, p. 8) concludes that the Māori population remains 'far from homogenous' and there is no agreement on how to define Māori, rather, as it depends on the purpose. Despite the claim that there continues to exist the need to define 'Māori' more clearly due to tensions between statutory definitions of Māori based on descent and the concept of ethnicity employed in the census based on self-definition (Kukutai, 2003), others maintain that such a definition not only creates 'institutional distance' between Māori and non-Māori, but also divergence within the Māori community through the accentuation of a normative standard of Māori identity (Marie, 1999, p. 262).

The need for clear definitions also arose in relation to traditional Māori terminology following its differential use in everyday discourse and for policy purposes leading to difficulties and disagreement about their interpretation. For example, authorities struggled to define what responsibilities and rights are associated with the term 'tangata whenua', failing to distinguish between rights to allocate and rights to use land (Kāwharu, 2001). Similarly, in addition to 'tangata whenua' Ward (1999) queried the adequacy of the concepts of 'mana whenua' (authority over land) and 'ahi kā' (continuous occupation of land), both expressing relationships of kin groups to areas of land, to redress competing claims for particular parcels of land.

Definitional shortcomings may only partially be responsible for the failure to achieve the goal of improving the situation of the Māori population. In the health area, for example, critical voices claimed that, instead of attending to health, cultural identity as prescribed by the prototype was promoted (Marie, 1999). Similarly, Webster (1998) contended that, although the Māori renaissance was probably initiated by Māori unemployment, its advantages and benefits were restricted to a relatively privileged group whose members saw an opportunity to push their own demands, leaving ordinary and unemployed Māori largely unaffected. By restricting benefits to a privileged group a differentiation was generated between insiders who had the authority on Māori knowledge and outsiders who did not have access to it, creating a political rather than a cultural issue (Rata, 2000).

Part of the problematic was that many, especially urban Māori, had been detached from their ancestral lands for too long to remember grievances, to identify with tribal territories, or genealogical links had been severed (Webster, 1998). In other cases, tracing links with tribes had become difficult or impossible as a consequence of intermarriage or the inability to trace decedency (Webster, 1998), leading to disputes between 'tribal fundamentalists' and other Māori groups who wanted traditional Māori concepts put into contemporary context to arrive at a more just system for governmental reparation payments.

Governmental reparation payments as part of Treaty settlements have been complicated by the creation of new identities of urban peoples in an indigenous social system which roots identity in groups that pre-date urban experience in New Zealand (Bedford & Goodwin, 1997). Thus, authority to define 'Māori' has become a point of

contention between various Māori factions, not least because group memberships have direct bearing onto individuals' every day lives on economic, social and legal levels.

These are but some examples of a host of problems associated with the Māori renaissance based on the traditionalisation of Māori culture that arose out of the deepening cleft between the idealised version of 'Māori culture as an ideology' and Māori culture in reality as lived by the majority of Māori in New Zealand (Webster, 1998, p. 225). Webster (1998) sums the former up as a culture in the illusory but reassuring sense of 'a whole way of life' and the latter as 'a whole way of struggle'. Webster's and similar views, together with the high stakes involved in an expert definition of authentic Māori culture generated hostile reactions from segments of the public and academics as '[T]raditional culture is increasingly recognised to be more an invention constructed for contemporary purposes than a stable heritage handed on from the past' (Hanson, 1989 cited in Webster, 1998, p. 229), and defining Māori has been less about group boundaries, than determining the rights and privileges in connection with 'being Māori' (Stewart-Harawira, 1993). Such an instrumental interpretation is echoed in Rata's (2000, p. 45) case study of a Māori extended family's return to ancestral land, in which she asserts that the 'neotraditionalist ideologies of kinship were active construction elements [as] '[I]t was kinship that provided the access to and control of the traditional means of production'. Thus, definitions, often conflicting ones, were driven by political concerns rather than conceptual clarity, and hotly debated and contested (Stewart-Harawira, 1993).

Despite – or because of – so much controversy, there have been ongoing efforts for the clarification of terminology and concepts, not least because of the high stakes that are involved (Webster, 1998). Most fundamental in this undertaking was the question of when a Māori is a Māori (Gibson, 1999). With reference to what 'being Māori' entails, its components have been listed (Stokes, 1980), tools suggested for its investigation (Yoon, 1994), literature reviews written (Nikora, 2000) measures and scales of cultural identity devised (Durie, Allan, Cunningham, Edwards, Forster, Gillies, Kingi, Ratima & Waldon, 1997; Metge, 1964), cross-validations with standardised tests performed (Cooper, 1997) and additional components suggested such as culture and values, and inheritance (Mako, 1998), to name but a few (see also: Kukutai, 2001). Although some have considered additional factors that may impinge on Māori identity, for example, community developments, markets, the government

and the wider world, and specifically, other indigenous peoples (Mako, 1998), the underlying assumption is that there exists a primordial Māori essence against which contemporary Māori can be evaluated and Māori identity standardised (Marie, 1999).

Such a standardisation was essential to the government's role for Māori development, more specifically, for the gap-closing socio-economic policies at the time (Kawharu, 2001). The downside of the efforts to 'create a distinguishable sector of society' as initially conceived by political leaders to improve the situation that Māori were facing (Webster, 1998) was the emergence of an increasingly stereotypical representation of the Māori 'race' in opposition to non-Māori (Marie, 1999; Wall, 1997). This Māori stereotype<sup>8</sup> as perpetuated by the media, the public and policy makers alike has been criticised as delimitating of Māori identity through preserving and intensifying the tenacious salience of racialised discourse in New Zealand that constructs Māori as the perennial Black Other and defining what a Māori should be (Wall, 1997).

Nevertheless, the neotribalist approach leading to a neotribal ideology in the New Zealand context was quickly and uncritically accepted by the majority of Pākehā and Māori alike in response to the decline of modernism (Rata, 2001). Especially detribalised and proletarianised Māori who sought 'security and even salvation in traditionalist identity' and in a 'fixed and ascribed traditional identity', a (neo)traditional identity aims at filling an identity gap as it 'provides a medium for engagement in a larger collectivity through a set of standards, values and rules for living' (Rata, 2001, p. 137), the 'quintessential Māori' according to a 'mythic exemplar' (Marie, 1999, p. 262), that is, a prototype complete with norms to live by.

#### **6.4 Māori prototype**

The popular stereotype of Māori culture among Māori as well as Pākehā includes characteristics such as kin and community solidarity, respected and authoritative elders, public ceremonial and ritual symbolism in hui (gathering) at marae, generosity and sharing of resources, Māori language as mother tongue, harmony with the natural world and profound spirituality centred in notions of tapu (taboo), mana (prestige) and

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<sup>8</sup> stereotype: widely shared and simplified evaluative image of a social group and its members (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 483)

wairua (spirit) (Webster, 1998). This view of a Māori was located in tradition as exemplified by Walker's (1989) definition:

'Taha Māori (Māori identity) as a social concept is based on descent from the aboriginal inhabitants of Aotearoa who regarded themselves as tangata whenua (people of the land). In addition to cultural traits such as language and spiritual beliefs and racial traits such as skin pigmentation the basic components of Māori identity are identification based on kinship with a particular tribe or sub-tribe (iwi or hapū) and geographic locality or tribal land (tūrangawaewae)' (Walker, 1989, p. 35).

The traditional view as the generally accepted one has led to differences amongst Māori, some of whom do not fulfil the criteria as set out by the traditionalisation of the Māori culture as a result of urbanisation, but nevertheless feel that their claim to a Māori identity should not be precluded (Stewart-Harawira, 1993). Despite their claims that Māori identity cannot be presumed to mean conventional Māori lifestyle (Durie, 1994), the generally accepted traditional view provides a template, that is, a prototype<sup>9</sup> to those in search for their Māori identity as 'many of us weren't raised as Māori but can still learn and can still be Māori' (Cram, 1994 cited in Kukutai, 2001, p. 57).

Despite critique that the normative view should not rely solely on a traditional elements but needs to be expanded to include social, economic and lifestyle characteristics as well as ecological and social influences such as changing demographic patterns, cultural beliefs and technological advancement (Durie et al., 1997) the essentialised traditional prototype continues to be perpetuated as demonstrated by the ongoing view of Māori as a rural society despite similar levels of urbanisation compared with non-Māori (Bedford & Goodwin, 1997) (appendix 7, table 2) and the fact that the majority of Māori continue to live in urban areas (appendix 7, table 3). Such a contradiction between the reality of a majority of Māori living in urban areas and the popular discourse of authentic Māori living in rural areas serves as a reminder that group boundaries are not unproblematic but are open to situational negotiation of who is entitled to the ethnic label and who is not (Eriksen, 2002).

Nevertheless, rural Māori continue to be regarded as

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<sup>9</sup> cognitive representation of the typical/ideal defining features of a category (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 480);

The true keepers of the Māori heritage, of past history and of the future.  
The tangata whenua, the people of the land.  
The ahi kā who keep the home fires burning.  
The hunga kāinga (group of people) who keep the traditional skills and values of the tūrangawaewae alive.  
The inhabitants of the spiritual home and of the final resting place (Herbert, 1990).

The traditional view of Māori as a rural society was perpetuated and strengthened by frequent use of traditional place-related Māori terminology in everyday discourse and regular mention of associated behaviours and occurrences in the press. Furthermore, traditional values and practices provided the foundation onto which Māori initiatives for land development were built (Asher & Naulls, 1987), particularly by those who returned to their ancestral land as part of the Māori renaissance.

Māori returns to ancestral lands received nation-wide exposure in the media and everyday discourse during the 1980s and the phenomenon was subsequently referred to as 'Māori return migration' (Manatu Māori, 1991). The following article published by 'The New Zealand Herald' titled optimistically 'Māori land brings work opportunity', is a typical example of how return migration was linked to tikanga Māori, emphasising the traditional stereotype (*italics added*):

Māori communities in the upper Waikato are returning to the land to develop pasture, scrub and bush and harvest natural extracts, oils and medicines. Mrs Kiel-Rapana said the *traditional land development* would be run as a co-operative, with good leadership already in place... Special qualities of New Zealand native plants had a commercial value, which provided the opportunity for iwi *to develop economically in a way that fitted their culture*, Doug Mende, managing director of Natural Link, said. Traditionally, the river and the coast provided fish, the bush supplied medicines and timber, the people worked extensive gardens on the deep soils, and flax was harvested in great quantities along the Waikato river...Te Puni Kokiri account manager Martin Mariassouce said (that) both the *sustainability and environmental protection have a synergy with tikanga* (custom, habit) (Gregory, 2003).

The emphasis of strong links with places at various levels of inclusiveness, referred to as ancestral lands, as, in the case study of Māori, with tribal territory, parcels of land inhabited by the extended family or the very spot where the bones of the ancestors are buried, is a characteristic typically promoted by indigenous peoples elsewhere. Frequently, as has been elaborated in previous chapters, such strong links serve as the foundation which the respective indigenous identities are based on and special status is claimed.

## **6.5 Indigenous identity formation in relation to place**

Indigenous group formation in relation to place can be considered at various levels of inclusiveness, ranging from a pan-indigenous identity via identification with alliances of indigenous groups and subgroups to single indigenous tribes and individuals. On the level of a pan-indigenous identity the link with a place has been employed as one of the most salient unifying elements representative for 'the sense felt strongly by some people that they belong to a global community of similarly constituted 'first peoples'(Niezen, 2005, p. 538) who share a remarkably consistent sense of self (Niezen, 2005, p. 533). At a smaller scale, place plays a similar role for identifications with a single group, or with alliances between indigenous groups of varying magnitude, providing boundaries for the inclusion of members as well as for exclusion of non-members through clear boundaries between groups. Strong ties to places have also been found to affect the intergenerational transmission of indigenous identity and culture, for example, amongst continental Hawaiians (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005).

In his comprehensive analysis of indigenism as a global movement Niezen (2000) concluded that one of the most salient common characteristics of indigenous peoples is their affiliation with and primary attachment to land. Although also cited with reference to various ethnic groups, their affiliation with specific places 'since time immemorial' appears to have a more spiritual significance for indigenous groups (Niezen, 2000, p. 140). For example, the Hawaiian concept of 'honua' signifies relationships spanning spiritual and kinship bonds between people, nature as well as the supernatural world, transcending the physical realities of places (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005). This concept is widespread within the Pacific and appears in other languages, too, such as Māori, Marshallese, Tongan, Samoan and Tahitian as whenua, henua, fonua, fanua and fenua respectively (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005).

This spiritual affiliation with places is found amongst indigenous peoples in other parts of the world as well where it constitutes a key force in contemporary identity processes amongst those groups (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005). For example, to the Australian Aborigines the land itself is the life source for everything and everyone inhabiting it and thus every place with all its features is infused with life:

'Feel the country. Sit down and put your hand on a stone, and feel the warmth of the sun in that stone. Put your hand against that tree and feel it swaying, because

it too is a living thing. That's the spiritualism of being an Aboriginal person' (Lovett, 1999 cited in Ramsay, 2003, p. 111).

Another example is the spatial organisation of groups' territories in Tanna, Vanuatu, that reflects a network of central places bearing symbolic and ritual significance such as dancing grounds and 'tabu' places around magic stones (Bonnemaison, 1985).

Similar to attaching a spiritual significance to landscape features is the widespread practise amongst indigenous groups to view landscape features as kin relations. Such personal ties may find their expression in the concept of 'Mother Earth' or likening significant features to family members, for example, a mountain to a brother (Worral, 2002) or a mother (Basso, 1983), or one's lineage to the valley where one was raised (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005). Personal ties through genealogical links are frequently articulated at various occasions to set the context of relationships and negotiations between individuals and groups alike, a potentially lengthy practice that has been found in particular amongst Pacific societies (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005).

In addition to spiritual and personal ties with land are indigenous peoples' physical ties to land as the provider of all that is required for survival. This aspect may refer to specific land tenure practices, unique knowledge and traditional customs that are tailored to a particular territory as originally inhabited by the group and which has evolved through ongoing occupancy.

Ongoing occupancy of land frequently led to naming practices of landscape features in memory of historical events, for example, as the location where a crucial battle had been fought, where the founding ancestors had arrived or where famous deeds had been accomplished. As such, place names link the past and the present, unravelling the significance of place, history and personal relationships (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005) as well as reference points for orally transmitted tradition (Walker, 1969). Place names that refer to a real or mythical event or occurrence may also be recited frequently as a reminder of moral or behavioural standards for the listener, norms that had been transmitted in narrative form from generation to generation (Basso, 1983), serving as guidelines for future action (Walker, 1969).

Names that refer to the most distant past may be those that consolidate a group's and its members' genealogical ties to that place and may include not only people, but also natural and spiritual worlds (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005). Thus, place also plays an



important role for groups' collective memory through genealogical ties as well as the group's shared history (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005), providing them with a sense of continuity and permanence which is constantly threatened if these places are lost as has happened in the past through colonisation and other violent means. This sad fact of past and continued marginalisation and abuse by various newcomers is shared by the vast majority of indigenous groups (Niezen, 2000). For those who managed to retain or recuperate their territories, land ownership may not only represent the link with the past, but also with the future as the place where traditional land tenure or subsistence practices can be realised or as an economical asset to be developed.

Thus, strong links to places provide groups with an indigenous identity through membership within the pan-indigenous network, while links with specific places provide groups within the network with their unique idiosyncratic identity. Such a unique identity derives from the fact that an indigenous group can claim genealogical connections to a particular territory that no other group can. Territory can refer to an entire nation, such as New Zealand, to which only the Māori can claim ancestral affiliation, or a federal state, for example Hawaii, to which Native Hawaiians as the sole group can claim genealogical connection as the ancestral homeland (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005) or a defined territory on smaller scale.

This unique identity as a recognised distinctive group with rights of self-determination is a pre-requisite for benefiting from membership within the pan-indigenous network as a politically powerful instrument to aid in the group's struggle for self-determination (Niezen, 2000). In this process, place again plays the pivotal role as a marker for the construction of a group identity, and subsequently, as the territory over which control is sought.

These processes may happen at various levels of inclusiveness. For example, while the indigenous group of New Zealand, the Māori, identify as the original inhabitants of the two main and various small islands that make up the current nation of New Zealand, their identity is not only based on the fact that they are the original inhabitants of the defined territory of NZ and thus distinct from all the other groups of people currently inhabiting NZ, but also that their common place of origin is Hawaiki (Royal, 2009).

While this identity is drawn upon for issues in relation to their indigenous status and on international level as distinct from or in opposition to the majority or other groups, Māori within New Zealand tend to identify by their respective tribe (iwi) or sub tribe (hapū) depending on the context. Such identification with groups at various levels of inclusion based on places or territories has been observed amongst various indigenous groups, for example amongst the Saami (Niezen, 2005). Distinction between groups is drawn based on the different territories they inhabit or once inhabited. However controversial the definition of historical tribal territories may be, these spatial territorial boundaries act also as group boundaries for their respective group members.

An example is the alliance of the Muriwhenua tribes of Northern New Zealand (Taonui, 2009c):

Muriwhenua is the collective name given to six iwi (tribes): Ngāti Kurī, Ngāti Takoto, Te Pātū, Ngāti Kahu, Te Aupōuri and Te Rarawa. The Muriwhenua people occupy lands stretching northward from the Maungataniwha Ranges to Cape Rēinga. In legend, this land formed the tail of the fish that Māui hauled up from the depths of the ocean.

However, within this alliance, group boundaries between individual iwi were defined in relation to significant places, too, for example:

Te Houtaewa was a descendant of the Te Aupōuri chief Te Ikanui, and a famous athlete. He played an important role in defining the boundary between Te Rarawa and Te Aupōuri at Hukatere. [After a series of conflicts with the deciding battle being fought at Hukatere]... Hukatere became the dividing line between Te Rarawa and Te Aupōuri [tribes].

Te Aupōuri was further divided into sub tribes (hapū) and various alliances between them based on spatial definitions:

Ngāti Ruānui dominated the Whāngāpē and Herekino harbours. Over time they came into conflict with their relations Ngāti Te Rēinga, Ngāti Kairewa, Ngāti Manawa and Ngāti Te Aewa. These four tribes were emerging as a strong unified group out of settlements at Motutī, Whakarapa and Motukauri on the northern shores of Hokianga Harbour.

This example demonstrates how boundaries of group membership are drawn along spatial lines, but also the importance of ancestors and historical events at a specific place for the definition of group boundaries. While the dimensions for group membership overlap those that confirm indigenous status in general as distinctive from other social groups, reference to specific events, ancestors and places now define single groups as well as individual group membership. Individual identification with places frequently involved personal identification with unique geographical features

of the group's territory for one's introduction to outsiders, as another New Zealand example from a collection of Māori motto-maxims by Yoon (1986, pp. 49-53) demonstrates:

|                             |                               |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Ko Hikurangi te Maunga      | - Hikurangi is the mountain   |
| Ko Waiapu te wai            | - Waiapu is the water [river] |
| Ko Ngatiporou te iwi        | - Ngatiporou is the people    |
| Ko Apirana Ngata te tangata | - Apirana Ngata is the man    |

An individual's strongest link to a place was where his or her placenta or umbilical cord was buried referred to as 'iho whenua'. For the Navajo, for example, burying the placenta meant to return it to Mother Earth and to anchor the child to her 'belly button' (Schwarz, 1997 cited in Lamphere, 2007, p. 1141). The location where this would happen was crucial for the child's future development and vocation. This is echoed by the Māori view that the place where a child's placenta is buried symbolises his/her identity and future as it represents the source of nourishment for the persons' growth and development (Barlow, 1994).

While in early days group members were those who lived within their group's territory, this tradition has increasingly vanished in an urbanised and industrialised society. Nevertheless, individuals continue to identify as group members of groups defined by historic territories even when living in other places. This practice has become controversial due to the complexity of defining past territorial boundaries and intermarriage (Kukutai, 2003; Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005).

## **6.6 Group identity based on a distant place**

The definition and construction of a group in relation to a distant place of origin is not restricted to indigenous societies, but has also been observed amongst migrants and people living in the diaspora for example, amongst the Israeli community in Toronto so as to be differentiated from the Jewish community (Cohen & Gold, 1997), second generation Pakistani living in Great Britain in response to the political climate (Bolognani, 2007) or amongst second generation Greek emigrants (Christou, 2006).

An example of an in-depth study of place-related identification of an indigenous group living outside its 'original' territory is the one by Kana'iaupuni and Liebler (2005) who investigated the role that place plays in Hawaiian identity processes as the spiritual and geographic home for individuals living in the US, and thus affirming their indigenous status as well as group membership. Furthermore, the link to Hawaii

as the spiritual and geographic home was also found to be the strongest factor for the intergenerational transmission of Hawaiian identification amongst multiracial families, a practice that contributes significantly to the continued existence of the group. The other strategy by which group members are gained is another finding of the study that multiracial individuals were more likely to identify as Hawaiian than any other aspect of their heritage, when their choice of group membership was limited to one category, through the census for example.

### **6.7 Motivation for indigenous group identification based on place**

The preference for choosing an indigenous group membership over alternatives has been increasingly found amongst individuals of mixed background, for example, amongst Native Americans (Thornton, 1997 cited in Kukutai, 2001, p. 28). The observed rapid increase of the Native American population together with the emergence of new tribes could not be attributed to 'a fact of biology but of identity' (Friedman, 1994, p. 244). The assertion of indigenous identification within the neotraditionalist ideology (Friedmann, 1994) has been linked to a change in stereotypes (Thornton, 1997 cited in Kukutai, 2001, p. 28), the emergence of 'ethnic pride' movements from the mid-20th century onwards (Kukutai, 2001) and the renaissance amongst indigenous groups, for example, Hawaiian (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005) or New Zealand Māori (Kukutai, 2001) as expressed through the resurgence of [traditional] culture, language and pride. While the emergence of new groups, or their public affirmation as distinct from others has been argued to be directly linked and in response to the homogenisation effects of globalisation (Friedmann, 1994) it applies to indigenous groups as much as to ethnic and minority groups. However, indigenous groups have proceeded with the construction and definition of their respective groups under unique conditions following a drastic change in their statuses from marginalised and discriminated against to the currently predominantly rather favourable societal view about 'being indigenous'. The change from negative stereotypes, images and views towards positive ones characterising a social change belief system generated pride and confidence amongst individuals and groups alike, to demonstratively exhibit their indigenous heritage over other aspects of their heritage, which many had been trying to de-emphasise or even negate at times when it was viewed as unfavourable by society.

The situation within which these developments concerning indigenous group formation took shape can be interpreted as expressions of the three main motivations for joining groups as identified by SIT, namely self-enhancement (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), uncertainty reduction (Hogg, 2000a) and optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991).

### *6.7.1 Self-enhancement*

Self-enhancement has been argued to be the strongest amongst self-motives (together with self-assessment and self-verification) for the construction of individuals' self-knowledge (Sedikides, 1993 cited in Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 95) and described by self-affirmation theory (Steele, 1988 cited in Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 94).

Self-enhancement refers to the tendency for individuals to be more likely to join high status groups which will provide them with prestige and self-esteem through a positive subjective and consensual evaluation. As individuals tend to be evaluated in terms of the relative attractiveness, desirability and prestige of the groups to which they belong, joining a consensually positively evaluated group will provide individuals with a positive social identity (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Strategies for establishing or maintaining a positive group evaluation include the avoidance of damaging intergroup comparisons, merging with other groups or emphasising ingroup characteristics that provide a sense of uniqueness and positivity (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002), some of which have been mentioned above. These strategies hinge on the relative status of groups and an altered status relationship following social change which may lead to an improvement in a previously disadvantaged, for example, indigenous, group's pride and individuals' feelings of self-worth (Vaughan, 1986). Commonly employed strategies are the emphasis of an indigenous group's uniqueness resulting from their status as original inhabitants complete with spiritual links to specified places since time immemorial (Niezen, 2000).

Another strategy that may be employed by individuals is to choose to live in or have close ties with places which contain symbols that aid in constructing a positive self-esteem while avoiding places that are detrimental to their self-esteem (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003). Places that are most likely to furnish members of

indigenous groups with a positive self-evaluation are the group's place of origin, referred to as 'homeland' or 'home'. These places are fundamental to the group's identity in several aspects while providing individuals with norms and guidelines as to who they are, how they should behave and think through the group's prototype. Links with specific places may be emphasised at different levels of inclusiveness as demonstrated by Māori, for example, ranging from birthplace (ūkaipō) to family lands to tribal territories to New Zealand/Aotearoa as a whole, in order to achieve optimal distinctiveness.

### *6.7.2 Optimal distinctiveness through place*

Joining a high-status group does not only provide individuals with a more favourable view about themselves through their group membership but also with options to satisfy motives for both inclusion within a group as well as the possibility of achieving optimal distinctiveness.

Optimal distinctiveness refers to a balance between the two conflicting human needs of uniqueness or differentiation and sameness or assimilation as described by Brewer's theory (1991). According to Brewer's theory individuals avoid self-construals that are either too inclusive or too personalised and instead define themselves in terms of distinctive group memberships. The model's primary implication is that distinctiveness per se is the fundamental characteristic of ensuring a group's survival. This insight is repeatedly affirmed by indigenous group speakers who claim to 'have a right to maintain their distinctiveness and to collectively determine their future development' (Niezen, 2000, p. 130).

The range of group memberships that may be available to a person to choose from can be visualised as an onion, with each layer or concentric circle representing a different frame of reference for differentiation and social comparison, while the centre is occupied by the individual's personal identity (Brewer, 1991).

At the heart of the model lies the principle of metacontrast that helps to make explicit how individuals choose the most meaningful group membership within a certain context (Oakes & Turner, 1990). An individual's choice of group membership is in favour of the most salient category, which has a structural fit, accounting for similarities and differences among people, and a normative fit, which is the one that makes sense (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). However, as situational factors constantly

impact on individual's perceptions that form the basis for categories (Hogg, 2000a), aided further by discursive practices used for the construction of self-categories (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), self-categorisation is a volatile process dependent on a number of factors.

As place plays a crucial role in indigenous identification processes, different frames of reference may well be equated with places at various levels of inclusiveness. To take the previous example of Māori identification, the centre of the onion's layers of different frames of reference may be occupied by the place where the individual's placenta is buried (ūkaipō). The frame of reference adjacent to the individual's personal one may be represented by the settlement of Motutī, followed by the area North of Hokianga Harbour as frame of reference representing the level of the next higher inclusiveness, followed by the area North of Hukatere to identify as a tribal member of Te Aupōuri, followed again by the area north of the Maungataniwha Range to identify as a member of the Muriwhenua tribal alliance (Taonui, 2009a). Brewer's onion-layered model applied to the Māori scenario thus reflects traditional Māori identification practices based on different levels of inclusiveness. Being 'Māori' is the most inclusive level for indigenous membership within New Zealand, relevant in the context of lobbying for special indigenous rights on national as well as international level.

Following Niezen (2000), strong spiritual affinity with land in general and auspicious places in particular at various levels of inclusiveness in its abstract sense (depicted on the left of the diagram) provides a Māori person with an indigenous identity – the most inclusive frame of reference that provides for the need of optimal distinctiveness as a member of the pan-indigenous network as contrasted by the non-indigenous networks. These ideas are illustrated in Figure 2.

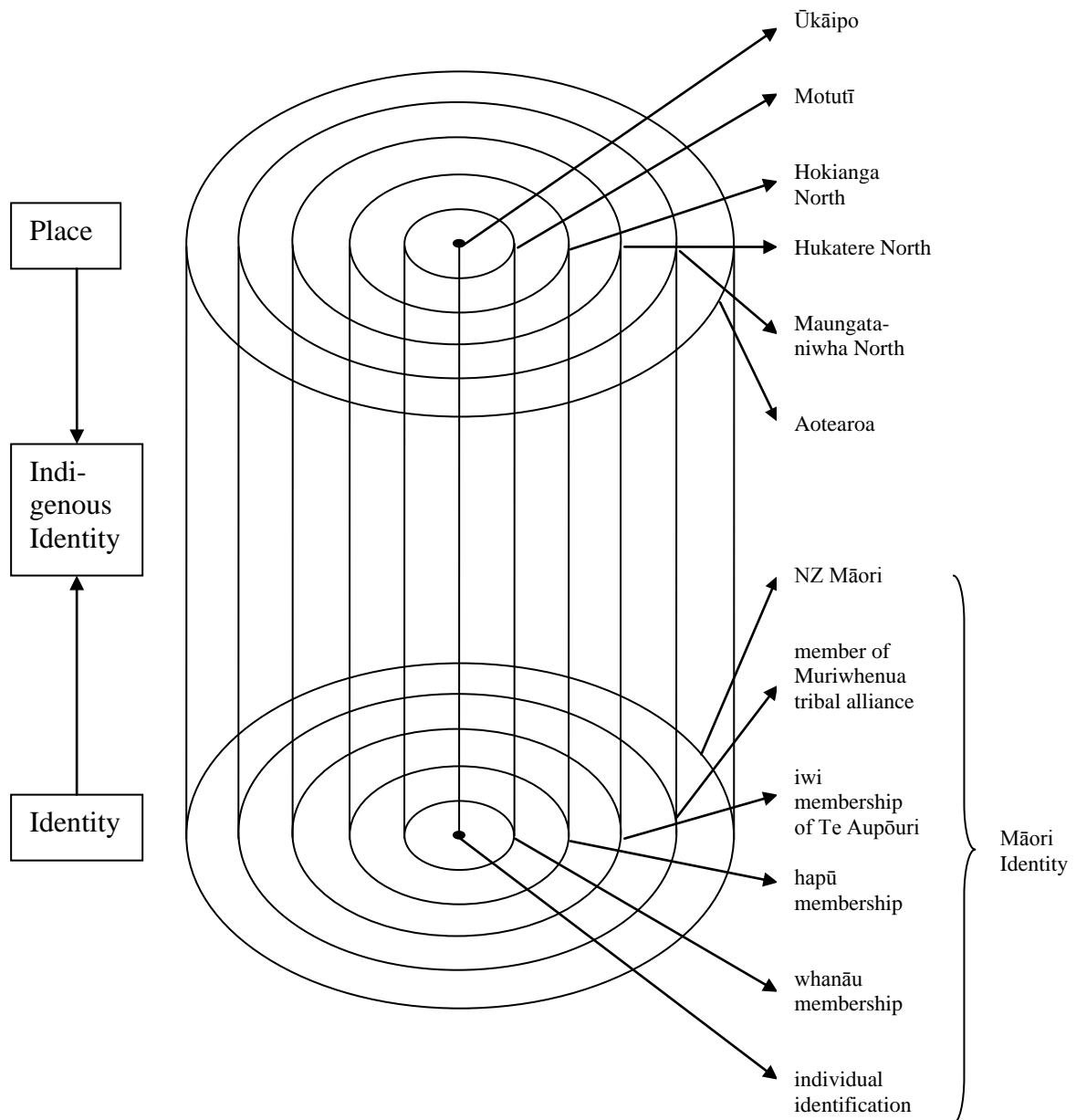


Figure 2: Personal and social identities at different levels of inclusiveness, adapted from Brewer, 1991, p. 476.

Similarly, Hawaiians claim their unique indigenous status through genealogical ties to Hawaii, a claim that no other group in the US can hold, providing group members with optimal distinctiveness on national scale. However, for indigenous Hawaiian matters, individuals tend to define themselves through a different frame of reference represented by their or their ancestors' exact place of origin as defined by landscape features (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005).



The contextual nature of social identity as well as its expandability and contractibility has by now been well demonstrated both in laboratory settings (Brewer, 1991) as well as on grander scale, for example by Friedman (1994) who links the emergence of new groups or their public affirmation as distinct from others directly to the homogenising effects of globalisation. Despite the fact that the latter topic has been *en vogue* in recent years, no detailed investigation into the causes for the choice of one frame of reference as expressed through place over another in a given situation could be located for citation in this research. This may well provide fertile ground for future research due to the frequent citing of place at various levels of inclusiveness as a basis for group membership by indigenous peoples. As each concentric circle of the onion model provides a different frame of reference for social comparison and differentiation (Brewer, 1991), questions may include who group members compare with, what circumstances lead to the need for more or less differentiation and what the dimension for comparison may be as well as many others.

One example of how different level of inclusiveness of a place may be used by an ethnic group for different identification in different contexts is young British-born Pakistanis' self-ascription as – first and foremost – Pakistani at the expense of more detailed local identifications such as 'Kashmiri', which is preferred by researchers to account for the vast differences within Pakistan (Bolognani, 2007). Bolognani attributes the more popular identification of second generation Pakistanis to their current context of living in Britain as the more appropriate level of distinctiveness in response to the current political climate in Britain and Islamophobia in general. Only when faced with a compatriot did the British-born Pakistani use a lower level of inclusiveness for identification with regions within Pakistan, for example Punjab, Pathan, or Kashmir, and even with a particular village, when visiting Pakistan. This was found to be in contrast to the parents' – the original migrants' – cohort who continues to identify with their home region, rather than Pakistan as a whole. One explanation as suggested by Bolognani, drawing on Werbner (1991 cited in Bolognani, 2007, p. 68) is that 'Pakistaniness' is 'the fiction of unity in ethnic politics' within the current political and societal context. Parallels to Bolognani's study exist within the New Zealand context, where the term 'Māori ' emerged only after the arrival of Europeans, while before people would identify by their tribal affiliation.

The two examples demonstrate lucidly how self-categorisation is sensitive to the situation within which it takes place. Although Brewer's model has been well documented it remains difficult to make predictions about which level of inclusiveness individuals adopt for self-categorisation (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). It appears that salience, which is an interactive function of situational as well as chronic (e.g. in memory) accessibility together with structural and normative fit (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002), plays a role for individuals' choices as stimuli such as the self-concept are rarely perceived in isolation, but in relation to others (Oakes & Turner, 1990). The underlying motivation for these complex mechanisms of self-categorisation of individuals as group members of one or the other group are motivated by a better understanding of their current context, the ability to predict how people will behave, feel and think, and how they themselves should behave, feel and think. Thus, group membership provides individuals with a desired amount of subjective uncertainty reduction, a term that refers to the third main motive for joining groups (Hogg, 2000a; Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner & Moffit, 2007).

### *6.7.3 Place for uncertainty reduction*

The motivational role of subjective uncertainty reduction in group identification has been described in detail by uncertainty reduction theory (Hogg, 2000a). This theory rests on the assumption that people strive to reduce feelings of uncertainty about themselves, their social world and their place within it through knowing who they are and how to behave, and who others are and how they might behave, in sum, a relatively predictable social environment that allows for example, for effective planning, avoiding harm and knowing who to trust (Hogg, et al., 2007). Group identification is based on self-categorisation (Turner, et al., 1987) and associated with behaviours, perceptions, feelings and interactions as prescribed by group prototypes. Before discussing prototypes in more detail some examples of how uncertainty reduction is achieved through place by various indigenous groups are presented below.

Amongst indigenous groups certainty and assurance may be provided by nothing more than the genealogical link to certain places. For example, the term 'stamba' in the Bislama language of Vanuatu, a derivative from the English word stump or stock, refers to the root-place of a particular clan, which is where its founding ancestors first

appeared, conveying magical, social and political functions and rights governing access to land (Bonnemaison, 1985, p. 41). In cases of disputes, those individuals who can trace their direct lineage to these 'stamba' places have the authority over territories and to settle matters.

The similarly sounding term of 'mana' in the New Zealand Māori language has also been translated as power, authority, prestige (Barlow, 1994, p. 61), which originally referred to the enduring indestructible power of the gods, but which has in recent times taken on a number of meanings, of which 'mana tupuna' and 'mana whenua' are the most relevant ones for the current argument. While 'mana tupuna' refers to the power or authority handed down through chiefly lineage within a tribe's territory, which required those who inherited it to carry out various rituals and duties in order to maintain it, 'mana whenua' refers to the power associated with the possession of lands and their use for, say, building a fortress, control and protection, chiefly status and sacred burial grounds (Barlow, 1994, p. 62). Mana whenua is derived from the original claimant of the land as s/he established territorial rights through naming landscape features after him/herself (Walker, 1969). Thus, landscape features did not only function as exact boundaries of neatly demarcated territories occupied by different groups, but also as reminders of events surrounding the initial occupancy by the founding ancestor (Walker, 1969). Through this naming practice group members would recall their group's history whenever passing a certain landscape feature and thus knowledge about the group's origin and history were integrated into members' everyday lives. The view that place names are reminders of the past is also stated in a discussion by Smith (1910 cited in Walker, 1969, p. 405) about the Māori migrations as, 'to each one of which have the Māoris given a distinguishing name – wisely so, for they serve as land-marks in their history'.

Place names may also serve to anchor stories about the very origin of humankind as well as a group's own origin through their idiosyncratic creation myth (Walker, 1969) and thereby providing group members with information about who they are and where they come from. The practice of naming places automatically provided clues for later generations as to how to treat particular parcels of land in different manners. For example, landscape features that were named after body parts of personages of the creation myth or influential ancestors could not be cultivated or alienated (Walker, 1969).

Stories associated with landscape features may not only represent behavioural guidelines about how to treat certain parcels of land, but also act as metaphors for other behaviour, for example, interpersonal ones. For example, Basso (1983, p. 44) in his detailed analysis of Apache moral narratives concludes that 'if children do not learn to associate places and their names with historical tales they cannot appreciate the utility of these narratives as guidelines for dealing responsibly and amicably with other people', and similarly, 'Apaches who fail to remember place-names 'forget to be strong' and are likely to succumb to socially unacceptable behaviour (Basso, 1983, p. 44).

Especially amongst societies where traditions were orally transmitted, place names and associated stories hold a very deep significance (Walker, 1969). Based on the few cited examples, place names may be used for every-day activities as behavioural and moral guidelines, to transmit knowledge of the distant and more recent past as well as instructions for future action. Places may hold power, and links to them are the assurance of rights and prescribe duties while delineating the boundaries up to which these duties and rights may have application. Thus, being equipped with links to places and knowledge about them provides individuals with the uncertainty reduction that is achieved through the group's collectively constructed and shared representation of group membership, referred to as prototype (Hogg, 2000b).

### **6.8 Prototype and place-related behaviours**

Prototypes are thought of as fuzzy sets of cognitive representations of the typical or ideal defining features of a category or group, that is, standards or in-group norms against which each member's similarity is assessed and membership decided (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). Thus, prototypes are integrated representations of specific stereotypical or normative characteristics which define the ingroup in any salient ingroup-outgroup comparative context (Hogg, Hardie & Reynolds, 1995; Turner, et al., 1987). Where the group is perceived to have the power and ability to mediate rewards and punishment, norms or standards extend a normative influence on group members' self-perception, beliefs, attitudes, feelings and behaviour in order to conform to the positive expectation of others, to gain social approval or to avoid social disapproval (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). In other words, prototypes mediate between a person's social identity and his or her overt behaviour, facilitating those

behaviours that are in accord with the norms of a relevant group membership (Terry, Hogg & White, 1999).

Prototypes providing clear guidelines seem to be particularly important amongst minority groups whose members use them as a basis for the development and enhancement of their personal identities (Taylor, 2002) and as a stepping stone towards political organisation (Eriksen, 2002), ethnic platforms (Tilley, 1997) and to lobby and legitimise ethnic claims for power and political recognition (Friedman, 1994).

At the heart of these developments lies the construction of an 'us-them' contrast (Eriksen, 2002) through different prototypes or referents (Marie, 1999) and to demarcate group boundaries (Eriksen, 2002; Barth, 1969). In addition to demarcating group boundaries, the construction of prototypes by group members from available information is guided by the group's concern for positive self-evaluation of the group as a whole and of group members (Hogg, Hardie & Reynolds, 1995). While norms as enshrined in a prototype describe and prescribe uniform behaviour that characterises groups, normative discontinuities provide the contours for different social groups (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). This happens according to the accentuation principle (Tajfel, 1959) whereby intragroup similarities are accentuated as well as intergroup differences.

Intragroup similarities may be generated through the aim by group members to conform to the group's norms as prescribed by the prototype through referent informational influence, causing intragroup convergence of individual behaviour (Turner, et. al., 1987) and generating social attraction. The latter refers to the affective and evaluative aspect of group membership, that is, the liking for someone based on common group membership which is determined by the person's prototypicality of the group (Hogg & Turner, 1985) rather than interpersonal similarity (Hogg, Hardie & Reynolds, 1995).

In recent times norms have been increasingly derived from tradition in relation to a prototype that is located in a nostalgic past for the construction of group identities, a practice that has attracted criticism and continues to provide for heated debates. Nevertheless, prototypes can be applied in the context of place in a number of ways. At the most inclusive level, a pan-indigenous prototype prescribes a strong spiritual

link with the ancestral homeland. This strong spiritual affiliation with places has been found to be the most salient unifying element amongst indigenous peoples and the differentiating one from other, for example ethnic, groups (Niezen, 2000).

Prototypes at group level on the other hand, prescribe group members' normative behaviours and the way they should feel and think about themselves. Group-specific normative thinking and feeling may be achieved through different creation myths and stories, conveying unique values and views. For example, in his comprehensive analysis of Western Apache narratives Basso (1983) unravels the Apaches' conception of themselves that – similar to other Native Americans – is mirrored by his/her relationship with the land, which is one of reciprocal appropriation where individuals invest themselves in the landscape, while at the same time incorporating the landscape into themselves (Basso, 1983). This reciprocal relationship is the group's ethic both with respect to the physical world as well as to interpersonal interaction. The group's ethic together with behavioural guidelines are anchored in landscape features to which stories are attached and which are thus viewed by Apache members as keepers of tradition and repositories of distilled wisdom handed down by the ancestors. As there is always a rock or a boulder in sight, individuals are permanently surrounded by these stories providing guidelines for specific behaviour. For example, in the vicinity of a large spring which literally translates as 'lots of water flows up and out' Western Apache are reminded about the tale of the mysterious drowning of a man who had mistreated his wife a long time ago. Through the existence of the spring Western Apache are provided with the reminder of a norm of how to 'live right' because: 'we know it happened, so we know not to act like that man who died' (Basso, 1983, p. 52).

Landscape features as reminders or representations of group norms are readily accessible for group members living within their territories. However, in the case of group members not living within their original territory it may be more difficult for group members to adhere to the group's norms as embodied by its prototype.

## **6.9 Distant prototype**

In cases where group members do not live within their original territory where their group prototype is readily accessible, but in distant places where they may face various constraints for adhering to their original prototype, they may opt for a life that is in line with the mainstream prototype. However, the opposite may also be true

where individuals prefer to live by a distant, and not uncommonly, idealised prototype. More detailed examples have already been discussed elsewhere, for example, about Brazilian-born Japanese (Tsuda, 2003) and Israelis in Toronto (Cohen & Gold, 1997), both of whom construct their group identity in relation to a distant prototype.

An example of contemporary identity construction and maintenance in relation to a distant prototype amongst an indigenous group is the one by Kana'iaupuni and Liebler (2005) who demonstrate the importance of the traditional prototype for Hawaiians living in Hawaii as much as for continental Hawaiians, including those of mixed origin. This prototype surfaces as a close affinity to places as expressed by prototypical behaviour of identifying one's lineage in relation to the place of origin by reciting prominent landscape features and a shared history. Recently, the maintenance of a traditional prototype and the associated practices and values have become considered important enough to be taught formally to young group members through culture-based leadership training, specific schools and education programmes (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005).

While values and certain practices may be learned from a distance there are others which are place specific such as unveilings of a grave or visits of places of spiritual significance. These cases require group members to return, which may or may not always be possible. Anecdotal evidence amongst certain groups indicates that the maintenance of group members' self conceptions and behaviours according to a distant prototype may be facilitated by regular or one-off return visits or by the myth of an eventual return during one's life time, or, as the ultimate return, for reunion with the ancestors after death.

### **6.10 Return as prototypical behaviour**

In their study of continental Hawaiians, for example, Kana'iaupuni and Liebler (2005) found returns to Hawaii crucial for indigenous identity maintenance and its transmission to younger generations. Returns to one's forefathers' homeland in search for ones roots have also been observed amongst a number of ethnic group members, for example amongst North Americans of Scottish (Basu, 2007) or Greek descent (Christou, 2006). Although commonly observed it is not always clear whether returns

were expected of group members or whether they occur on an ad hoc and individual basis.

In contrast, Bolognani's study of returns amongst British-born Pakistanis who are expected to undertake the 'journey of knowledge' to Pakistan at least once in their lives (Bolognani, 2007, p. 63) leads to the conclusion that such returns are group-regulated and part of expected normative behaviour of group members. In addition to acquainting expatriate group members with traditions and their ancestral roots through their journey of knowledge, group members are expected to return regularly for special occasions related to life-cycle events such as births, marriages and burials which have been interpreted as symbolic expression of group members' loyalty to their ancestral homeland. Not uncommonly did travellers to Pakistan return to Great Britain after such a trip as changed individuals characterised by a greater self-confidence, changed attitudes and different everyday behaviours such as wearing traditional clothes or sporting a beard in an effort to represent the existing prototypical Pakistani. In the case of younger children the journey back home has been interpreted by Bolognani as rite of passage with the young travellers representing the ongoing bond with the ancestral homeland. Thus, not only does the return to Pakistan enable foreign-born Pakistani to learn about normative Pakistani behaviour, but the act of returning itself has taken on the form of a normative behaviour of expatriates who are expected to undertake regular returns for various reasons.

Expatriates may be expected to return, albeit symbolically, through the practice of sending remittances aimed at financing projects in the homeland (Cohen & Gold, 1997), or investments into holiday homes or houses intended for retirement (Bolognani, 2007). While this type of return has been found to potentially be problematic due to a nostalgic view or unrealistic expectations another form of normative return aims at the opposite: maintaining relations with group members and other groups up-to-date.

The practice of re-affirming inter-group relationships on a regular basis has been observed amongst certain indigenous groups of Melanesia, where individual groups' identities are extended through star-shaped areas of alliances with other groups, a pattern that requires being activated periodically in order to continue to exist. These regular journeys – missions – seem to be carefully controlled by the group, which endow them with a purpose and celebrate them as rite or cultural initiation. Thus,



although regular returns constitute an important part of traditional voyage patterns, travellers have to return home without unnecessary time loss to avoid jeopardising their group membership, and hence, identity (Bonnemaïson, 1985).

A more permanent type of normative return is the one by group members after retirement. This is found most readily amongst individuals who had left for economic reasons with the intention of returning once their goal had been achieved. Returns by elderly persons may also be associated returns to places of origin as guardians of tradition and knowledge. When a permanent return is not desirable or no longer possible the normative behaviour of a physical return is transferred into a myth of return to legitimise individuals' contemporary patterns of social action (Bolognani, 2007; Cohen & Gold, 1997), to maintain the original group membership, values and behaviours, and to defy assimilation.

In many cases, burial is the only occasion of full implementation of return (Bolognani, 2007). This is related to the desire of being buried back home amongst ones' ancestors (Ballard, 1990 cited in Bolognani, 2007, p. 63), representing prototypical behaviour of societies with a strong spiritual affinity to land and/or strong family affiliations.

### **6.11 Summary and conclusion**

Return migration, in any of its varied forms, may be one of a group's prototypical behaviours, undertaken by group members who affiliate with the group prescribing it, who may or may not be consciously aware of the reasons for their decisions (King, 2000) which, in turn may be associated with changes in values, habits and identity (Kulu, 1998). While the focus of this paper is on indigenous groups, return migration as normative behaviour is found amongst ethnic groups, too. In line with Eriksen's (2002) and Taylor's (2002) call that ethnic and indigenous groups should be treated like other social groups, Social Identity Theory (SIT) was applied to investigate and argue return migration to specific places as prototypical behaviour while demonstrating the importance of place for the construction of group- and personal identity.

Social identity does not only offer potential to bring place back into social psychology as requested by Uzzell, Pol and Badenas (2002), but also to be sensitive to the context within which identification processes take place and are sensitive to, while bridging

processes on collective level (e.g. indigenism, globalisation, ethnification movements, such as the Māori renaissance) and individual processes (e.g. Māori return migration).

Furthermore, SIT may be useful in predicting or indicating the outcome of identification processes (through the optimal distinctiveness model, for example), and thus have an increasing application for planning and policies in light of Niezen's (2000) assertion that indigenism and ethno politics (Friedmann, 1994) are gaining importance for global as well local issues.

This paper has heeded Chapman's (1985, p. 6) suggestions that 'future efforts should focus on the meanings of land and identity as expressed through mobility' and proposed SIT as a suitable framework to understand the connections between mobility and identity holistically as constructed under changing conditions and different situations (Chapman, 1985). Future studies may look at individual processes and case studies that integrate practices associated with the construction of group as well as personal identity in relation to place. Practical applications are the ability to predict events such as volumes and destinations of return migration, crucial for settlement policies, service provision and labour market, through, for example differential behaviour between low-and high-identifiers, and, on larger scale, political developments generated by an increased identification with minority, and specifically, indigenous groups.

## Chapter 7

### FIELD DATA ANALYSIS – REGIONAL CONTEXT AND OVERVIEW

#### 7.1 Regional context of field study – Muriwhenua land claim

In response to vast land losses and to an increasing influx of mostly European settlers during the 19th century, 61 Muriwhenua chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (appendix 7), believing that it would protect their lands. But over the years the Muriwhenua people continued to lose huge amounts of land to settlers or to the government (Taonui, 2009d). In 1986 a number of land claims were first brought to hearing by the Waitangi Tribunal, and in December 1987 a combined claim was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal, known as WAI 45. In March 1997 the Tribunal released the Muriwhenua Land Report, which covered pre-1865 land transactions. This report satisfied the Tribunal that a claim was founded. While the initial claims were coordinated by one single body, the Runanga o Muriwhenua, the Tribunal received notice in 1996 that a number of tribes and sub-tribes wished to represent their claims independently (Waitangi Tribunal, 1997)<sup>11</sup>. It is against this backdrop that the interviews were conducted:

'By 1997, when the Muriwhenua land claim, when the report was released, Margaret Mutu<sup>12</sup> and I were working together... And we were having some big battles within the tribes as well as with the Crown' (informant 2).

Several meetings between tribal elders of the various Muriwhenua tribes were organised in an attempt to clarify tribal connection and rights associated with tangata whenua status of tribes and to locate rightful land owners. One such meeting is referred to by informant 8 who explicitly draws attention to the importance of tribal members' returns in support of their kin group:

'Ngāti Kurī [is] the older brother, tuākana; Te Aupōuri [is] the other/younger brother, tēina. They [Te Aupōuri] can tātai<sup>13</sup> into us. That doesn't make them landowners. I can tātai into Tūwharetoa, but that doesn't make me a landowner. And so we need to take our younger brother back and say: look you did wrong, or whatever happened to you that the bad feeling is here. You have to put it right

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<sup>11</sup> For the preface to the official document see appendix 6, and for a summary see appendix 5.

<sup>12</sup> Margaret Mutu is of Ngāti Kahu, Te Rarawa and Ngāti Whātua descent, professor of Māori studies at the University of Auckland and University kiua (elder); since 1998 she has been involved in Treaty negotiations for Ngāti Kahu, for which she became the chief negotiator in 2000. She has also been researcher for the Muriwhenua land and Fisheries claim against the Crown

<sup>13</sup> recite genealogies

because there is still that feeling of bad back there. It needs to be put right. It is open-wounded. It needs to be put straight. And so we don't want anybody to hurt Te Aupōuri. As I say, they only know us, and we only know them. And so, we don't want anybody to have them, other than us. That's our kid brother, kid sister, you know, that sort of thing.

But what they can't do is be involved in land transactions. Now we asked...whether that'd be the case, and that's what this kaumātua meeting is all about on Saturday. ..It's not an argument, it's a misunderstanding there. It's just where we are ill-informed: Te Aupōuri chiefs signed the Treaty [of Waitangi], not Ngāti Kurī. And from that the government called us Aupōuri, the land, the Aupōuri peninsula. And all the forestry and all the resource came under that banner.

There is a werowero<sup>14</sup> out at the moment. There is a challenge out. To the rangatahi<sup>15</sup> o Ngāti Kurī, to the young people: come home!' (informant 8)

Relevant for the current study were discussions surrounding efforts toward the restoration of the Ngāti Kurī tribe after two centuries of invisibility resulting from the near-destruction of the tribe in the 1830s by the Rarawa tribe, and subsequent enslavement and resettlement in Rarawa territories leading to the assimilation between the two tribes (Rata, 2000). Invisibility and decimation of the Ngāti Kurī tribe as an entity progressed during the colonial period when the use of firearms resulted in regional migration and depopulation and encroachment by European settlers who encountered Māori tribes, and particularly the Ngāti Kurī tribe, in a vulnerable state (Grey, 1994). As a result, the term 'Ngāti Kurī' became increasingly omitted from historical records and documents, and was only occasionally mentioned in oral traditions. However, towards the late 1980s, Ngāti Kurī emerged from its invisibility after detailed genealogical investigations into tribal histories during a period of tribal 're-adjustment' (Rata, 2000, p. 165) resulting in the restoration of the Ngāti Kurī tribe as one of the original tribes of Muriwhenua<sup>16</sup>.

The process of tribal re-adjustment proceeded by no means smoothly, but was characterised by heated discussions and conflicting accounts. The following interviews of two kaumātuas (elders) provide accounts of tribal connections between the Ngāti Kurī and Te Aupōuri tribes with reference to Ngātaki, the block of land where the majority of the informants (3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8) of this study had returned to.

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<sup>14</sup> challenge

<sup>15</sup> younger generation, youth

<sup>16</sup> for a more detailed account see Rata, 2000, pp. 155-180

### *7.1.1 Interview 1 with a local kaumātua*

The interview took place on 3rd of May 2001 at the house of a tribal elder who is of Ngāti Kurī/Scottish descent. In addition to information about the Muriwhenua land claim the interview commences with background information about the block of land where most of the study's returnees had returned to, Ngātaki:

'Ngātaki' means to challenge. .. Ngātaki a Moko Horea...Uru Te Kawa was the name of his wife. The wahine tapu has the honour to bear her name. She was of Te Aupōuri descent, a sub-tribe of Ngāti Kurī. Ngāti Kurī is from Te Hāpua. Ngātaki is a sub-tribe of Ngāti Kurī. Te Aupōuri is in the middle [geographically] and then there is Ngāti Ngātaki. Te Aupōuri fits within the framework of Te Ngāti Kurī only through intermarriage. Aupōuri comes from the Hokianga, Whangapē. They were chased out. They were driven out of that area. Their waka is Māmari. Their Chief was Ruanui. Te Aupōuri also claims descent 'no ō rātou waka Ko Kurahaupo' (their descent from Kurahaupo canoe). It is hard to see how this is possible, because Kurahaupo dropped some of the people on the islands on its way down to Aotearoa.

A woman from Taranaki rang me if I could take her and some people from her hometown down to Te Rerenga Wairua (Cape Rēinga: the departing place of spirits). At the time, Te Aupōuri and Ngāti Kurī were in the process of settling the Land Settlement claim. There were some furious arguments between Te Aupōuri and Ngāti Kurī. They were always barking at each other, that is why we are called Ngāti Kurī (here the kaumātua uses a play on words; for the real origin of the name 'Ngāti Kurī' refer to above or to Rata, 2000, p. 167). I had to approach Te Aupōuri and inform them according to their protocol of the request made by the woman. However, to me, it did not matter what tribe or people. I am willing to take them and tell them about the history. It does not matter who they are because that is where everyone must go to eventually (referring to Māori mythology, where all deceased souls depart at Cape Reinga to the spirit world).

They [Te Aupōuri and Ngāti Kurī] have discussed the matter [the Treaty tribunal claim] for some time. But at their last meeting, two months ago, they decided to pull together. Te Aupōuri in their tauparapara (incantation to begin a speech), claim that their mountain is Kapō Wairua, that is, Maunga Piko. They have their mountain right in the settlement. I say to them: you have your own mountain, use it'.

The first interview follows the traditional custom of reciting historical evidence at the beginning to set the context for the subsequent content of a speech. In the opening paragraph the informant confirms the status of Ngāti Kurī as one of the original tribes of Muriwhenua by linking it to one of the canoes of the founding ancestors. At the same time he details the links with another tribe that, at the time, was competing with it for tangata whenua status, while affirming their common fate of departing this world from Te Rerenga Wairua on the way to the Māori spiritual world. With

reference to customary tribal identification, the tauparapara/pepeha (see previously), he makes it clear that the physical feature of Te Aupōuri's tauparapara belongs to Ngāti Kurī, and that Te Aupōuri should use their own.

The second interview complements the first one by providing more recent historical evidence of how Te Aupōuri came to be 'sandwiched' between pockets of Ngāti Kurī in Te Hāpua, their place of origin, and Ngātaki, the block of land under dispute. Like the previous account, the second interview is interspersed with anecdotal and autobiographical evidence to support the argument. Both, however, provide evidence for the determination with which the negotiations of the definition of tribal status and territory were conducted:

### *7.1.2 Interview 2 with a local kaumātua*

The interview took place on 22nd of April 2001 in Pukenui at the kaumātua's house. Like the interview before, the account commences with information about Ngātaki before detailing a historical account of the background to the current conflict marring the Muriwhenua land claim:

'Originally, the people of Ngātaki (district) are from Te Hāpua. They have come over from Te Hāpua to seek work. But what happened in those days was that the [original families] migrated down to Ngātaki. Here they started off a kind of market garden. You know, where [informant 6] lives is the house that was originally built by the Māori Affairs to accommodate the supervisor of the farms in the 1930s. [That] was the settlement area from where started this farming scheme. And what they had to do was dig gum as well as getting a bit of money to start the farms off in many places in those days. And that's how they came to be in Ngātaki. And, of course, the majority of those with jobs remained in Te Hāpua: stayed on in Te Hāpua. But some of them actually, over the years, moved on to Kaikohe and elsewhere. The remaining people stayed on in Te Hāpua. They are all Ngāti Kurī. Ngāti Kurī is the name of the tribe. Te Aupōuri came up from Whangape. Te Aupōuri got pushed around and ended up in Ngāti Kurī rohe now known as Te Aupōuri Peninsula. People of Te Aupōuri by direct descent do not come from Te Hāpua. ...Over the years...This is what is happening now: how they get their tangata whenua sort of thing. But as I say, Ngāti Kurī and Te Aupōuri are going through a negotiation process now. For example: Ngāti Kurī tūturu (fixed, real, true). As tangata whenua Ngāti Kurī claim mana whenua of the peninsula. Te Aupōuri and Ngati Ruanui are in a similar position.

The remaining Te Hāpua people of Ngāti Kurī remained in Te Hāpua, they stayed back. Te Aupōuri did not come from Te Hāpua. The sand scow transporters came up from Auckland to pick up and transport sand to Auckland. Sometimes, we would buy food stores in Auckland and the scows would bring it North. In those days there was actually a wharf built at the entrance to

Pawarengarenga Harbour. And scows were actually like trucks for transporting coal on water. And they just used to come up as far as Pawarengarenga wharf in those days – I have been there myself – carrying about 40-50 tonnes at a time. Only small scale. And then, as I say, the remaining people of Te Hāpua stayed there. And they started work in public works, on road construction. And some of them went on to Te Paki station. Others went off to Auckland. All those blocks were under Ngāti Kurī. Right down. This is what we are claiming at the moment. Ngāti Kurī territory boundary commences from the North Cape on the east coast then south to the southern tip of Maunga Tohora, from which the southern most boundary line cuts across land to the West Coast to Hukatere Beach. From Hukatere the boundary line returns to North Cape'.

The determination with which negotiations of tribal re-constitutions were conducted needs to be situated within the neotraditional paradigm associated with the revivalist ideology of the Māori renaissance. The revivalist ideology promised a solution to a host of social problems arising from the culture loss of urban Māoris through a secure Māori identity, while the neotraditional paradigm led to a neo-tribalisation that allowed for the return of tribal lands as an economic means for tribal members (Rata, 2000). Therefore, on the one hand, a tribe with well-defined boundaries provides a secure identity for those who can claim tribal membership through genealogical links. And on the other, after turning into a property-owning institution, a tribe with a large and resource-rich tribal territory becomes economically attractive for those with tribal connections to identify with it. Thus, while the ideology of the Māori renaissance can be viewed as a response to the macro processes of indigenism and globalisation, re-tribalisation and the re-constitution of tribes are the local expression of associated micro-processes. The latter may give rise to specific behaviours of individuals such as ethnic awareness and ethnic re-identification as Māori, with a specific tribe, or the decision to return to tribal territory.

## **7.2 Summary of return motives**

For pragmatic reasons, the summary of motives is divided into two categories: main motives that were cited explicitly by the informant, and additional motives that surfaced throughout the interview or from observation. In several cases, main and additional motives were related and additional motives supported the main motives while informants may not have been consciously aware of them. The division into main and additional motives however, allowed for assigning informants to the study into two broad groups of predominantly culturally or predominantly family motivated returnees.

Table 2: Summary of return motives

| <i>Informant</i>                 | <i>Main motive</i>                                             | <i>Additional motives</i>                                        | <i>Context</i>                                                                 |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Brenda Burt</i> <sup>17</sup> | cultural                                                       | Māori identity for children                                      | Māori renaissance                                                              |
| <i>Nin Thomas</i> <sup>18</sup>  | cultural                                                       | Māori identity for children                                      | Māori renaissance                                                              |
| <i>Informant 1</i> <sup>19</sup> | cultural & economic                                            | better prospects for children<br>linking up with extended family | Māori renaissance                                                              |
| <i>Informant 2</i>               | family support & economic &<br>safe environment for grandchild | absence was intended as<br>temporary                             | availability of house, termination of<br>qualification                         |
| <i>Informant 3</i>               | husband's family obligations                                   | family chain migration;<br>homesickness                          | access to property through husband                                             |
| <i>Informant 4</i>               | family obligations                                             |                                                                  | access to property                                                             |
| <i>Informant 5</i>               | family & lifestyle                                             | husband's redundancy, economic;                                  | availability of house                                                          |
| <i>Informant 6</i>               | family links                                                   | redundancy; economic                                             | availability of house; death of family<br>members; proximity to family members |
| <i>Informant 7</i>               | family chain migration                                         |                                                                  | availability of house; finish schooling                                        |
| <i>Informant 8</i>               | cultural & family                                              | Māori identity & traditional<br>lifestyle for children           | Māori renaissance; Muriwhenua land<br>claim                                    |
| <i>Informant 9</i> <sup>20</sup> | for non-return: boring, dull, no<br>opportunities & services   |                                                                  | academic career; continued tribal links<br>and with ancestral home             |

<sup>17</sup> prospective returnee

<sup>18</sup> prospective returnee

<sup>19</sup> information by informant 1 is about a closely related family rather than herself

<sup>20</sup> informant 9 provides information about herself as a non-returnee



### 7.2.1 *Main motives*<sup>21</sup>

Cultural considerations appear to be the sole motivation for the two prospective returnees who had re-identified as Māori just prior to their interview. An important factor in their considerations appears to be the wish to raise their children in a Māori environment and on 'family land'. The same main motive applies to the family described by informant 1, but in combination with economic considerations after previous unemployment. A cultural motive in combination with family considerations initiated informant 8's return with the former relating to the 'werowero', the call by the tribe for support by its members, and the latter, in support of her father in his position as a tribal elder.

Family-related motives in their various types feature strongly amongst all other informants including the returnee's residence near family members (informant 6), family obligations of caring for an ailing family member (informant 4), or caring for the husband's family member (informant 3), family chain migration (informant 7) and creating a family focus on family land (informant 5). For informant 2 family considerations were also a main motive, but in combination with economic ones. Her family related motives represent both pull as well as push factors: the former relate to family support in case of personal crisis, and the latter to the wish of creating a distance between her daughter's extended family and her own.

### 7.2.2 *Additional motives*<sup>22</sup>

While family-related and cultural considerations are the two main motives for returnees – with the exception of informant 2 – there were additional motives that surfaced indirectly. These are economic considerations after redundancy (informant 6), the husband's redundancy (informant 5) and economic necessity for an unskilled school leaver (informant 7). Other additional motives are family chain migration and homesickness (informant 3) and motives associated with children. The latter relates to the wish for a Māori identity for the children (the two prospective returnees), to teaching children specific traditions that the returnee had grown up with (informant 8)

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<sup>21</sup> 'main motive' refers to the one(s) explicitly cited by the informant

<sup>22</sup> 'additional motives' refer to motives that surface throughout the interview or from observation

and to provide children with better prospects (informant 1). In one case, the returnee's departure from her rural home had always been intended as temporary (informant 2).

Returnees' actual moves were tied to specific events, frequently associated with a certain context: the family described by informant 1 returns upon discovering rights to land following detailed genealogical research during the Māori renaissance. The Māori renaissance also provides the context for the two prospective returnees' desire to cultivate their own and their children's Māori identity on unspecified 'family land'. For informant 8, the Māori renaissance plays a crucial role as the fore-runner to the legislation that allows for the Muriwhenua land claim, to which she returned in support of. Other specific events include the availability of a house on family land (informants 5, 6 and 7) and the termination of studies (informant 2) or schooling (informant 7). Additional context for a return is provided by the death of family members (informant 6), homesickness (informants 3 and 4) and lifestyle considerations (informant 5).

Although the dull and boring rural life without opportunities prevents informant 9 from returning she nevertheless retains links with the place of origin of her tribe on a regular basis through her professional role as a tribal representative, without 'stepping back into the dark ages' herself.

### **7.3 Clear motives and secure sense of Māori identity**

In contrast to other informants' accounts where motives emerged at later stages of the interview informant 9 was very clear about her reasons for NOT returning to the small settlement where she comes from:

'If you asked me to go back I'd say, no thank you. It's not...it's really dull in comparison, no opportunities and the sort... If you offered me to go back and there wasn't a local township that offered me all the services that the city does, I guess, I wouldn't go'.

To informant 9 a return to a rural place that doesn't offer the same services as the city is equivalent to a 'step back into the dark ages' and undesirable from her point of view. From a safe distance of an urban centre she nevertheless does experience a sense of belonging to the rural place of origin of her grandparents:

'And so I had this romantic notion that that's where I belong. It's not a romantic notion, it is true that this is where my Māori grandparents came from and that takes me home occasionally'.

As a consequence, her personal and social identification is based on the place of origin of her ancestors:

'I still identify myself as coming from [a small settlement], although I have never ever lived there. That's where granny lived'.

Although her personal identity is firmly anchored in 'the homeland of the tūpuna'<sup>23</sup>, she still acknowledges the importance of a persons' birthplace:

'You always refer back to your birthplace. It's not even my birthplace, really, Ahipara is my birthplace. But I rarely go to Ahipara, because my tūpuna roots are not in Ahipara. That's where I was born. But my tūpuna roots are in [a small settlement] which is in Whangaroa. Because that's where my grandparents and the ones before lived'.

The informant's variable reference to birthplace and homeland of the tupunas to trace her origin foreshadows later findings that demonstrate the variable meanings and uses of the concept of 'home'.

Despite being a convinced non-returnee, she speculates on why people return and what their motives may be, citing economic reasons and rural attachment. Attachment to land per se as prescribed by the Māori prototype and referred to by several culturally motivated returnees of this study to her reflects a romantic notion that does not exist in reality:

'I don't think that there is any romantic attachment to land per se'.

Her personal opinion is immediately qualified by the following statement:

'I suppose there is something special about Māori relationship to land'.

However, she personally does not feel such an attachment to land which may be due to her early departure as a teenager to attend school in Auckland. In her view, a person's attachment to a particular location may be the result of personal links with the place's inhabitants, most importantly, with family members:

'Rural attachment to family would be stronger than land. That's how I feel about that. If I went back it would be because of family'.

Through such family connections and through her professional role as a tribal representative she has retained frequent links with her place of origin.

'I go back because some of the Māori I like'.

'I represent them on court claims, land claims and that sort of thing'.

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<sup>23</sup> ancestor(s)

The role as a tribal representative allowed her to consolidate her position within the tribe as group member and to access detailed knowledge about her personal background as well as her tribe's, and the latter's links with other tribes.

Her firm personal as well as group identity is further enhanced through her respected professional position as an academic with research interest in Māori-related topics. Continued close links with her tribe and the Māori world through active participation in regular and extraordinary events led to an intimate knowledge of Māori traditions and histories.

Informant 2 was the other person in this study who could clearly identify the reasons albeit this time, for her return, citing family support in her specific personal situation, economic considerations for a one-income household and distance from the negative influence of her grandchild's family.

'So there were three motives for me to move back here: One was that I completed my degree. One was that my daughter was eighteen and she had this baby and I didn't think Auckland was a great place for her to be because it was still too close to the whānau of her baby and her father and a lot of negative influences coming from him. And I really thought that the country is a good place to bring your grandchildren up. The third was that the man I had been writing to for three and a half years and I decided that we wanted to meet' (informant 2).

These three motives against the backdrop of the informant's intention of leaving the rural place of her upbringing temporarily for study purposes renders her case different from a type of returns that she refers to later during the interview.

'For me it [the return experience] was probably a bit different to others...I went to Auckland to get my degree and also....there was this real burn-out....I left here when I was forty' (informant 2).

'So that was why I left here in the first place and went to Auckland with very specific goals in mind. To get a qualification. I still had no tertiary qualification' (informant 2).

The commonality with informant 8 is a firm Māori identity, which, in her case, derives from her upbringing and life in a rural Māori environment, where participation in traditions and events is part of the daily routine.

'A hui<sup>24</sup> and pōwhiri<sup>25</sup> and that on the marae would just make me hōhā<sup>26</sup>. And I got it down to a fine art that I can turn up just after a pōwhiri. But at the same

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<sup>24</sup> gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference;

<sup>25</sup> invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae;

<sup>26</sup> be boring, tiresome, bored, wearisome, fed up with

time I know what it is all about. So I am not doing it out of ignorance' (informant 2).

How valuable it is to be raised as a Māori becomes apparent to her only after being exposed to those who did not have the same 'luck', for example, returnees or those who still live in cities:

'When you weren't disconnected from your culture I don't think you'd enjoy it as much as though you never had it. So I was lucky, I went to Auckland, and the things that I've grown up to take for granted I realised that actually. I took so much for granted'.

Through her work as a tribal negotiator for matters relating to land claims she was involved in New Zealand's bicultural politics for a lengthy period of time and had an intimate knowledge of her tribe's history and its involvement in the Muriwhenua land claim:

'I am forty six now, going on to forty seven, and I had worked for twenty eight years on land issues. And I got involved in the Treaty claims and everything... By 1997, when the Muriwhenua land claim, when the report was released, Margaret Mutu and I were working together' (informant 2).

However, only after getting to know urban Māoris during her temporary absence from her rural home community did informant 2 become fully aware of the benefits of her upbringing:

'I just didn't realise how lucky I was' (informant 2).

Part of the recognition of her own luck of being raised in a Māori environment was the assertion of her Māori identity in the urban context of Auckland expressed through the change of her first name from the English version to its Māori version. This name change marked her immediately as a member of the distinct Māori section of the population and as different from other social groups in Auckland.

In addition to contact with members of other social groups residing in Auckland, informant 2 was also brought into contact with those Māori who were not as lucky as she was because, being raised in the city, they did not get the opportunity to develop a secure Māori identity. This experience led her to the conclusion that:

'When you weren't disconnected from your culture I don't think you'd enjoy it as much as though you never had it' (informant 2).

Many of those less lucky ones set out during the Māori renaissance to re-discover their Māori background, which, in many cases, led to a 'return home' for culturally related motives.

#### **7.4 Summary and conclusion**

The chapter provided background information about the Muriwhenua land claim representing the regional context for the field study, derived both from literature as well as from first hand sources by informants and two tribal elders. Although all informants were affiliated with the Ngāti Kurī tribe, potentially biasing their accounts of the conflict with another tribe, they also provide evidence for the impact that the conflict may have had on tribal members' return decisions.

Also included in the chapter was a table summarising main and additional return motives as well as the context within which the informant's return decision was taken. While in most cases there were multiple motives, some of which surfaced gradually throughout interviews, informant 9 was decisively clear about her motives for NOT returning, while informant 2 was equally clear about the motives for her return. Both informants occupy a special status amongst the sample of the study as a result of their confident Māori identity.

## **Chapter 8**

### **FIELD DATA ANALYSIS – MĀORI RETURN MIGRATION FOR CULTURAL REASONS**

Culturally motivated returns are the intended moves back to 'family land' by the two prospective returnees, Nin and Brenda, the actual return of a group of young adults to the place where their mother had been born as described by informant 1, and the return of informant 8 to the place where she had been raised. In addition to first hand information by and about informants, second hand accounts about other returnees are also discussed in the subsection on culturally related return motives.

In contrast to informants who returned predominantly for family reasons, there was frequent direct or indirect reference by culturally motivated returnees to the New Zealand wide context within which returns were planned or actually took place.

#### **8.1 Context**

Informant 1, providing a comprehensive account of a family's pre-, post-, and actual return stages, refers to the then current New Zealand context directly, linking the family's return to a 'movement at the time':

[What motivated them to return] was certainly part of that movement at the time in the late 70s/80s, the belief that here was a better way of living, the communal way... Yes, and so it was really that idealism of my generation, I think, that was all part of it. And...just trying to think what it was like then. And a real belief in the idea of community and that Māori had the answer, that they had these truths. And that the more we could be like that the more we would have these truths as well. I wonder, looking back, it was a precursor to new age, that whole mysticism. And trying to find meaning in something, and to check our own world (informant 1).

The 'movement at the time' refers to the Māori renaissance that initially affected Māori and Pākehā alike through an idealism that envisaged a more equitable and just society living an environmentally sustainable lifestyle based on the 'traditional Māori way'.

Although national in scope, the movement can be linked to similar movements elsewhere that subsequently gave rise to indigenism (Niezen, 2000). The celebration of indigenous views and practices as alternatives to Western paradigms became a global trend, paving the way for the re-appraisal of previously negatively viewed

things Māori towards positively valued templates for New Zealand society. With several other indigenist movements the Māori renaissance shares the characteristic of traditionalisation based on an idealised construction of history, of 'looking back to the past' for norms and guidelines to live by:

'Yes, Māori things were seen by people of my generation to be exotic, I suppose, and so interesting. And here was the answer. Looking back to the past (informant 1).'

The strategy of 'looking back' to an idealised past, popular amongst indigenous peoples, is an example of social creativity, whereby existing dimensions for evaluation are re-appraised and new dimensions used to improve the status of a previously marginalised social group. Examples for the inclusion of new dimensions are the celebration of environmentally friendly Māori practices for the use of natural resources and the income generated through Māori 'exotic' artefacts. Examples for the re-appraisal of existing dimensions as mentioned by informants include the valuation of the 'communal way' (informant 1), family support (Nin), and a society where individuals count as persons in a non-competitive and non-materialistic value system rather than 'what they have' (Nin).

Evidence of just how much importance was attributed nationally to the translation of traditional Māori values into society are the examples detailed by Nin which are a string of kōhanga reo institutions to teach children the Māori language through immersion and 'mātua whāngai where Māori people take their own children back, look after their own, rather than have them in the state system where they're put in homes'.

The concern for children's upbringing was a central feature of the Māori renaissance, the view that to provide them with their 'true' Māori identity was to provide them with the key to a prosperous and secure future:

'A lot of it was due to having children. And thinking that that was...that very essentialistic idea of 'this is our heritage, they must have it'. If they are deprived of it they'll grow up to be delinquent. And that Māori youngsters are underachieving because they are denied their heritage. So if they are given their heritage they'll be fine' (informant 1).

For many, the concern for children's upbringing was the trigger for an awareness of and interest in their own Māori background:

'But now I have suddenly woken up, mainly by having children – all of a sudden it came to me that I am a Māori and not a Pākehā' (Brenda).



'With Inia it woke me up and made me want to find out more about Māori things' (Nin).

Other events that may have triggered a person's active endeavour in finding out about their Māori background may have come from outside, through, for example, a death notice detailing family links (informant 1), or, the rekindling of childhood exposure to things Māori:

'I always had a background of Māori; when I was a teenager I was put into a cultural group. I was taught how to go onto a marae (courtyard and building complex for official gatherings). But that's all it was. My mother hasn't really cut me off from it because she's not cut off from it. Her Māoriness is part of her, now it's part of me – whereas before I did exclude myself because I thought it was the right thing to do' (Brenda).

The exclusion from a Māori background led for many to a state of 'being lost', generated by a lack of Māori identity.

## **8.2 Lack of Māori identity and 'lost' Māoris**

Although Brenda initially admits that it was her own decision to favour her Pākehā side, she later attributes the lack of knowledge about her Māori side to outside forces:

'My mother gave me the Māori environment, but I wasn't aware of it because my [Pākehā] father had a lot of influence on me' (Brenda).

And:

'I was put into Pākehā society – my mother thought it was the right thing to do' (Brenda).

Nin tells of a similar experience:

'I've been through the education system; I've benefited from it. But I haven't developed the Māori side of me. I had been brought up in a European environment and I had just accepted things as they were' (Nin).

While some of those who 'were put into Pākehā society' may not experience a sense of loss, for example, informant 9, others may 'not even know that they are hungry for it before they are brought briefly in touch with home' (informant 2), or even worse, live in the condition of being 'lost':

'A lot of younger ones [Māori] that I have spoken to are moving [to family land] because they feel lost or they want to find out who they are and who their ancestors were' (informant 2).

Such a condition of being lost has been observed by informant 2 during her temporary stay in the city of Auckland, citing a young couple's inability to take action after their baby's death:

'I can remember one time this baby had died and they didn't know what to do, they didn't know who to call, they didn't know what religion they were. So they didn't know what minister, but they wanted something. They didn't know how to deal with the undertaker or the coroner, so I helped them'.

The couple's inability to act is linked to the couple's upbringing devoid of rules and behavioural guidelines on one hand, and, on the other, to a lack of leadership:

'And they [the grandparents] weren't providing their young ones with leadership. They kept saying, the older people, kept saying: 'It's up to the Mum and Dad' (informant 2).

The latter, however, are not equipped for making confident and informed decisions as they were never taught, as part of their Pākehā upbringing, certain norms and behaviours that they feel they should perform as Māori. The result is an uncomfortable state of in-between:

'They [young Māoris] don't fit into the society their parents want them to fit into. There's something missing, their Māori side isn't developed' (Nin).

### **8.3 Problems associated with the lack of a Māori identity and negative stereotype**

Such a state of in-between and a tension of being Māori without being able to confidently apply norms and behaviours associated with a Māori identity was claimed during the Māori renaissance as leading to issues affecting exclusively Māoris:

'When I got into kōhanga I actually became aware of the issues that are facing the Māori people' (Nin).

The 'issues' relate to a nationwide underachievement of Māoris educationally and professionally, and to negative performances on a range of socioeconomic measures:

'As I got more involved [with kōhanga reo] the more aware I became of social issues and pressures' (Nin).

Awareness of the destitute Māori situation came through participation in kōhanga reo. The informant's awareness of the need to change the Māori situation was thus triggered from outside influences linked to the Māori renaissance. The 'social issues and pressures' that the informant refers to are a result of, amongst others, colonial oppression, land loss (see previously), and, more contemporarily, the non-compatibility of Pākehā and Māori values within the current system, where 'standards are set for them [the Māoris]' (Nin):

'The state is for Pākehās and not Māoris. It is an established system, an established system based on European principles, and the Māori people, the children, the adults, right through our life have to fit into it. A lot of Māori people don't, which is why we have so many problems – they can't fit in within the rigid structure of a European system' (Nin).

In a later statement, however, Nin partially disclaims that European values were forcefully superimposed on the Māori, and that part of the blame of why many contemporary Māori turn into 'emotional cripples' may lie elsewhere (Nin):

'Our parents in some cases (which is why so many Māori people can't speak their own language) have sacrificed the Māori identity of their children, thinking that the kids have to get into the workforce, have to become academics, have to live like Pākehās, do the things that they do, to succeed. They're in awe of the material things the Pākehā has and for that reason a lot of our parents have sacrificed our Māori side. They've produced a person who in a lot of cases is an emotional cripple' (Nin).

The negative image derived from and generated by negative statistics on a range of socio-economic measures both confirmed and kept reinforcing a negative Māori stereotype:

'Māoris are always considered lazy...The normal saying is 'Oh, you're lazy buggers' (Nin).

And:

'I remember when I was working people would say things to me like 'God, why do Māoris always have big families?', 'Why do Māoris always drink?' and that sort of thing, and I would think, that's not very nice, but I wouldn't say anything about it. I had no answer for it' (Nin).

Nin's statements about the current Māori situation sums up the stereotypical view of Māori to 'have big families and drink'. Although she herself doesn't fit in with that stereotype, being a qualified professional, she nevertheless identifies as Māori and participates in a movement to change the negative image of Māori.

Others responded to the lack of answers to a negative stereotype and a miserable situation frequently by airing their sense of anger and deprivation.

#### **8.4 Sense of anger and deprivation**

The sense of anger and deprivation was frequently directed towards 'the establishment' blamed for depriving Māori of their Māori identity claimed to be necessary to lead a prosperous life:

'A lot of them are just experiencing, trying to express the anger they feel at what was, they didn't even know they'd lost it...And then there is an angry response: 'Why the hell was I not taught this stuff, what?' And rather than taking it out on themselves they often turn it against the government, the establishment, whatever that looks like, and generally that is white and middle class' (informant 2).

The anti-establishment feeling as a result of a sense of deprivation and grief surfaces also throughout the interviews of the two prospective returnees:

'Now that I've woken up I really have turned anti-state, because the set-up is state, like you're put into a school where you learn Māori things'... (Brenda).

'I am not anti-Pākehā, but I am anti-system and angry at what I missed out on... I was never really given the chance to be with my own people until now' (Brenda).

Brenda's statement sums up the general mood amongst mostly young urban Māoris: a sense of deprivation and loss, for which the state and the Pākehā system is blamed. Although Brenda has been socialised into Pākehā society, she suddenly feels that the Māori part is the 'original', the more authentic one for her. The final paragraph of the interview reiterates the informant's sense of anger at 'the system' for depriving her of her rightful access to her own cultural identity. While no individual Pākehā is blamed for any wrongdoing, the Pākehā system as a whole is viewed as responsible for the loss of the cultural identity of the indigenous population of New Zealand. The resulting grief can best be ameliorated by a re-identification with the latter group, which promises an environment of being 'happy and content'.

The event that seems to have triggered Brenda's re-identification is the birth of her children. She hopes her children will never experience the same grief that she does. In order to avoid the scenario they need to become Māori from 'birth right through all their lives' by attending kōhanga reo (language nests) from an early age onwards. Interestingly, although she wants them to 'have the best of both worlds', to her, Pākehā and Māori identities are not compatible.

The clue to Brenda's strong wording and assertive point of view may be provided by the timing of the interview which appeared in 1984 at around the onset of the Māori renaissance. During that time efforts were undertaken to create a distinguishable sector of New Zealand society by promoting Māori identity with the aim of improving the miserable Māori situation. Brenda's wording and statements resemble strongly the then current rhetoric that was promulgated in the public media, by the general population and by an emergent Māori leadership.

### **8.5 Assertion of indigenous Māori identity**

Other members of an increasingly visible urban Māori population voiced their sense of deprivation and loss more publicly by participating in political activism:

'A lot of the ones who are disconnected, who you'll see connected on the fringes, or sometimes at the front of the activist marches and that' (informant 2).

Māori political activism aiming at gaining political, legal and social recognition was in line with other indigenist movements, raising awareness and emphasising the uniqueness of the country's original inhabitants and the right – and need – to preserve their cultural heritage including language, protocol and other cultural expressions:

'We ask for respect for our culture, for the indigenous culture of New Zealand. New Zealand is the only country in the world where Māori is spoken. Māori is the indigenous language of New Zealand. We are entitled to our heritage. We are entitled to support, to develop, to nurture our heritage' (Nin).

Nin's statement resonates clearly with pride in her indigenous status and in being a member of a group that is unique, one of the core characteristics of a global indigenist movement (Niezen, 2000, 2002). Her view of the Māori culture being entitled to recognition can be linked to the popular rhetoric amongst other indigenous groups that engaged in efforts to become visible through networking and the use of technology. The use of technology allowed group to lobby for their unique and valuable status as well as for special rights within a globalising world to take political and legal action against their respective national governments. Nin draws attention to these rights, in particular, to rights of ownership and the right to be different and respected:

'We are asking for respect for our culture. Māori culture belongs to the Māoris, it's their right' (Nin).

In addition to rights of ownership and cultural expression Māori share with other indigenous peoples the right to be different, a right that emerged following international efforts to provide the legal framework in support of indigenous claims.

To be different means that the general standards do not apply and Māori cannot and need not be assessed in the same manner as members of the majority group, nor compared with them. Practices such as going onto a marae and learning the ancient values of the Māori tūpunas cannot be measured nor understood by non-Māori, but have their own value that is independent from outside:

'We're asking for respect, for your right to be different, to come from a different culture. Being a Māori is special' (Nin).

## **8.6 The changing context of Māori group identification**

The special status of being Māori represented initially a pan-Māori movement:

'Your common bond is the fact that you are Māori, and you're seeking something that the established system can't provide' (Nin).

Awareness associated with Māori group membership surfaces during the interviews with cultural returnees as frequent use of 'we' and 'us' terminology. While 'us' and 'we' is used by informants who returned predominantly for family-related reasons to refer to their immediate family such as spouse or children, 'us' and 'we' as employed by cultural returnees refer variably to the Māori subsection of New Zealand's population, to the informant's tribe (iwi) or sub tribe (hapū), to members of a specified kōhanga reo or the extended family (whānau), all of which are representative of the Māori prototype.

Historically, identification as a member of the Māori subsection of New Zealand's population only emerged after the arrival of non-Māori to distinguish between the indigenous population of New Zealand and the newcomers. Thus, the most salient feature to differentiate between the indigenous population and others was the original inhabitants' unique characteristic of originating from the place that was known as Aotearoa and later as New Zealand. Only the Māori group could claim a long tradition of spiritual affiliation and primary attachment to the land, a characteristic that has become a key force in several other contemporary indigenous identity processes (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005).

The creation of a clearly defined Māori sub-section of New Zealand society was the aim of the Māori renaissance to provide for the needs that were considered by Māori leaders and politicians to concern exclusively Māori. Some 'issues that are facing the Māori people' are detailed by Nin such as alcoholism and dysfunctional families. Through combined efforts in the legal, social and political arenas the Māori identity gained salience, and, in line with a global movement of indigenism, positive evaluation. As predicted by SIT the two gains, positive evaluation and salience, generated increasing potential for subscribers to the Māori sub-section of society (Kukutai, 2003) and led to an unprecedented increase of people reporting as 'full' or 'sole' Māori during the 1980s (Pool, 1991 cited in Kukutai, 2001, p. 28).

In addition to reporting as Māori in the census, examples of normative behaviours available to urban Māori to demonstrate Māori group membership were the formation of whānau groups and the construction of urban maraes:

'It's like forming new whānau based on communities, groups of people together even though there isn't a blood tie' (Nin).

Nin's statement provides evidence for the fundamental change in the definition of Māori group membership from a cultural one in the early stages of the Māori renaissance towards one that is based on blood ties and ancestry. During the early stages, common interests in things Māori and mutual goals towards the revitalisation of Māori culture such as the construction of urban maraes formed the basis for group bonding:

'We're working towards building a marae; it gives us unity in the city. We meet once a month, we try to work together to raise funds for this marae' (Brenda).

A marae not only refers to the communal meeting ground in front of and nowadays including a set of buildings that are used for ceremonial and worldly gatherings, but it has strong symbolic meanings as the link of a group of people to the Earth mother (Durie, 1999), representing the mana (authority) of the tangata whenua (people of the land) living there (Walker, 1987).

Working towards the construction of a marae thus has symbolic as well as practical meaning. In the first case, the communal activity of raising funds forges links between group members as well as allowing individuals to assert group membership through participation in a traditional Māori activity. In the latter case, it provides group members with a central location to discuss matters affecting the group and future members with a focus. The construction of maraes, particularly in an urban context, became a popular activity during the early stages of the Māori renaissance, providing urban Māoris with a sense of group belonging. Urban maraes were considered as evidence for the re-vitalisation of a traditional culture (Webster, 1998) that was viewed as endangered by the urban lifestyle which was forced upon Māori. Thus, being involved in the construction of a marae represented an activity that was regarded as typically Māori, consolidating the person's Māori group membership.

As the Māori renaissance progressed however, pan-Māori identification practices based on cultural elements were gradually replaced by a Māori identity determined by blood ties and the ability to trace genealogy with a certain tribe, also referred to as neo-tribalisation. Though controversial (Rata, 2000), neo-tribalisation promoted the salience of tribal group membership in certain contexts such as asset allocations to a particular tribe.

The relevant context for the current study was the Muriwhenua land claim that was in preparation during the time of the interviews. Salience of tribal membership to any

one tribe of the Muriwhenua tribal confederation was further enhanced through controversies regarding historic definitions of tribes within the confederation, notably the conflict between the two tribes of Te Aupōuri and Ngati Kurī in relation to their status as tangata whenua and associated rights to claim certain parcels of land.

Informant 8 was personally involved in tribal negotiations at the time of the study and refers to the tribe of Ngati Kurī as 'we' and 'us' throughout the interview.

Not only does she identify strongly with the tribe personally, but, using 'we' and 'us', she assumes tribal members to subscribe to uniform aims and views, enabling her to speak and to make statements on their behalf such as tribal members' knowledge about the wealth of natural resources within tribal territory.

In contrast to informant 8, for the vast majority of urban Māoris the initial step towards accessing tribal assets through tribal links involved detailed and in-depth family research in order to ascertain their tribal identities:

'...all the children had been born in the city and they didn't know they had any connection to there [the rural place they eventually returned to]. They didn't know the name of their tribe, they knew nothing. Until one of the daughters decided to, as part of the Māori renaissance, become quite interested. She started to go to Māori classes. And found out more about her mother's family. It went from there' (informant 1).

A striking commonality between the whānau of Nin's kōhanga reo, the extended family described by informant 1 and Brenda are the desired group membership with previously unknown individuals. Positive feelings by informants towards group members are thus, at least initially, unlikely to be based on members' idiosyncratic traits and characteristics rather than on others' group membership within the same kōhanga reo or members of an extended family. Bonding between members is generated by common goals of, for example, raising funds for and building a marae on family land and the desire to 'head back' to common ancestors (Brenda):

'Most of my family are situated in Auckland. Most of us are striving for our Māoritanga' (Brenda).

### **8.7 Motivation for choosing Māori group membership**

Group memberships within a tribe (iwi), sub-tribe (hapū) and extended family (whānau) reflect traditional Māori identification practices, based on the Māori prototype as propagated during the Māori renaissance (see previous chapter). The choice of the level of inclusiveness of any one traditional group membership is



determined by the salience of the respective group in a particular context and can be explained by one of SIT's motivating factors for joining groups, optimal distinctiveness.

### *8.7.1 Optimal distinctiveness through place*

Optimal distinctiveness refers to a balance between the two conflicting human needs of inclusiveness or differentiation as described by Brewer's theory (1991). The choice of group membership is guided by the principle of meta-contrast which results in an individual choosing the most meaningful group membership based on structural fit (similarities and differences among individuals) and normative fit (the one that makes sense).

In this study the most inclusive group membership was the one as Māori, mostly used by the two prospective returnees, Brenda and Nin. Both Nin's and Brenda's chosen group membership makes most sense as they both are in the process of identification as Māori after being raised and socialised as Europeans. To them their identification as Māori entails the rejection of Nin's Yugoslav and Brenda's British backgrounds. Although both are aware of tribal affiliations with Ngāpuhi, both refer to their more inclusive Māori group memberships throughout the interviews. This may be explained by the timing of the interviews, which took place in 1984, at the early stages of the Māori renaissance, when Māori gained salience in the public consciousness as the indigenous inhabitants of New Zealand. Salience of Māori as the indigenous inhabitants was the success of both national as well as international efforts, the latter of which was undertaken by a number of other indigenous groups, initiating a global movement referred to by Niezen (2000, 2002) as 'indigenism'.

Nationally, the assertion of Māori as an identifiable sector of society was achieved through emphasising the group's difference from any other social group within New Zealand, a practice which is a fundamental characteristic of groups in order to survive (Brewer, 1991). Once an identifiable sector existed, political, economic and social goals for the group's benefit were set to strive for.

A pan-Māori identification characteristic for the early stages of the Māori renaissance gave way to tribal identification as the Māori renaissance progressed and indigenous identity in New Zealand was re-defined based on Māori traditions in a more refined manner necessitated by legal changes associated with rights of access to tribal assets.

Tribal affiliation was the most salient group membership for informant 8 whose Māori identity was already firmly established through her rural Māori upbringing. Rather, as an active tribal member who was involved in Treaty negotiations for her tribe (Ngati Kuri) her tribal membership was the most salient group membership as a result of her professional responsibility as a Treaty negotiator on the one hand and, on the other, because of a challenge to her tribe's status as tangata whenua associated with authority over contested parcels of land by a competing tribe at the time of the interview.

A third level of inclusiveness available to Māori, also based on traditional Māori identification practices, is exhibited by returnees described by informant 1 who identify by their extended family (whānau). Their identification as whānau members became salient after tribal membership had been established and efforts were made to set up a family business on family land, more specifically, at the exact spot where the returnees' mother originated from.

The examples cited provide support for the claim that individuals choose the most meaningful group membership within the context of their current situations (Oakes & Turner, 1990), for example, during a re-identification process, a challenge to the tribe's authority, and the justification of settling on a specific parcel of land. While the three categories for informants' group memberships were provided by a traditional prototype, it was situational factors at the time of the interviews which determined the salience of any one group, and hence, the level of inclusiveness that individuals chose for group membership (Hogg, 2000a).

In addition to optimal distinctiveness, the two other main motives for joining groups as identified by SIT, uncertainty reduction and self enhancement, also surface throughout the interviews.

### *8.7.2 Uncertainty reduction*

Uncertainty reduction refers to people's aim of rendering their social environment relatively predictable by knowing who they are and how to behave, and who others are and how they may behave (Hogg, et. al. 2007). Efforts towards uncertainty reduction are demonstrated by all cultural returnees or prospective returnees in a number of ways.

Most fundamentally, all cultural returnees – with the exception of informant 8 who had been raised in a rural Māori environment – were determined to fill the gaps of their Māori identity that were the consequence of their non-Māori upbringing. This included the study of the Māori language, protocol, history, and practices while getting involved in contemporary Māori politics and activities, such as urban kōhanga reo communities. Through the study of aspects of Māori life informants became acquainted with Māori normative behaviour providing them with behavioural guidelines as a Māori in a number of situations and activities associated with their daily life. Through participation in communal activities and politics informants did not only expand on their knowledge about things Māori but also provide themselves with opportunities for reconfirming and verifying their own behaviour and views.

In addition to general knowledge of normative Māori behaviour and values informants acquired knowledge about their personal background through tracing of their ancestry, providing them with knowledge of who they are.

Tracing past and contemporary family links brought informants in touch with previously unknown members of the extended family and provided them with tribal links to ancestral land. The latter enabled them to practice a revitalised tradition of tauparapara/pepeha, one's introduction with reference to a tribe and ancestral lands, and with opportunities for public expressions of their subscription to a Māori cultural identity. The newly acquired identity allowed informants to participate in tribal events such as tangihanga (funeral ceremonies), hurakohatu (unveiling ceremonies), and hui (meetings), which, in turn, served to further strengthen whānau bonds (Rata, 2000). Tribal links with ancestral lands have been the traditional basis by which individuals introduced themselves during encounters with outsiders, a practice that was revitalised during the Māori renaissance. Tribal identification was attributed additional importance in the contemporary context of asset allocation based on tribal membership.

While the aspect of tribal membership allowing access to traditional lands played an important part for returnees described by informant 1, Brenda and her family aimed at returning to ancestral land to find out more about themselves and their family. Both aims, however can be interpreted as expressions of uncertainty reduction, in the latter case to provide the informant with knowledge about herself while being able to count on family support in difficult situations, and in the former, providing a small group of

returnees with an economic base after years of uncertainty associated with unemployment.

Uncertainty reduction was also an important factor for the return of mostly young parents who subscribed to the view that a secure Māori identity would equip their children with the tools for a prosperous and happy life. This view as propagated during the Māori renaissance is mentioned by all informants within the group of cultural returnees either directly or indirectly.

### *8.7.3 Self-enhancement*

Self enhancement refers to individuals' tendency to join high status groups which provide them with self-esteem and prestige, a tendency that applied to all cultural returnees of this study. While the re-evaluation of Māori as a social group has been discussed elsewhere, the focus of the following paragraphs is on informants' statements in support of the previous theoretical argument.

Evidence for the success of the aim of the Māori renaissance of not only creating a separate sector of New Zealand society but also attaching a positive value to the newly formed and identifiable sector is provided by informant 1 through her statement in relation to the context within which the return decisions were made. The context was 'the belief in the idea of community and that Māori had the answer' (informant 1) to questions arising from the recognition of the limits of Western-style individualism and negative impact on the natural environment. More specifically, the importance of family and respect for fellow humans were cited by Nin as positive Māori alternatives to negatively regarded European 'materialistic and shallow' values. Amongst Māori there is the aim of 'just being happy' instead of 'competing with your next door neighbour' (Nin). The examples cited demonstrate a strategy of self-enhancement by applying new dimensions for evaluating a groups' performance. The new dimensions are to cater for the Māori sector of society, which does not 'fit in' with the rigid structure of a European system (Nin). Where there was solely monetary value before, the new dimensions include happiness, environmental preservation, social benefit and values of the past (Nin). The perceived validity of a different evaluation scale is supported by Nin's question of 'why mock us [the Māori]' and Brenda's query of what would be wrong with existing Māori practices of 'staying home and walking the

paddocks', both of which had a negative social connotation prior to public attitudes changed by the Māori renaissance.

Instead, Māoris as a group and their members deserve respect (Nin), not only because of the efforts undertaken by individuals to address problems affecting Māori, but also because 'being a Māori is special' as Nin asserts, and, unique. The emphasis on uniqueness of, for example the language (Nin) is part of another strategy of self-enhancement through the use of a different dimension for the evaluation of the Māori group. Emphasis on uniqueness and on indigenous status as something to be valued and celebrated has become popularised during the global indigenist movement, and entitlement to 'our heritage' (Nin) is part of a set of indigenous rights that became enshrined in international treaties and a global legal framework (Niezen, 2000, 2002). Although not directly referred to by informants of this study, the indigenist movement also enabled groups to network and compare themselves with more similar groups and thus avoiding the continuation of a damaging intergroup comparison. Indirect reference to the solidarity with other indigenous groups and emphasis on indigenous status is made by informant 1 who mentions a 'mysticism at the time' that applied to realms beyond New Zealand.

The desire to return to rural Māori communities can be interpreted as another strategy of avoiding detrimental intergroup comparison. Such return moves take individuals out of an unsuited urban social environment that is based on European values (Brenda), as well as enabling returnees to live amongst like-minded people in a more homogenous society with regards to values and socio-economic status. This view, however, represents an idealised and unrealistic one leading to disappointment (informant 1) as has been discussed elsewhere.

Despite any disappointment that returnees may experience, the return to the person's ancestral place nevertheless provides returnees with positive self-esteem through the special meaning that is attributed to ancestral places by Māori in particular (Brenda) and by indigenous peoples in general (Twigger-Ross, et al., 2003).

## 8.8 Ancestral place of origin – tūrangawaewae<sup>27</sup>

In addition to the special meaning and the potential for group membership at various levels of inclusiveness, ancestral places of origin are also the locations where factual information about individuals' personal background and family links (whakapapa) is kept:

'While there may be somebody back in their tūrangawaewae to retain the memory of who they [urban Māoris] are, they don't know who to go to, so they are lost' (informant 2).

For 'lost' urban Māoris, therefore, a return 'home' to their tūrangawaewae, where knowledge about their ancestry and about unique local traditions is preserved (Herbert, 1990), is essential to anchor them because 'there are no lost Māoris up here' (informant 2). The informants' suggestion is in line with the view that only rural Māori are 'proper' Māori and that strong links to one's ancestral lands are essential for the development of a persons' healthy cultural identity, enabling him or her to 'be better off' (Brenda).

Brenda's term of 'being better off' may refer to both tangible as well as non-tangible rewards:

'I want to get what I can out of that land. That's not money, but to learn about my ancestors. We want to head back to our tūpuna' (ancestors) (Brenda).

Rather, asserting prototypical non-materialistic Māori values, Brenda's aim is to find out about the ancestors and to live in a 'Māori environment':

'In our family group we're searching for our Māoritanga. It's funny, we all [the family] want to go back to our land, get away from the city' (Brenda).

Brenda refers to 'our land' without specifying it any further and without ever living there. It is assumed that she refers to her tribal or family lands, although she is unable to specify her tribal links in detail at the time of the interview. Brenda nevertheless demonstrates an emotional bonding and sense of belonging to the place of her ancestors and her anticipated return.

While Brenda provides information from the point of view of a prospective second generation returnee, those second generation returnees as described by informant 1 have already returned to a previously unknown ancestral place, their mother's birthplace, at the time of the interview:

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<sup>27</sup> place where one has rights of residence

'[The land where they returned to] was where she [the mother] came from. It was the very site she had been born on' (informant 1).

Despite the fact that the returnees as described by informant 1 had never lived in the place of their return, all the family members experienced a sense of belonging to the place of their mother's origin, and that they had rightful access to it:

'Even though they hadn't been born there they felt that they had complete right to go back. And they worked hard at the time. Finding out their genealogies so they could link up to their own families in the area. They had a very clear sense that they did belong there, even though they hadn't been there before. [The local community] seemed to feel the same. [The mother] returned too, but off and on. She kept her work in Auckland. So she travelled back and forth. But it was her presence, her regular presence that provided that link' (informant 1).

A strong sense of attachment to ancestral land was also found amongst the 16 informants of a previous study of Māori return migration by Scott and Kearns (2000, p. 33) who unanimously viewed the valley where they had returned to 'a good place to live', where they felt a sense of belonging and part of the local community.

In addition to a sense of belonging and group membership, *tūrangawaewae* represented more tangible benefits and promised to provide a much needed economic opportunity and relief from long-term unemployment through tribal membership associated with access to land and waters as enshrined in the political concept of indigeneity and equal partnership with the government under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi (Rata, 2000):

'And there were six in the family and most of them were unemployed. And so, of course it was the economic opportunity which was the main one to go back and use the land, use the water and to establish the marine farm...[There] was the belief that getting the land would enable the family to survive economically' (informant 1).

Despite the fact that the main reason for establishing a marine farm was the economic motive to escape unemployment the process itself unfolded in the context of the Māori revivalist ideology following one of the family member's interest in Māori issues and, more specifically, in her family history:

'They didn't know the name of their tribe, they knew nothing. Until one of the daughters decided to, as part of the Māori renaissance, become quite interested. She started to go to Māori classes. And found out more about her mother's family. It went from there' (informant 1).

The account by informant 1 of one family member getting involved in things Māori following a non-Māori upbringing parallels the experience by the two prospective returnees, Nin and Brenda, and as such it is a typical example for the early stages of

the Māori renaissance when Māori moved from a negatively viewed sub-sector of NZ society to a positively viewed one. In line with SIT, individuals who were aware of their Māori background gained self esteem and became increasingly inclined to join the Māori group whose rise in status was readily communicated publicly and academically and thus gained salience.

### **8.9 Re-identification and rejection of non-Māori identities**

The search for a Māori identity was frequently at the expense of the person's – often equally strong – alternative, most commonly, Pākehā background, to the point of rejecting the latter:

'I've always been classified as a Pākehā-Māori. I know in myself that I am Māori. I hate being classified as Pākehā-Māori' (Brenda).

Brenda clearly and strong-wordedly rejects her Pākehā identity which she inherited from her father. Even a double-identification with the majority group in New Zealand is rejected in favour of group membership with the minority Māori group. Despite the fact that it doesn't make up the larger part of her background her loyalty is with the Māori of New Zealand:

'If I had to choose between my Pākehā friends and my Māoritanga, I'd pick my Māori heritage, because that's the stronger side of me, because I know that's what I want, I know that's what's been missing in my life'.

Brenda is convinced that her personal opinion reflects that of most family members in that she claims that:

'Most of us [Brenda's family] are striving for our Māoritanga and also to identify ourselves as Māoris, not Pākehā-Māoris' (Brenda).

The reasons for the incompatibility between Māori and Pākehā group membership are specified by Nin, speaking from a Māori perspective:

'The difference between Māori and Pākehā is a cultural difference. For example, we have different attitudes to lots of things' (Nin).

Interestingly, although there may be more similarities between Nin's and a Pākehā's value system as a result of her mainstream upbringing, she nevertheless emphasises her solidarity with Māori who 'can't fit in within the rigid structure of a European system' by using the term 'we' to refer to a defined pan-Māori social sector.

The rejection of a non-Māori identity happened both within individuals, for example by those in search of their Māori side as described above, as well as between individuals, for example, by Māoris who rejected non-Māoris.



A progressive rejection of non-Māori by Māori has been linked by Rata (2000) to New Zealand's move towards bi-culturalist policies as well as later stages of the Māori renaissance which generated a clear demarcation between Māori and non-Māoris and an incompatibility of multiple group membership. The problematic of such a viewpoint is described in the context of a group of Māori returnees who brought with them their non-Māori spouses:

'And then there were the Pākehā spouses. So that was another area of conflict. One of them that came was involved with a Māori in the area who was very opposed to Pākehā, very opposed to any inter-marriage and any contact. So that was one of the reasons for the arguments' (informant 1).

Non-acceptance of Pākehā family members by Māori family has also been experienced by other returnees. These experiences on personal level foreshadow a more general development on national level as an idealism and inclusiveness based on subscription to the Māori cultural identity – including non-Māori with a 'Māori heart' – of the early stages of the Māori renaissance gave way to tribal determinism (Rata, 2000) characterised by an exclusiveness based on genealogical links with defined tribal bodies and thus excluding non-Māori from the ethnification movement.

Problems associated with the rejection of a non-Māori identity also occurred within the immediate family, especially with the person whose background is rejected in this manner:

'There's no hard feelings over me going into my Māoritanga, but he [the informant's Pākehā father] has got that idea that Māoritanga doesn't do anything for you. He just doesn't understand' (Brenda).

### **8.10 Rewards and salvation through Māori identity**

Brenda considers the disagreement with her father worthwhile in light of the reward she gets:

'All of a sudden I've put myself in this type of environment where I'm happy and content' (Brenda).

Similar emotions associated with a re-identification as Māori, even stronger, are described by informant 2 who observed them during her temporary stay in the city:

'And then they [urban-born Māori] will reach home. Sometimes they will be over the top in their desire to reconnect, to be born again... And when they discover they had lost it – that initial rush at 'wow I know who I am'.

The knowledge of who they are and the ability to 're-connect' and to 'reach home' is the result of detailed genealogical research to uncover family links and tribal affiliation.

[There was] real pleasure in finding out who relations were, family contact, putting on a big family reunion' (informant 1).

For children of Māori descent in particular it was considered essential to develop their Māori side without which they would turn into 'weeds', unable to achieve the state of a 'whole person' but instead, risk the danger of developing into 'slightly tanned Europeans' (Brenda). The view that children would benefit by connecting to their Māori ancestry and traditions was also voiced by informants to Scott and Kearns' study (2000) reflecting the rhetoric of a firm Māori identity being the solution to many 'social ills that the Māoris were facing' (Nin) at the time:

'We're developing our children to be a whole person so eventually they should succeed more because both sides of them will be developed. They'll be more successful in European terms and Māori terms. Eventually we think it will probably cut out a lot of the problems that Māori children have now. There will be a greater proportion of Māori people who are confident in themselves who believe in themselves, who are aware of themselves as Māori people, and just as people who matter. Because you have a greater percentage of Māori people who succeed it will change the system through a positive means' (Nin).

This popular view is echoed by informant 1:

'A lot of it was due to having children. And thinking that that was...that very essentialist idea of 'this is our heritage, they must have it'. If they are deprived of it they'll grow up to be delinquent. And that Māori youngsters are underachieving because they are denied their heritage. So if they are given their heritage they'll be fine. Simplistic really' (informant 1).

Although the view of improving children's – and indeed society's – future through a firm Māori identity was discounted as 'naive' and 'simplistic' by informant 1 in hindsight, various means of achieving a secure cultural identity amongst Māori youngsters emerged throughout the Māori renaissance:

'So now we're getting all these alternatives, things like mātua whāngai (foster parents) where Māori people take their own children back, look after their own, rather than have them in the state system where they're put in homes. And kōhanga reo, which is the big thing, which is putting the language back into the children, keeping the language alive by taking the children at birth, taking care of them in an environment where Māori is spoken' (Nin).

The new alternatives to the established institutions cited by Nin are modelled on traditional Māori structures and based on traditional Māori values. Through the inclusion of Māori structures and values society as a whole is thought of as benefiting:

'Hopefully these whānau groups will strengthen the identity of young people, give them some purpose and through that, because they're stronger, more complete people, strengthen society as a whole' (Nin).

Nin's statements are representative of the popular and widespread optimism that by achieving a secure pan-Māori identity the Māori situation will be improved. This view has been propagated by Māori leaders who initiated the renaissance, by the general population including Pākehā, and by academics alike. However, the view that a secure Māori identity will alleviate a host of social ills (for example, Durie, 1986, 1994, 1999) has been scrutinised by others as unrealistic and delimitating (Wall, 1997), and detrimental as a consequence of the neglect of real causes, for example, in the health sector (Marie, 1999).

Critical voices also gradually emerged from previous subscribers to the view of the benefits of a secure Māori identity for individuals in general and children in particular:

'So they [the returnees] were committed to creating a better life for their children. That was a strong motivation... That the traditional Māori way would give the security and stability which would enable what they really wanted to have, which was education, achievement and getting on... People today say that if Māori youngsters have a firm basis in their Māoriness they'll achieve educationally, which is perhaps not the case. But that's what we believed' (informant 1).

Nevertheless, adherents to the view of the positive value of a Māori identity persisted and children's secure Māori identity and their firm knowledge of Māori protocol was to be catered for by an ever increasing number of Māori language nests, the *kōhanga reo*<sup>28</sup>:

'And *kōhanga reo*, which is the big thing, which is putting the language back into the children, keeping the language alive by taking the children at birth, taking care of them in an environment where Māori is spoken' (Nin).

Brenda expresses her hopes for the benefiting impact of a *kōhanga reo* for her children more directly:

'I'm hoping that my children won't miss it, that they have the best of both worlds. Through *kōhanga reo* I want my children to obtain what I missed out on, and that's being Māori, from birth hopefully right through all their life'.

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<sup>28</sup> The *kōhanga reo* movement, literally 'language nest', was initiated as part of the Māori renaissance with the aim of retaining the Māori culture through total immersion of children between birth and six years of age in the language and within an appropriate cultural context while enabling people of all ages to meet and work together towards a bilingual and bicultural nation (more information in appendix 8).

### 8.11 Māori prototype and accentuation principle

Kōhanga children played an important symbolic role during the Māori renaissance as they were identified as 'the prototype' of the future Māori – Māori speaking, knowledgeable in Māori cultural practices, knowing their place in the whānau and aware of their responsibilities to the kin-group (Rata, 2000).

While some normative behaviours as prescribed by the prototype could be translated into urban contexts, others only apply to a rural setting, more specifically, to a person's ancestral place, as rural Māori communities continue to be regarded as 'authentic' through their retention and practice of Māori traditions and customs (Herbert, 1990). Informants' desire to return to their ancestors' rural place of origin is thus a direct reflection of the prototype of the Māori renaissance, enabling them to cultivate their Māori side (Nin) and to immerse themselves in a 'Māori environment' (Brenda), while providing the opportunity for the children to develop their Māori identity from an early age onwards (Brenda and Nin).

An additional function of a prototype described by SIT is demonstrated by the two prospective returnees, Nin and Brenda, who draw clear boundaries around the Māori and Pākehā subsection of New Zealand society based on 'the common bond [which] is the fact that you are Māori, and you're seeking something that the established system can't provide' (Nin) complete with uniform values and attitudes:

'To Māoris, family is the most important thing. Without your family you're nothing. It's more important than a car, more important than having the best house. Europeans are far more materialistic. Europeans in some senses, because of their materialism, are more shallow ' (Nin).

In her statement Nin portrays the Māori sub-section as uniform and homogenous with a common aim and common traits, something which has been argued as unrepresentative of reality (Kukutai, 2003), delimitating and generative of racialised discourse in New Zealand that constructs Māori as the perennial Black Other (Wall, 1997).

While Nin's depiction of the non-materialistic Māori is closely aligned with the prototype that was propagated during the Māori renaissance which aimed at attaching a positive value to Māoris, it contradicts her previous statement about one of the causes for the loss of Māori identity by Māori youngsters:

'They're [our parents] in awe of the material things the Pākehā has and for that reason a lot of our parents have sacrificed our Māori side' (Nin).

Not only does Nin's contradiction support claims about the romanticised and unrealistic Māori image, but her simplified depiction of the Māori stereotype is contrasted with a similarly simplified Pākehā stereotype:

'With Māoris, being together is important; you're not a person on your own. You're part of a group. Another Māori value is that you take the person for what they are and not what they have. Our value is trying to be happy, not trying to compete with your next door neighbour' (Nin).

Nin's statement represents an example for the accentuation effect whereby intragroup similarities and intergroup differences are emphasised to produce clear boundaries between groups (Vaughan and Hogg, 2002). The examples provided lie on dimensions that had gained salience in New Zealand during the Māori renaissance which provided the context for the perceptual distortion of starkly simplified stereotypes of the two groups, Māori and Pākehā. Clear boundaries are an important feature of group formation whereby exclusive traits and differences are emphasised by respective group members. As such, groups derive their definitions largely through contrast and opposition to each other.

In addition to the importance that is placed on family links and family responsibilities, two other cornerstones of a prototypical Māori are mentioned, links to ancestral land and links with ancestors (tupunas):

'Māori people are very close to the land. The land is more than just a piece of land. It holds your heritage. It's where you come from, it's all your tupunas. It's values of the past' (Nin).

The link with the tūpunas as a normative element of Māori identity is also expressed by Brenda:

'We [her family] want to head back to our tūpuna (ancestor)<sup>29</sup>'.

This latter facet of the Māori prototype, the link with ancestral land through genealogy, became hotly contested as a consequence of incorporating it into the official definition required for asset allocation. As many urban Māori were unable to

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<sup>29</sup> The use of the term 'tūpuna' may refer to the speaker's actual human ancestor(s), or to one in particular, such as the founding ancestor of her tribe or whānau. The use of the term may also refer to the tūpuna of all humans as described by Māori mythology: Papa, the Earth mother who gives birth to all human beings

trace their genealogy and to prove descent from one of the recognised tribes, a split between rural and urban Māoris emerged:

'I was so glad I went to Auckland, the whole urban/rural Māori dichotomy was just starting to surface six years ago [during the mid-90s]. And up here, there was real chauvinism. It was like: bloody urban Māori authorities, who the hell do they think they are, they are just stealing our people for numbers and making money out of it for themselves' (informant 2).

The widening gap between rural and urban Māori had its roots in the recognition of tribes as the social, political and economic institutions of indigenisation following New Zealand's move towards biculturalism during the 1980s (Rata, 2000). While the bicultural project of the Māori renaissance had as its initial goal the creation of a pan-Māori sector of New Zealand society, 'traditional Māori values' were gradually replaced by a neo-tribal ideology which propelled tribal affiliation into a capitalist asset as a result of the incorporation of tribes (Rata, 2000). The policy of turning tribal authorities into legal property owners generated a huge political mobilisation amongst Māori during the 1980s (Webster, 1998), referred to as 're-tribalisation' (Rata, 2000, 2001) and, eventually, to a split between ethnic Māori identity and officially recognised tribal Māori status associated with an unequal distribution of wealth between the two groups (Rata, 2000). Many of those whose tribal Māori status could be confirmed as a result of being able to trace personal links with tribes made use of the rights to return to tribal land.

### **8.12 Māori prototype as return motive**

The four components of the Māori prototype as identified by Rata (2000), Māori language skills, knowledge of cultural practices, genealogy and family responsibilities, emerge quite clearly throughout the interview with informant 8.

Although the extent to which Māori is spoken by informant 8 in everyday conversation has not been verified, there was frequent use of Māori terms and expressions throughout the interview. At times these terms and expressions were translated by the informant for the non-Māori speaking researcher, but more often they did not need to be translated as they had made their way into everyday discourse by the general public and/or were adequately known to the researcher.

The informant's knowledge of Māori traditions and cultural practices appears to be sufficiently genuine for her to pass them on to her own children, nieces and nephews,

even without the use of a *kōhanga reo*, which had not been established at the place where she had returned to:

'No, babe, you have to learn to live like that when we were taught like this' (informant 8).

What provides informant 8 with sufficient confidence to pass on traditions of her childhood and raise her children as Māoris is the fact that she had been raised within a Māori environment herself in the place where she returned to:

'I was here until I was twelve years old. Brought up here, lived and breathed the place. Moved from Hauhora. That was our playground as children'.

During her upbringing in a rural place she was socialised into her *whānau* and into her tribe, with which she identifies strongly enough to refer to it as 'us' and 'we' throughout the interview. Her identification with her tribe also enabled, or necessitated, her to be intimately acquainted with tribal connections:

'Ngāti Kurī [is the] the older brother, *tuākana*; Te Aupōuri [is the] the other/younger brother, *tēina*. They [Te Aupōuri] can *tātai* (recite genealogies) into us. That's our kid brother, kid sister, you know, that sort of thing. Te Aupōuri chiefs signed the Treaty [of Waitangi], not Ngāti Kurī. And from that the government called us Aupōuri, the land, the Aupōuri peninsula. And all the forestry and all the resource came under that banner'.

Part of the knowledge includes the spatial boundaries of tribal territory:

'This is our *rohe* (territory) [draws a map]. Hukatere there, Maunga Tohorā there, Mount Camel there. That's about 12 to 15 km delineating. That makes our *rohe* the biggest resource, other than Ngāi Tahu<sup>30</sup> in the country'.

The extent to which her knowledge is genuinely derived from her upbringing as 'handed down by the chiefs' or whether it has its origin in more recent developments, such as the then current conflict about tribal boundaries as part of the Muriwhenua land claim is unclear. The conflict between Ngāti Kurī and Te Aupōuri has been discussed previously and described elsewhere (Rata, 2000, p. 155), but the informant's version supplements the accounts by two *kaumātuas* whose interviews are presented in a previous section:

'That doesn't make them [Te Aupōuri] landowners. I can *tātai* into Tūwharetoa, but that doesn't make me a landowner. And so we need to take our younger brother back and say: look you did wrong, or whatever happened to you that the bad feeling is here. You have to put it right because there is still that feeling of bad back there. It needs to be put right. It is open-wounded. It needs to be put straight. And so we don't want anybody to hurt Te Aupōuri. As I say, they only

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<sup>30</sup> tribal group of much of the South Island

know us, and we only know them. And so, we don't want anybody to have them, other than us. That's our kid brother, kid sister, you know, that sort of thing'.

Proudly, informant 8 asserts that:

'We are tangata whenua',

acutely aware of rights and responsibilities associated with this status (appendix 3) – or the lack thereof, which applies to the competing tribe of Te Aupōuri:

'But what they can't do is be involved in land transactions'.

At the same time informant 8 is also aware of her own rights and responsibilities associated with tribal membership, cited by Rata (2000) as the fourth component of a Māori prototype:

'I was told to come home and now...'

The return by informant 8 demonstrates a strong sense of responsibility towards the tribe and her father. Her loyalty is clearly with the tribe and her father who, as a kaumātua, represents the highest ranks within the traditional Māori social structure, at the expense of loyalty towards the national legal system:

'But as long as I see Dad as my chief, and incidentally he is a kaumātua, as long as my loyalty is there how can the service provider [the NZ government] expect me to have two laws going?'

Not only does informant 8 follow her strong sense of responsibility towards tribe and kaumātua, but, referring to the Muriwhenua land claim as challenge, she is encouraging other tribal members to return too, to respond to the 'werowero' in support of the tribe:

'There is a werowero (challenge) out at the moment. There is a challenge out. To the rangatahi (young ones) o Ngāti Kurī, to the young people: come home!'

In her enthusiastic speech she calls on every tribal member to return in support of the challenge to set historic records right and to re-gain Ngāti Kurī's recognition as the tangata whenua of their defined rohe (territory).

The challenge for the descendants of the Ngāti Kurī tribes involves not only the defence of their tribal rights against other tribes but also to help build a neo-traditional society incorporating traditional values such as communal ownership into contemporary structures:

'Any money made from this land is run through the Ngāti Kurī Trust Board. We, the tribe, will take out the person's tax levy. Everything goes through the Trust Board. Not to control it, but just so that we can maintain our buildings in our



rohe properly. Now, all the tangata whenua know that. They know exactly how that system works because it's been handed down through the chiefs. So there is the chief – rangatira (chief), kaumātua (elder), down to taumata kaumātua, which is our trust board, down to the tangata whenua. Well, down to or across to or whatever. Or you could do it this way...the ever-increasing circles: start with the kaumātua, then taumata kaumātua, then tangata whenua, they have the biggest amount of the pie'.

Similarly, future tribal assets should also be managed according to the traditional system of 'ever-increasing circles' as handed down by generations, albeit in the modernised form of a trust board.

At the time of the interview, however, the stage where tribal members have access to tribal assets had not been reached yet:

'So we are stuck here getting devastated and suffering as you watch trucks, forestry out of here, every day'.

Another reason that prevents tribal members from accessing the resources within their tribal territory is the need for permits:

'But we are prevented doing that [go down to the beach and get a feed] because we have to have permits'.

Therefore, at the time of the interview, the motivation for tribal members to return is not an economic one:

'You accept to be poor for the rest of your life',

but one that is based on the traditional Māori value of 'aroha' (affection, love) ,

'You accept it. That's aroha that does that',

and on the concept of 'ahi kā' (burning fires of occupation), which is tribal members' responsibility to remain on tribal territory and to use it in order to not forfeit title to the land:

'But we can't run off, because we are ahi kā'.

Despite the difficulties in accessing tribal assets, informant 8 is hopeful that 'even the land will come back', enabling her and her contemporaries to re-live her childhood days in the place of her upbringing and return:

'Because we knew we could walk down there [the beach] and get ourselves a feed. Just grab a knife and anything that did not bite us first we ate.'

Nostalgia for returnees' childhood also surfaced in Scott and Kearns' (2000) study which they interpreted as an indication of a psychological aspect of individuals' returns. Additional childhood memories by informant 8 involve more serious matters

of learning traditional social structures, and more specifically, respect for elders and authority:

'There was no law in the land other than our kaumātua. To the extent that when you were running in and out of the marae as rangatahi (young ones) na, you are not allowed to do that, you know. We knew that the boss was the old people. Because an auntie I didn't even know, I mean, I knew what she looked like, but she was allowed to whack me, and nobody said she wasn't. So she must be the boss. How you, as little children, when you tutū (be mischievous) around the marae, and they deal to you, and your father doesn't stick up for you...here we go, because he was young then. And so, that's how we were brought up. It didn't hurt, it wasn't even sore. I think we ran by just so they could whack us. That sort of thing that you do'.

Another account from her personal past foreshadows her tendency to romanticise the past:

'We [tribal members] know we are very rich. We were born with silver spoons in our mouths, all of us kids knew that'.

Recent historic events beyond her personal past may be distorted such as an incident involving a well-known tribal member who did not adhere to the traditional Māori social structure of communal land ownership but instead, following his own agenda as a public figure, sold tribal land at the detriment of the tribe as a whole:

'But the problem with these guys is that they have private agendas. And so I can't speak to that because...[at the time] he was quite young and a go and getter, wasn't he [being involved in land sales]'

### **8.13 Sense of nostalgia about a romanticised past and unrealistic expectations**

Informant 8's tendency to romanticise the past surfaces also clearly during her description of historic Māori society:

'When we were an island state, we were Polynesian, we were Pacific. And when you talk about fights and all these blimmin' tribes having fights and all that sort of thing. That's overrated. You had to get into grown-up clothes in person before you took someone out, and they all ended up with a sore head anyway. There wasn't a high mortality rate. They just had a headache. Just got banged on the head with a wooden club. Uh, banged my head there, and he was out for about two weeks, but he was back on deck. The death rate was not very high until the guns came. We had skirmishes, border skirmishes'.

The informant's account of a past characterised by benign warfare where a 'bang' on the head by clubs was the rule is different from more official accounts of the 'near destruction of the [Ngāti Kurī] tribe in the 1830s by the Rarawa tribe under Pane Kareao, and the subsequent enslavement and resettlement in Rarawa lands of the remaining people (Dieffenbach, 1843, 1974 cited in Rata, 2000, p. 160). The

informant's description portrays the past in a glorified and idealised manner, a practice commonly observed amongst traditionalisation movements (Friedman, 1994).

A similarly unrealistic and romanticised view about the past is also voiced by a prospective returnee, in relation to the expected lifestyle upon her intended return:

'They're happy to be living off the land and off the sea. When you think back, that's how our ancestors lived' (Nin).

The expectation of a carefree lifestyle upon returning is a common myth amongst those who were raised in an urban context and were planning to 'return':

'Up there [on tribal land], there's no pressure, no set standards. Your life up there is just to survive and be happy' (Brenda).

'In the city there are set standards – you have to wake up in the morning and go to work, whereas in the country you don't really have to do that (Nin).

And, with reference to and in defence of common negative Māori stereotypes, Nin asks:

'What's wrong with staying home, what's wrong with just walking, being in the paddocks with the cows, what's wrong with being on the dole in the country?' (Nin)

One common myth was directly related to the prototypical Māori society:

'So it was a mixture of the ideal of the renaissance that she [a second generation returnee] had articulated and she had envisaged that there would be one big happy family within one bigger happier tribe' (informant 1).

The ideal of the renaissance frequently led to a conflict arising from the subscription to traditional Māori values and the immersion in it, while at the same time adhering to a Pākehā system and making use of it for the children's benefit<sup>31</sup>.

'Now there was a confusion: I think they thought that both things could happen. That the traditional Māori way would give the security and stability which would enable what they really wanted to have, which was education, achievement and getting on. So both those things were, they were hoping that both those things would happen. Of course, the conflict between the two wasn't understood' (informant 1).

## **8.14 Disappointment and disillusionment**

Unrealistic expectations and romanticised views based on a glorified past and an idealised prototype frequently led to disappointment by returnees:

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<sup>31</sup> The problematic of the conflict arising from neotribalisation has been analysed in depth by Rata, 2001

'We were part of a larger family and some members did go back. And some are still there today. [But] they found it much harder [than expected], they had to work very hard' (informant 1).

Instead of the anticipated freedom and easy life 'off the land' returnees had to face hard work, for example, building up a family business, and the fact that they may not possess the knowledge or skill to support themselves in the new environment:

'But look at my... all my nieces have married boys like this, or have taken up with boys like that, and come home and they are just in their early teen years or just before and they come back with their Auckland ways or their townie ways. And they sit on thirty acres of land and you don't even see a cow on the land. Or they sit inside a house on a day like this watching TV. And they are young and they are strong and they are fit, but they have no resources to think for themselves' (informant 2).

For those who returned to tribal or family land for cultural reasons after being raised in cities, the disappointment may be directly linked to a glorified Māori prototype:

'[However, their expectation in terms of communal relations were not fulfilled]. Just like any village: some people get on, others don't, just as you would in the suburbs, actually. There is no mystical wonderful togetherness... 'It's not a wonderful romantic Māori community of their belief. It's not like that at all. It's hard work' (informant 1).

While the initial Māori prototype was an all embracing one to include Pākehā with a Māori heart (Rata, 2000), certain Māori individuals met non-Māori spouses with animosity, adding to or generating conflict amongst family members:

'The youngest daughter of the family, her husband was Pākehā, and they found it very difficult, because he was not welcomed. That real rejection of Pākehā' (informant 1).

Some of the friction, however, emerged unrelated to things Māori:

'And of course then people started falling out. Big arguments. Because they fell out, just a normal family thing of not getting on. And those problems would have occurred wherever they would have gone'. They're just people. In fact there is... it could be worse up there. The family broke apart. There was a lot of bitterness and arguing and fighting. Probably because people in such close proximity...it didn't work out as it was intended to at all. About half of them left' (informant 1).

Friction may also be the result of pragmatic issues such as how to divide the land up amongst newcomers:

'[Another problematic] was who should have what land. That was very strong. I think some of them felt that their own relatives would be coming back and there was concern about how the land was going to be divided. [Because] people who came back just took...yes, there was no system. In terms of them to create a system caused so much disagreement. So many individual families did their own thing. And there were some arguments, a few arguments' (informant 1).

In addition to disappointment following unrealistic expectations in relation to an idealised Māori lifestyle, disappointment was also generated by unrealistic expectations in relation to economic aspirations:

'But economically, it's not for the whole family, it's only ever been successful for the nuclear family. They don't want to do all the work and then have people coming and taking that' (informant 1).

Other sobering findings by returnees were related to the reality of a rural lifestyle that urban city dwellers were not accustomed to:

'But the isolation is quite significant. It takes so long to get anywhere...It's in a way like a poor rural lifestyle... It's isolated, just to touch on it. [People lack] probably just variety. One day is pretty much like another and another in such a small community. And concerns about their children's educations, that the school is so small ' (informant 1).

The problems that informant 1 cites in relation to Māori returnees, however, are those of any small rural community. In her subsequent statement informant 1 plays down differences between rural Māori and non-Māori:

'It's very much like any rural family, Pākehā, Māori whoever: set up a farm, work hard, and relatives come and visit periodically, it's like that' (informant 1).

For several, problems were overwhelming enough to re-return to the city:

'...it didn't work out as it was intended to at all. About half of them left [the rural place they had recently returned to]. There would have been about seven who tried to go and stay. And ... no, more than that: about nine. And there are five left up there. [It's] because they put so much effort into it and worked so hard that that's their commitment ' (informant 1).

### **8.15 Rewards for culturally motivated returns**

However, those who stayed were rewarded for their tenacity in various ways. On a personal level, rewards of a return 'home' may include healing from a draining city lifestyle:

'But the cultural reasons that I have observed are the desire for identity, the connection, sometimes healing: I have spoken to... Fabulous artist. And she came home when she was really sick. In the end her doctor or her general practitioner said to her she's got to go home. And she said she came home and she gave up work and it was really hard because she was always used to having money, but she just decided to start painting. She had never done anything like this in her life before. Now she is travelling overseas, showing her exhibitions, and yes, it was that healing, that need for healing that brought her home. And she is still a bit fragile in her health, but she is at least, she feels good in herself and in her spirit she feels good at last' (informant 2).

While the account of the person's healing is the fulfilment of her hopes and expectations that motivated her to return, other returnees' hopes and expectations

remained unfulfilled. Some of those, nevertheless, experienced a sense of success albeit only partially related to their initial hopes:

'But in the end, the ones that stayed, were so hard working and so committed and so busy that... that marine farm they established just provided work for the family. That type of business is, if you don't have much capital then you can't establish a very big one. So it was a small family business really. And just the family members working it. The two couples who did, well in the end it was really only one couple who made a real go at this. Yes, they just worked really hard. It had a positive effect and also ten years on there is a feeling of stability. The family has a feeling of stability, that someone has done it, it's real' (informant 1).

For the one couple who stayed the hope for economic stability has turned reality. Not only had they generated employment for themselves, but they also set a precedent for other returnees, a role model, that success is possible with hard work and despite the failure of unrealistic expectations.

In addition to the success of economic return motive some of those related to cultural reasons have also eventuated. One example is the family's involvement in the local kōhanga reo, where their children are taught Māori traditions and the Māori language right from an early age on:

'It's been hard, but they are still there and they are involved in the local kōhanga and school' (informant 1).

Even beyond the kōhanga and the school the family became part of the local community in the place of their return to which they had forged links through their mother:

'Even though they hadn't been born there they felt that they had complete right to go back. They had a very clear sense that they did belong there, even though they hadn't been there before. [The local community] seemed to feel the same' (informant 1).

Another aspect of the family's cultural motive has turned into reality, albeit in curtailed form: although not all family members managed to establish themselves on family land, the one couple that stayed became the focus for the extended family, enabling other family members to return and gather for special occasions:

'And the others are able to come and go for specific things. So, although it hasn't been the re-creation of an idealised traditional Māori life it has enabled the family to establish itself. And they are part of something bigger. And yes, they were successful in that way. A family focus, I suppose, culturally... Those that left again keep returning for certain occasions and that's fine as long as they can go away again' (informant 1).

The success of the returned family lies in fulfilling a number of criteria prescribed by the Māori prototype. These criteria involve settling on family land and keeping the fires burning (ahi kā) through residence and use of the land. Through the family's permanent settlement the link with their ancestors who lived there before and who may be buried there is re-kindled as well as the link with future generations yet to come. The return has brought the family into close physical proximity with a community with which they share family bonds through common ancestry and history. Through membership in the local community they have gained a new identity complete with normative behaviours such as group obligations, but also with support. Finally, active membership has provided them with rights to traditional lands, and as such, with an economic resource base. Summarising these elements, informant 8 explains her return like this:

'Even the land has a home feeling for us, for its resource and its people' (informant 8).

#### **8.16 Summary and conclusion**

Amongst those who returned predominantly for cultural reasons there surfaced a number of commonalities. Firstly, they were predominantly young parents who had been raised according to Pākehā values and who had previously identified with the mainstream population or had attributed their Māori background little attention. As Māori identity gained salience during and following the Māori renaissance, these young adults felt deprived of their Māori heritage and set out to acquire a Māori identity at the expense of any other group identity. Although not all had been completely detached from their Māori background, they were nevertheless far enough removed to be forced to make special efforts to forge or renew family links, to research their place of origin and to learn about Māori values and protocol.

Secondly, culturally motivated returnees' interest in things Māori was frequently sparked by the birth of their children and concerns about the children's future. As propagated by the Māori renaissance, cultural returnees subscribed to the view that a firm Māori identity would enable them and their children to leave the vicious cycle of negative economic and social performance that affected predominantly the Māori sector of New Zealand society, behind.

Efforts to re-identify as Māori were in line with the Māori prototype as propagated during the Māori renaissance. Many set out by studying the Māori language, Māori protocol and subscribing to traditional Māori values. The importance of the community was reflected in detailed genealogical research to unravel family connections and link up with the extended family and the tribe. The desire to return can be directly linked to the view that 'proper' Māori live in rural places (Herbert, 1990) of their ancestors, their tūrangawaewae, where they enjoy tangata whenua status.

Informant 8 provides an exception, as she had been in contact with family and tribal members of the place where she returned to and where she had been raised. She was nevertheless grouped with those who returned predominantly for cultural reasons due to a number of commonalities.

One such commonality with culturally motivated returnees is her nostalgic view of traditional Māori society and her tendency to romanticise the past. However, while unrealistic expectations in relation to a prototype of an idealised Māori society led to disappointment in most cases of culturally motivated returnees, informant 8 did not experience the widespread disillusionment and disappointment because she was sufficiently acquainted with the place and the lifestyle she returned to because of her upbringing. More specifically, she was aware of the economic situation 'back home' and ready to accept an economically lower standard of living upon her return. This contrasts with the family for whom the economic motive to return led to disappointment, followed by a re-return to the city for several family members, and hard work and eventual success for only a minority of family members.

Return migration by those who were grouped as returning predominantly for cultural reasons is argued to be part of returnees' wider identification processes as Māori. Place plays a pivotal role in returnees' identification processes, representing an important element of a general indigenous identity and, more specifically, of Māori identity. Place is crucial for the persons' identification process in its function as destination place where members of the returnee's extended family still live and where his or her ancestors originate from.

As has been argued theoretically in previous chapters, Social Identity Theory (SIT) provides a useful framework to investigate returnees' identification processes and to



put cultural returnees' decisions to return into various applicable contexts. The context impacting most fundamentally on returnee's decision to return, the Māori renaissance, exhibits a number of strategies derived from SIT which aimed at creating a clearly demarcated sector of society through the accentuation of differences, the homogenisation of ingroup and outgroup members and the construction of a positive view about the Māori sector. Strategies of social creativity used to achieve a positive view of the Māori group include the re-evaluation of existing dimensions for comparison between Māori and the majority Pākehā group, the use of new dimensions for comparison, avoidance of detrimental comparison and comparison with more similar indigenous groups as part of a global indigenist movement.

The positive view about Māori thus created attracted unprecedented numbers of individuals identifying as Māori as a result of one of the main motivations for joining groups: self-enhancement. Two other motivations for joining groups as proposed by SIT, uncertainty reduction and optimal distinctiveness have also been documented.

Place plays a role to various degrees for all three types of motivations for joining New Zealand's indigenous Māori group, most conspicuously, for individuals' optimal distinctiveness. At the most inclusive level, spiritual affiliation with places allows individuals to identify as a member of a global indigenous social sector, on national scale as Māori, on sub-national scales as a tribal member or, at even less inclusive level, as a member of an extended family. An individual's choice of group membership was found to vary according to the context and in relation to salience of a particular group.

Identification processes in relation to place is one of the most fundamental facets of the Māori prototype, with other facets including strong links with ancestors, communities and adherence to traditions and customs, facets that could be most readily realised in a person's the place of origin as defined through genealogical links. Applying to a defined group of mostly young urban Māori who were born and raised in a Pākehā environment, return to ancestral places can therefore be viewed as an expression of their efforts of identification as Māori.

## **Chapter 9**

### **FIELD DATA ANALYSIS – MĀORI RETURN MIGRATION FOR FAMILY REASONS**

#### **9.1 Family motivated returns**

Although family links play a crucial role for culturally motivated returnees as well as those who returned predominantly for family reasons, members of the former group, with the exception of informant 8, did not previously have links with – or even know about – family members in rural places they returned to or were intending to return. The importance of family for culturally motivated returnees is linked to family ties representing one of the cornerstones of a traditional Māori prototype as well as being the foundation for access to tribal or family land.

The meaning of family links for culturally motivated returnees contrasts with meanings of family links for family motivated returnees who knew family members personally and had maintained contact with them through regular visits and active participation in communal activities and special occasions.

#### **9.2 Regular return visits**

Regular visits had been undertaken by all returnees who returned predominantly for family reasons. The frequency was determined by pragmatic issues such as geographical proximity and career related options. For example, residence in Auckland allowed informants 5, 6 and 7 to return more frequently and spontaneously to Northland than informants 3 and 4 who lived in Australia. In the former case, spontaneous trips could be undertaken *ad hoc* for family occasions such as births and deaths within the family as well as for regular events such as school holidays and planned communal activities. For informants 3 and 4 such spontaneous return visits were not possible, but returns were restricted to annual holidays from high-career jobs in the years leading up to their actual return in 1998:

'We came back in 1991, 1992, 1993...every year up until 1998 we came back'...  
(informant 3).

Prior to 1991, informant 3 had never returned to New Zealand nor had she experienced a desire to return:

'So, from 1967 until 1990 I had never come back here. And I wasn't really looking forward to coming back... there is no way I had ever intended on coming back to start off with' (informant 3).

Regular visits by informant 3 only eventuated after her husband's return visit to New Zealand following the death of his father:

'In 1990 my husband wanted to come back here to see his father. And so it was after his father passed away he wanted to come back for a holiday. So up until that time I had never come, I had never been back here [to New Zealand]' (informant 3).

Although not specified, a lengthy absence from New Zealand prior to annual returns also applies to informant 4, who is the husband of informant 3. Through their lengthy absence the couple was not only removed from the place of their return geographically, but also socially. The social distance was created by limited personal contact with community members and members of the extended families as well as by a lack of participation in communal affairs and family events. In addition, both had created a life overseas and were thus removed from everyday politics and social developments in New Zealand before annual returns initiated seven years prior to their permanent return. Although their brief annual returns were aimed at re-establishing links with the home community, they may have also aided in confirming a nostalgic and unrealistic image of 'home' as suggested by King (2000) as a consequence of returnees' selective focus on positive aspects of a planned return.

The couple's experience contrasts with the experience of informant 5 and 6, the other couple who returned predominantly for family related motives. Although both men, informants 4 and 6, had left from the same community at similar ages, informant 6 had retained frequent and regular contact with the community in the place of his origin, facilitated by a manageable distance between his place of origin in Northland and his place of residence in Auckland. These contacts later extended to his children and his wife whom he met in Auckland but who originates from another tribal territory. Not only was the latter couple actively involved in communal and family events and entertained frequent and regular contacts, but they were also acutely aware of political and social developments in New Zealand.

### 9.3 The wish to return

Regular return visits by informants 5 and 6 were intimately linked with their wish to return, which had 'always been there', although it is not clear in hindsight, whether and to what extent the wish to return and return visits influenced each other:

'I just wanted a place for people to be at home' (informant 5).

The experience of informant 5 contrasts with the one by informant 3 who had no intentions of returning to New Zealand. She explains:

'[I didn't come back for 32 years] because I was enjoying myself over there [Australia] so much. You know, there is an abundance of work, an abundance of opportunities. You could be whatever you wanted to be' (informant 3).

Reservations remained even after agreeing to accompany her husband to New Zealand following his father's death:

'So, from 1967 until 1990 I had never come back here. And I wasn't really looking forward to coming back' (informant 3).

Her reservations changed dramatically after the initial 'involuntary' return:

'So coming back here in 1990 I was just so .....[pause] homesick, once I got back here [to New Zealand]' (informant 3).

The following paragraph provides a glimpse of the emotions associated with the initial return to New Zealand, confirming findings that return motives may be affective and of a highly personal nature (UN 1986):

'But once we had come over the airport, you know, as you come in to land at the airport and I looked down and I saw all the beautiful green and the blue seas and everything like that. It was like as if all the stress of my job that I had in Australia had just lifted off me and I just started to cry. I just really started to cry' (informant 3).

After the emotional first visit her wish to return developed and consolidated:

'And every year I kept saying I wanted to go home, I wanted to go home' (informant 3).

Informant 3's transition from her lack of desire to return to a strong sense of homesickness is noteworthy and in line with Kulu's (1998) findings that returns may be preceded by changes in values and habits: while informant 3 initially values the abundance of (work) opportunities in Australia, with no desire to return to New Zealand the first (involuntary) return exposes a rather different set of values associated with a relaxed lifestyle and the green natural environment.

Even though the account by informant 3 appears to represent an example of the personal category of motivating factors (besides professional and societal) according to Alberts and Hazen (2005), a more comprehensive picture of motivating factors for her return emerges later in the interview such as the care of a relative and the return migration of family members, supporting King's (2000) suggestion that causes of return migration are complex, varied and at times, unconscious.

#### **9.4 Destination places of family motivated returns**

The emotions experienced by informant 3 associated with her first return are clearly directed towards New Zealand as 'home', as distinguished from Australia. Feelings of homesickness are also aimed towards New Zealand as a whole, and not towards any place on smaller scale within the country. Throughout her account she continues to refer to New Zealand as the place to where she and her husband, as well as her family, return.

'My parents came back first....When we moved...I actually came here to visit before they came home. But when we moved, they moved first' (informant 3).

Although her parents and siblings 'return' to different places within New Zealand, informant 3 employs the geographical terms 'here', 'home' and 'back' to refer to New Zealand as a country:

'My parents have moved to [...], they are up the road. And my sister...my sisters are moving back in May and June from Australia. One came over last year and through the company she works for over there she has been able to get a transfer back over. And another one of my sisters is taking early redundancy' (informant 3).

While informant 3 settles in the place of her husband's upbringing, her parents settle on different tribal territory, in a place where their family originates from. The sister, who was able to get a transfer to a New Zealand branch of the company she works for in Australia, is unlikely to settle on either tribal territory but in an urban location where a branch of the company she works for is situated.

Informant 5 is more specific about her concept of 'home' in her anecdote about an event which links 'home' to the place of her husband's and her sister in law's upbringing:

'When I saw [my sister in law] in Auckland when she was so sick, I took her home [to the place where they returned, and where the sister in law had been raised] for one week and she said she never had such a good holiday. And it was good to be able to do something for her before she died' (informant 5).

Both informants 3 and 5 return to their respective husbands' places of upbringing, applying the wider concept of 'home'. Although both informants 3 and 5 originate from Northland like their husbands, their backgrounds are linked to different tribal territories: informant 5 was raised in the Hokianga area, while the family of informant 3 'is from Pawarenga, on the other side of Kaitaia'.

The concept of 'home' in its most direct sense of a safe and spatially defined place that one leaves and returns to (Casey, 1993) only applies to informant 4, referring to the place where he was born and raised, and to informant 6, referring to the place where he was raised, but not born. For informant 7, a second generation returnee, 'home' refers to the place of her father's upbringing, where she returned to with her parents. However, unlike second generation returnees whose motivation was predominantly culturally related, informant 7 had personal links with the place of her return through regular return visits during her urban residence in Auckland.

### **9.5 Context and trigger for actual return**

While the wish to return appears to have existed for an unspecified time in the case of informant 5 and for at least seven years in the case of informant 3, actual returns are linked to specific events and contexts in both cases.

For informant 3 the desire to return turned reality after seven years when an ailing family member of her husband needed to be taken care of:

'So the time came when we came back in 1997, ah, 1996, sorry, and auntie [name] had just come out of hospital, as she had been sick. And there was no-one really at home to look after her. So one of my other aunts, who knew my father, asked us to come to see auntie [name] because she and my husband's mother were first cousins. And my husband looked after his mother prior to her death, when he was only 14 years at the time. And he looked after her, washed her, pottied her and everything. So when we came back and saw how auntie was, well then that's when we decided that it is time for him to come back as well' (informant 3).

The actual return of informants 3 and 4 are clearly tied to their responsibilities to look after 'auntie'. Only later in the narrative do other events surface, indicating that the cited reason of the family obligation may not have been the deciding factor but the event that allowed them to attach to as a reason for return, while additional events may have had an equally important impact on the return decision or facilitating it. One important such event appears to be the return of informant 3's other family members:

'But, like I said, there is no way I had ever intended on coming back to start off with. But because, I suppose because my parents came back too, there is a family thing, where the head of the family moves to, usually the rest of the family migrate within a few years of each other' (informant 3).

Her experience of chain migration of family members pre-dates the return to New Zealand, reaching back to the family's international move to Australia and smaller scale moves within Australia:

'When we were in Australia, whenever our parents moved from one suburb to another suburb it was too far for us to travel, within the next six months you find we all moved up and around the street from each other. And with my family it's been like that because we are very close with our parents' (informant 3).

Her own and her siblings' close ties with their parents is again affirmed a little later in a different context:

'So that's why my Dad and us are very close' (informant 3).

Therefore, the return by informant 3 to New Zealand and her move to her husband's place of origin is an extension of previous family traditions:

'My parents came back first....When we moved...I actually came here to visit before they came home. But when we moved, they moved first' (informant 3).

The importance that informant 3 attributes to close links with immediate family members is furthermore underlined by her disappointment about 'auntie's' family members who do not share her bonding with and sense of responsibility towards family members:

'So, there is no real family bonding any more. It's very, very hard to find that up here [the place of their return]. Even with his [her husband's] auntie's own family. If that was MY mother, it doesn't matter where I was, if there was no-one here to look after her I would have been on the first plane back here and stay with her until whatever, and just re-arrange MY life, because I have a whole lifetime ahead of me. Her boys are only in their 30's, not even in their 40's yet. And someone, one of them should have done something about looking to re-arranging – or to taking her to live with them' (informant 3).

The return of the other couple, informants 5 and 6, cannot be tied to family obligations, but family related motives are of a different type. The event that initiated their actual return was the availability of a house on the block of land that the couple were intending to return. The house belonged to a distant relative of informant 6 and was located in close proximity to the house of his cousin and uncle. The possibility of purchasing the house in 1996 allowed for the return that had been decided on following a number of other events during the 1990s, including the husband's

redundancy from the Auckland Power Board and the death of his brother and sister in Auckland.

As a result of regular contact with the 'home' community of informant 6 there was family bonding with the extended family, which became a pull factor after the death of members of the immediate family. Regular contacts with the home community also allowed informants 5 and 6 to remain updated about community events and news, such as the availability of a house, and to affirm their genuine interest and involvement in communal affairs such as participation in the re-building of the marae and the cemetery. Vice versa, regular visits allowed for local community members to be aware of the couple's desire to return. The couple's involvement in communal affairs and their updated knowledge prior to their return did not only facilitate the actual move, but also subsequent stages and thus minimising disappointment and problems associated with their return.

#### **9.6 Disappointment and problems associated with family related returns**

Informants 5 and 6 did not appear to encounter any problems associated with disappointment or disillusionment of the kind that 'cultural' returnees did. Although informant 6 had experienced some level of envy from local residents as a result of being more skilled than most local residents and being able to pay for the house with his redundancy package, post-return problems were more of a pragmatic type such as finding permanent employment.

After getting by on irregular seasonal work such as farm hand, builder and fruit picker positions while receiving the unemployment benefit, informant 6 found more permanent employment as a truck driver for a logging company sometime prior to the time of the interview. The income from his employment is supplemented by his wife's (informant 5) income from irregular and seasonal employment as a flower and fruit picker. Savings on everyday expenses are made by growing vegetables and fruit, as well as husbandry of a cow, a pig and several chickens. These food sources are supplemented by gathering sea food, fishing and hunting. An abundance of home-grown food stuffs allows for bartering with other community members for items needed.



One concern of the couple relates to the widespread drug and alcohol abuse by young people in rural areas, which affected their adolescent daughter, informant 7, who had got 'into trouble' since the family's return. Informant 7 goes out drinking regularly,

'because that's what we do here [in the place of their return]' (informant 7).

The lack of a meaningful occupation for informant 7 was partially alleviated by her enrolment for a computer course during off-seasonal unemployment from the local oyster industry.

At the time of the research informant 7 was determined to lead a 'proper Māori life'. Instead of expanding on what a proper Māori lifestyle entails, she cites an example that had caused friction within the community. Ill-feelings arose following the funeral of a community member whose grave did not face the same direction as existing graves. While members of the local community wished for uniformity of the graveyard, the different positioning of the new grave was defended vigorously by an unnamed returnee, causing ill-feeling amongst the returnee and the local community members, who

'[We] like to keep things the way they are' (informant 5).

Similarly to informant 6, finding employment was an issue for informant 4, who, after a career as a police sergeant in Australia, contented himself with the job of the local school bus driver. His 'voluntary' demotion, however, was not so much a problem as the difficulties arising from non-acceptance by locals:

'For him [informant 4, her husband] it was a bit hard because a lot of the people here treated him as a city person or an outsider. So it has taken a couple of years. Like, '98 we came back, only just now [April 2001] in the last couple of months, in the last six months or so, that people have really accepted us back into the community, and asked him to do things and be part of the marae, you know marae life and everything like that' (informant 3).

The outsider status by informant 4 may be due to a vacuum between his departure as a teenager and his return during his early sixties when close links with community members and members of his extended family were severed. During this vacuum, created by little or no contact, differential developments and experiences led to different views and attitudes by locals and informant 4. For example, one challenge was for informant 4 to accept rural residents' 'lack of initiative and interest in new ideas', as well as their attitude towards work:

'It was sad to come back – all the land was bare where there were gardens before. But the young ones don't want to work, they rather pick up the dole. They are lazy. People need to be educated and there is an urgent need for innovation and outside ideas' (informant 4).

Examples of the need for education and outside ideas are provided by the wife of informant 4, who engages in helping her nieces and nephews towards a healthier and more economical lifestyle:

'Helping my nieces and nephews to understand the economics of having a good life and the life they have got now is not worth anything. But not by demanding or the authoritative way. Just by giving them examples and saying like 'smoking is one of the hardest things to get rid of'. So I give them a ten dollar note each. 'How many packets of cigarettes do you smoke a day?' 'Three, auntie'. 'Okay, give me thirty dollars. This is thirty dollars'. I roll them all up, stick them into their mouths and I light it up for them'. 'Oh no, auntie, that's my ten dollars.' I said, 'Yeah, I know, but you like smoking it don't you?' 'Yes, but not my ten-dollar note, that's my money'. I said, 'Excuse me, these three dollar bills represent what you burn every day in your mouth for what? You add that up for seven days a week. That's 210 dollars a week out of your benefit. Or somebody's benefit. That you are spending on cigarettes'. They have never been brought up in a way to understand what it is to save or what it is to have nice things. It's just a matter of survival for them. So that we are back I have got them on a low deposit home loan course and doing self-confidence courses for themselves as well'.

Despite her focus on the positive changes, informant 3 experiences hurdles in her decision making because there was still confusion about rights and responsibilities on Māori tribal land where they had settled at the time of the interview, something which is also referred to indirectly by culturally motivated returnees (informants 1 and 8):

'It's Māori land, it's your Māori land so you basically go and do whatever you want, but you are not allowed to do this and you are not allowed to do that and you are not allowed to do that' (informant 3).

The active involvement with the local youth and her experiences with local authorities have led informant 3 to the conclusion that:

'...coming back here was really like going back in time for me' (informant 3).

In order to keep up with the time and to avoid being detached from outside ideas and stimulation she has retained a computer:

'[I have kept the computer] because I wanted to keep my mind busy' (informant 3).

Ownership of a computer allows informant 3 to keep her mind busy through links with her previous life and a world beyond the local community, as well as putting her managerial skills to use for the community's benefit through, for example, re-kindling

the local branch of the Māori women's welfare league<sup>32</sup> and taking care of the local church:

'I do a lot of work for the church. I do – I started up the local branch for the Māori Women's Welfare League here in Ngātaki Waiora (the local marae). They used to have one many years ago and it went into recess. So when I started it I added on the Marae name as well, Ngātaki Waiora. So they could know the difference between just Ngātaki and the new branch now. So I started that up. I have got – I had 18 members when I started it last year. Now I have got 23. And we do a lot of work in the community. Promoting immunisation, promoting healthy lifestyles, having health cooking demonstrations, things like that. Yeah, and the church: I am the treasurer and an elder of our local church' (informant 3).

The involvement and hands-on approach coupled with a positive attitude has earned informant 3 the locals' respect and helped to minimise potential adjustment problems, enabling her and her husband to enjoy and benefit from the rewards of their return:

'I am just grateful about my positive attitude. It doesn't matter even when I am down or out I always look at the positive side of things' (informant 3).

### **9.7 Rewards for family related returns**

One of the rewards of the return of informants 3 and 4 is an 'easy' lifestyle devoid of stress and tight deadlines while being able to do things themselves:

'It's different here in that the lifestyle is different. We don't get the thousand dollars or nine hundred dollars a week that we are used to in our jobs in Sydney. But the little bit of money that we do get we don't spend all on food because there is so much food here, you know, with the garden, we have beautiful gardens outside that we plant every season. We go fishing for fish. A lot of people enjoy the kai moana here because there is still a lot of kai moana up here. The lifestyle is just so easy. It really is easy. Anybody who says that they have no food, that they have nothing to do, is just someone who is lazy. That's what my husband says anyway' (informant 3).

The use of the term 'lazy' by a Māori returnee is noteworthy as the term is more commonly associated with a de-valuing stereotype held by non-Māori (see interview with Nin Thomas). While the return of informant 3 was a step back from the

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<sup>32</sup> The League's official aims are *"To promote fellowship and understanding between Māori and European women and to cooperate with other women's organizations, Departments of State, and local bodies for the furtherance of these objects."* The formation of the League was a milestone in Māori culture. Through the organisation, women were able to represent themselves in the New Zealand government for the first time. Formed in 1951 in Wellington, following the mass movement of Māori from rural to urban New Zealand, the league's original goal was to preserve Māori culture through their native arts and crafts while also promoting fellowship and cooperation among various women's organisations (Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C4%81ori\\_Women's\\_Welfare\\_League](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C4%81ori_Women's_Welfare_League); accessed 22 July 2010)

economic point of view, to her it is justified by the rural lifestyle that makes up for the loss of income which is off-set by making frequent use of natural resources and by their hands-on approach:

'So yes...I don't know what else to say, except that coming back home and doing things – getting back to the hands-on way of living, so to speak, like digging drains and that for the toilet and digging, making your gardens and things like that, it's a bit harder, but it makes you appreciate the things you have much more than just going to work, signing in, signing off, stressing out, not being able to meet a deadline or something like that. So...full-up it has been an adventure in a way, in that we had to step out and face say, well we have each other, we have the ability to be able to make something, to do something for ourselves' (informant 3).

Informant 3 appears to enjoy the new lifestyle and doesn't miss her previous life:

'You know, I have always been a city person. But within the first seven months of coming home I sold all my suits. Just took them all down [to Auckland]. The three and four hundred dollar suits that I bought for work, I sold them for 45 and 60 dollars. Because to me they didn't mean anything any more' (informant 3).

Informant 3 is particularly proud of her and her husband's partial self-sufficiency:

'[Pointing at the shelves] My husband made these. I haven't finished staining them yet for my computer. It's really good when you make these things yourselves' (informant 3).

In line with her unwavering optimism she is looking positively into the future after her return:

'It's just good to be able to come back and to be able to get a few seeds and stick them in and watch them grow' (informant 3).

Similarly to informant 3, informant 5 also appreciates the different post-return lifestyle. She now owns a house on a three acre section instead of one on a quarter acre section in Auckland, enabling her to run a mini farm for lifestyle purposes as well as for partial self-sufficiency. One of her favourite past times is walking on a deserted beach during storms. Once a month she attends bingo night at a community hall to consolidate personal contacts and to exchange community news. Even more rewarding was the achievement of her aim to create space for her immediate family such as her own children and grandchildren, to meet and gather:

'I just wanted a place for people to be at home' (informant 5).

At the time of the research the house was home not only to informants 5 and 6 and their daughter, informant 7, but also to two of their grandchildren: one pre-schooler of working parents who live in Auckland, and one who spent some time with his grandparents as part of his healing process from asthma.

In addition to providing a home to these two grandchildren and more family members returning during holidays and for family gatherings, two other children had followed their parents 'up North' to the place where their father originates from:

[Our second son] came and brought his partner: he lives 10 km south of the house and just had a new baby. [The oldest son] came and brought his partner from Auckland' (informant 6).

Just to squash any potential doubt about the parent couple's decision to 'return home', the head of the family, informant 6, proudly asserts:

'You know, we knew we'd done the right thing [to come up North] when the kids and friends started to come back' (informant 6).

Not only did informants 5 and 6 realise their goals of creating a family focus (informant 5) and the return to the place of upbringing where close family members still live (informant 6), but the couple also provides a destination for their children's potential chain migration from Auckland and thus encouraging further return migration.

Similarly, informants 3 and 4 whose return was family motivated also provide a destination place for potential chain migration. If not for their respective children who were born, raised and married in Australia and thus likely to remain there, then their home may provide a destination place for siblings of informant 3, who herself had followed her parents from Australia to New Zealand.

## **9.8 Summary and conclusion**

Family related return motives appear to be highly complex and very personal, including homesickness, redundancy, deaths in the family, family chain migration, family responsibilities and lifestyle reasons. In neither case discussed in this study was there one single or a main motive, but combinations of motives, several of which appear to have arisen a number of years prior to the actual return. The actual returns, however, were tied to pragmatic events: for informants 3 and 4 it was the need to take care of an ailing family member that triggered the couple's return and in the case of informants 5 and 6 the availability of a house on family land.

In contrast to the importance that family plays for culturally motivated returnees, links with family members amongst family-motivated returnees are already established and family members known to the returnee. With the exception of informant 7 who expresses her wish to lead a 'proper' Māori lifestyle, there is no mention of issues that

may be exclusive to Māori, and no us-them contrast with other social groups. Family links as a pan-human need is confirmed by the following quote:

'...there weren't any especially cultural reasons other than the family, I suppose. But I wouldn't lay claim to Māori having the monopoly of needing family around them' (informant 2).

Two types of post return experiences surfaced in this study. One couple (informants 5 and 6) experiences few settling problems as a result of regular and intensive pre-return visits as well as adjusting to the local community by retaining traditions and customs, and leading an unspecified 'proper' Māori lifestyle (informant 7). The other couple (informants 3 and 4) in contrast, who returned upon a series of brief holiday-related returns after a lengthy overseas absence, aims at initiating improvements of the local community through innovative ideas and enthusiasm, something which is met by local residents with reluctance and which results in a the non-acceptance of one of the returnees. Through persistence and continued effort the reservations by community members are overcome and the latter couple's return is rewarded by acceptance into the community and an attractive lifestyle.

### 9.9 Culturally versus family motivated returns

The two groups of family- and culturally motivated returnees differ in key points such as destination place, the context within which the decision to return was made, returnees' post-return experience, and links with family members. The differences have been discussed more extensively throughout previous sections wherever applicable, and hence, only a summary is provided in the table below.

Table 3: Summary of culturally versus family motivated returns

|                               | <i>Culturally motivated</i>                             | <i>Family-related motives</i>                              |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Destination</i>            | previously unknown ancestral/tribal place               | known places of birth or upbringing of returnee or spouse  |
| <i>Context</i>                | wider social, political & legal (NZ & global)           | immediate personal or family context;                      |
| <i>Post-return experience</i> | disappointment and unfulfilled expectations; re-return; | sense of achievement & success; problems mostly pragmatic; |
| <i>Family</i>                 | link up with unknown (extended) family members          | known (immediate) family members                           |

**Chapter 10**  
**FIELD DATA ANALYSIS – MĀORI RETURN MIGRATION AS OBSERVED**  
**BY INFORMANTS**

**10.1 Return motives**

In addition to informants' motives for their own return, motives for other returnees were mentioned from observation, including those related to economic, retirement or community considerations.

Economic return motives include those that are linked to the economic restructuring in New Zealand:

'So yes, there is definitely a trend of people coming back...They are all people that are affiliated to the iwi up here. Not only up here. When we went down to Auckland the year before last we travelled down through Dargaville around Waipoua forest, and in 1996, when we first came, we came up that way. But when we went back down there and drive around that way in 1997 I just couldn't get over how many...there were... nine houses, one after the other. Some had been completed, and some were just starting to be built. And I was thinking, gee, people must be on the way back. And hearing how a lot of businesses have closed down, like manufacturing companies have closed down over the years and gone over to Asia. That's part of the reason why a lot of them have started with the...come back and build' (informant 3).

An example of this type of returnee is described by another informant:

'In the early 1990s the whole round of redundancies that happened as a result of the restructuring in the 80s, my uncle and auntie came home on that, and came home with good money, their redundancy packages. They built a nice house for themselves. Or they finished off their mortgages in Auckland and/or sold their house to somebody else, or passed it on to their kids. That generation that came home looking quite flash' (informant 2).

While informant 3 mentions those who return upon recent redundancy, there are others who return in hope of terminating long-term unemployment. Returnees are mostly young adults and second generation returnees who benefit from New Zealand's bicultural policies and their rights of access to tribal land:

'But my nephew and nieces that are in their 30s and 40s. These are the people who have been long-term unemployed in Auckland (informant 2).

An example of the return of long-term unemployed to their mother's place of origin is described in detail by informant 1 earlier.

In addition to long-term unemployment as a push motives from the city there were economic pull motives that triggered a return amongst urban Māoris to return to Northland:

'I have noticed also that migrations home tends to be in waves. For example, in the 1980s when the extensions to Marsden point were happening, then a whole rush of our people came home with welding skills, carpentry skills, plumbing skills. And a lot of those have gone back to Auckland since. Since it shut down' (informant 2).

However, those who have returned to the city may again return to Northland upon an economic opportunity:

'Even with the same people. I have seen a couple of waves of the same people come back' (informant 2).

Based on her previous experience and in light of the then current war in the Middle East she is predicting another wave of returnees to Northland as living costs in cities soar. In addition to the pull factor of lower costs of living in rural areas, traditional Māori values of community support by those who 'won't let us starve' (informant 2) may be another aspect for the motivation to return:

'I am thinking of this war [during the Bush era] and the hike of petrol prices. It is likely to accrue. We'll see another wave of Māori to return to their tūrangawaewae' (informant 2).

While an oscillation according to economic opportunity may apply to a group of working-age skilled people, a group of returnees of a more advanced age group have returned to stay:

'My parents' generation have come home to stay. They are retirees' (informant 2).

As opposed to informant 2 who has not observed a lot of returns recently, informant 3 maintains that 'there is definitely a trend of people coming back'. However, while informant 2 suggests that no young Māoris opt to return because of the boring rural lifestyle, the group that forms the trend of an increased return are the more aged group who invest – often their redundancy packages – in property with the aim of returning upon retirement:

'They [returnees] have gone back to the city just to keep finding other jobs, but their homes have been built here. Really for when they retire, I suppose, to come back then...The families that have come back up here haven't [brought their children or grand children]. It's more like...the older people' (informant 3).

The statement by informant 3 does not conform to patterns observed amongst culturally motivated returnees who are mostly young parents returning specifically



with the aim of raising their children in a rural setting. The oscillation of working people between their intended rural place of residence in retirement and their current work place nevertheless demonstrates the vast scope of motives for return migration while confirming the well demonstrated phenomenon of returns for retirement (Callea, 1986; King, 2000; Klinthall, 2006).

Adding to prejudice, racism and discrimination as non-economic push motives as suggested by King (2000), other non-economic push motives from the city that have been observed amongst a more mature age group are cited by informant 2:

'And then there is the generation of my age group who come home to escape the crime rate or something has driven them home. And a lot of them are not so flash' (informant 2).

Another group of returnees within the age bracket of young adults are those who 'got into trouble' in cities, for example, for illegal or criminal behaviour, or substance abuse. In these cases, a return may help to break a vicious cycle of an undesirable life and, in line with the view propagated by the Māori renaissance, may lead to healing through reconnecting with the person's Māori roots:

'And those who have gotten into trouble over the years by mixing...you know, drinking and alcohol. That we had to reach out and say: look, come up and try for a few months and see how...what the difference is up here. They have been able to keep their money to buy food, to enjoy a better lifestyle up here because they can just go out fishing or get kai moana when they need to add to their cupboards. And they have said to us last weekend that they never had so much food and less stress of paying their rent and stuff like that as they had since they been up here' (informant 2).

Returns have also been found in response to obligations and responsibilities towards the community of the persons' origins:

'And my father moved because of religious – he is a minister in our church – and for many years they have been asking him to come back to work amongst his own people here' (informant 3).

In light of the variability of returnees' motives for returning one is inclined to agree with informant 2:

'It is unusual for Māori not to go home' (informant 2).

The statement by informant 2 of Māori traditionally 'going home' is in line with Di Sparti's (1993 cited in Ganga, 2006, p. 1396) view of returns representing a *topós*, an unconscious need for re-connecting with one's roots. It is nevertheless interesting why informant should restrict her conclusion to Māori, which is in contrast to a statement

by informant 3 that 'going home' is a pan-human phenomenon and not exclusively Māori. Both speakers are Māori, however, informant 2 was closely affiliated with the Māori renaissance as a result of her professional activity, while informant 3 may not have been affected by social, political and legal developments on national scale associated with the Māori renaissance due to her overseas residence.

## **10.2 Problems and benefits associated with returns**

Problems and benefits of returns as observed by informants were in line with those that emerged throughout the study to include both positive effects such as the introduction of new ideas, and negative ones such as envy and jealousy between returnees and residents, the lack of social life as well as various pragmatic challenges to the existing infrastructure.

Although it may be unusual for Māori not to go home (informant 2), for young people in particular, a return may not be very attractive at the time of the interview:

'But there are not many young people actually coming home at the moment. It is too boring, for a start' (informant 2).

The lack of social life in rural areas has also been noted by Scott and Kearns (2000) and mentioned by other returnees of the current study as one of the problems upon return. Especially with reference to young people, limited options for social contacts exacerbated by a lack of work prospects may lead to drug and alcohol abuse (Scott & Kearns, 2000).

Other issues that have been observed by informants may apply exclusively to Northland, several apply to any rural area in New Zealand and others again may not exclusively be the domain of returnees. Some issues, in particular those relating to infrastructure, appear to have surfaced as a consequence of an increased influx of people, notably returnees:

'[After coming back and in light of more people returning] the problems here are drainage. And health: hospital services and doctors. To me the most important thing here is health. Education is fine, so long as the teachers that they put into it are teachers who are able to cope with the children that they have. But with infrastructure, yeah, I put it this way. Health first, then roads, 'cos there is a lot of roads up here that have not been sealed since I was a kid, you now, and I come back up here, like Te Hāpua and Pawarenga and places like that. And I have been down, South of Auckland to Hastings and Napier and they have all the little side streets going off to wopwop and they are all sealed. Why are they all sealed when ours aren't up here? And drainage. When I say drainage, I mean like put toilet systems in. Because that creates the health system. You can dig a

hole anywhere you want to for a toilet or for a septic, there doesn't seem to be any planning. It's Māori land, it's your Māori land so you basically go and do whatever you want, but you are not allowed to do this and you are not allowed to do that and you are not allowed to do that. Well, that's it: health, roads and drainage. To me those are the three most important. Because the environment being up here is not too bad' (informant 3).

However, informant 3 later qualifies her statement about the natural environment's condition in Northland:

'But the buses, the tourist buses that go up along ninety mile beach and Rarawa beach, they drive down onto the sand and it's really eroding the sandbanks and that all' (informant 3).

Affecting returnees more directly is the observation by informant 2 about a lack of housing. Her observation confirms findings of previous studies (Davey & Kearns, 1994 cited in Scott & Kearns, 2000, p. 41) about the inefficiency of Māori rural housing initiatives:

'And a lot of them [returnees] are not so flash. Like people living in trucks. In Pawarenga there are several places like this in the bush, where the building inspectors don't go, they never get to see that kind of thing' (informant 2).

What can be seen though, are the houses of a distinct group of returnees, who have returned with their redundancy packages and savings from a city job to build flash houses, without investing into the community:

'But [with the group that came back with a bit of money] there were two problems that I noticed because, again, I was there when it happened. I was in my late 30s at the time: They came back with an attitude that nothing had happened before they came back. Nothing had happened, but there were the maraes falling down... And another was that they were building quite nice homes. One of the flashiest homes in Pawarenga is an eight bedroom mansion. It has columns out the front. And it is way above the Pawarenga, on a hill overlooking Pawarenga. And I remember...God bless her, she just died last month. When she first came home they built their home. Her husband and she took all her counterparts, she had never really been away from home or been home for quite a few years, and she took them through on what we called 'the Royal Tour' and the only comment that really came out strongly from that was the old lady saying: 'Poor Jim', because they saw that they had separate bedrooms. 'Poor Jim, she doesn't even sleep with him ' (informant 2).

The group of returnees that came back with the material resources aroused envy by showing their wealth off instead of investing into the community. The phenomenon of Māori returnees being regarded as consumers of rural lifestyle rather than contributors to it (Burnett, 1996 cited in Scott & Kearns, 2000, p. 40) created an imbalance between returnees and rural residents, something that had not previously existed:

'When we were all growing up together we didn't know we were poor because nobody was much flashier than anybody else. Yes, there was a bit of envy' (informant 2).

Envy and jealousy were not restricted to those with different material wealth, but surfaced also between stayers and leavers simply in relation to the fact, that some had stayed and some had left:

'They [the informant's parents] came home in 1956, when everybody was going the other way. And I remember one of the returnees saying to my mother that she was lucky: 'You are lucky that you managed to stay home, when I had to go to Auckland'. And Mum said to this person who was speaking from a quite angry position: 'It wasn't luck. Not at all. I came home because I wanted to'. So there was a tension between those who went and those who stayed' (informant 2).

The migration that informant 2 refers to in relation to her parents was the rapid urbanisation of Māori between the two world wars which has been extensively investigated, notably by Joan Metge's authoritative study of 'A new Māori migration' (1964). Despite the vast extent of the Māori influx to the cities there were some who resisted the trend, discounting any economic or rational decision making. In a study on why Māori do not move in times of economic hardship in rural areas, Hawkins (1991) found that their traditional attachment to ancestral places and family members was stronger than their desire for economic gains.

In addition to urban-generated material wealth or skills and knowledge there were other imports from the city affecting rural residents, predominantly the young and adolescent age groups:

'Even though they didn't bring their children back with them, their children or their grandchildren often come to live with them and they brought fresh city ways much faster, I am thinking drugs and all these things. Particularly dak has always been part of the scene' (informant 2).

But not all imports from the city were negative ones. Returnees also brought back with them innovation, skills and abilities, as well as new ideas for the benefit of local rural communities:

'But they also brought back skills. That old age group. And they did – we saw a refurbishment of the marae. Things like the golf club were suddenly revitalised' (informant 2).

The observation by informant 2 is shared by Scott and Kearns (2000) who found older returning Māori to be very involved in local institutions such as the Māori komiti (committee) and Māori Women's Welfare League.

### 10.3 Destinations

In line with previous findings about returnees' destinations, examples by informants' observations confirm that returnees' destinations are unpredictable and may include places where they had never lived before, spouses' places of upbringing, birth or family relations, as well as returnees' own places of origin, determined by upbringing, family relations, ancestors or birth.

'[People return to] where their parents or ancestors are from, if they haven't been born on the land. They may go home to where their partner is from. For example: I know many Ngāti Porou<sup>33</sup> women who have married Northerners. And they stay on, or their children come home to where their whānau is. It is interesting: they go to where they are from, where their ancestors are from' (informant 2).

In line with the traditional prototype do Māori return to where their ancestors are from, demonstrating two cornerstones of traditional Māori identity, strong ties with one's family including ancestors, and with ancestral and tribal land. In her statements informant 2 not only confirms the continued or revived traditional requirement of Māori identity to honour such links but she also explicitly refers to the subgroup of culturally motivated second generation returnees in her first and last two sentences.

However, the place where returnees' ancestors are from is by no means clear, depending on which side of the family the person favours. Distinctions are also made between the place of one's upbringing or birth, or where the person's ancestors originate from, when answering the question of where the person is from. The following anecdote provides a glimpse of the complexity of place-related concepts, more specifically, about the place of origin of the informant's niece:

'They [returnees] go to where they have been brought up, even though they may not be from there. Somebody asked my niece the other day where she was from and she said 'Pawarenga', and the other person said, 'so you moved from Pawarenga' and she said, 'Oh no, I have moved up from Whangarei'. She is only 15, but to her she is from where her mother is from...I am not actually from Ahipara. I was born in Pawarenga, but I suppose you could say that I have got strong connections here. My grandmother on my mother's side, her parents are buried here. And all her ancestors are buried here. But when people ask me where I am from I'd say 'Pawarenga'. I wouldn't dream of saying 'Ahipara'. But my grandson may grow up saying that he is from Ahipara' (informant 2).

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<sup>33</sup> tribal group of East Coast area north of Gisborne to Tihirau

#### **10.4 Summary and conclusion**

Return motives that emerged from informants' observation of other returnees confirm return motives mentioned in existing literature on Māori return migration, including retirement, lifestyle, investment in a secondary home and economic motives. Amongst the latter exist both pull motives to rural areas associated with large scale construction projects, cheaper cost of living and accessibility to property, as well as push motives from cities such as high cost of living urban unemployment and crime.

Problems encountered upon a return to rural areas, especially for those who were raised in an urban context, are the lack of social life and entertainment and, more generally, a poorer infrastructure and lower standards of, for example, housing. Returnees may also be met with jealousy and envy associated with their higher skills levels or financial means. By some residents, though, the latter two imports are viewed positively as an opportunity for the local community. Not welcome, however, are imports from the cities such as drugs and crime.

Destinations as observed by informants vary greatly, demonstrating the stretchable concept of 'home' to include returnees' own place of upbringing or birth, or the spouses' place of birth or upbringing, as well as parents' or ancestors' places of origin, whereby the concept of place also varies with reference to level of inclusiveness from the very spot through to tribal territory.

## **Chapter 11**

### **FINDINGS AND HYPOTHESES REVISITED**

#### **11.1 Return migration – Summary and conclusion**

With its focus on urban to rural returns on an intra-national level the investigation of Māori return migration took an approach that has so far been underrepresented amongst return migration studies (Rumbiak, 1985; Leman, 1998; King, et al., 1985). Nevertheless, the case study on Māori return migration shared with other studies of return migration the problem of access to quantitative data. While census information gathered in New Zealand includes people's movements into or out of different types of locations at various levels of resolution it is difficult to estimate whether and to what extent reported movements actually constitute returns.

The qualitative approach taken was not only to overcome the lack of quantitative data but also to forge links between return migration and socio-cultural variables (Rumbiak, 1985) and to locate individuals' returns within various contexts impacting on their lives (Kulu, 1998) including political, social and legal ones.

Informants, recruited through the snowball technique, provided rich in-depth interviews about their personal return experience, including individual biographical information to 'shed light on aspects of return migration that cut across personal-individual, public-national-collective, professional-family-intimate spaces as well as the spatiality of rural to urban and traditional to modern' (Christou, 2006, p. 1041). The choice of a qualitative approach and the use of personal testimonies and life histories as suggested by Benmayor and Skotness (1994) heeded earlier calls for the use of more suitable micro-approaches for the study of dynamics of territorial identity (Tonkinson, 1985) and return migration 'to do justice to the complexity and multifacetedness of the impact that migration has on individual's identities in the contemporary globalised world' (Benmayor & Skotness 1994, p. 3). Biographical information allowed for the investigation of complex patterns of individuals' motivation to return and the various contexts impacting on the return decision. Several return motives only surfaced throughout returnees' testimonies or were indirectly referred to, indicating that some may have been unconscious, as suggested by King (2000).

Two groups of returnees were identified, differing in a number of characteristics and traits and also with reference to the contexts impacting on individuals' return decisions. While family motivated returnees' return decisions were linked to their immediate personal surroundings, the context impacting on culturally motivated returnees was linked to the wider social, political and legal context of the New Zealand wide Māori renaissance. The Māori renaissance is an example of and linked to the global context of indigenism and found its regional expression in the Muriwhenua land claim. The findings of regional, national and international contexts exerting influence on individuals' return decisions supported Kulu's (1998) suggestion that returns may be preceded by more far reaching changes in values, habits and identity, and Christou's (2006) finding that returnees' identities may be continuously negotiated and constructed in relation to place both on an individual as well as on collective level under contemporary conditions, confirming the suggestion by Scott and Kearns (2000) of a psychological aspect to Māori return.

Information about the study's informants has confirmed as well as disconfirmed findings of previous returnees' profiles. Contrary to several other studies, neither family nor culturally motivated returnees returned for retirement reasons, but at various stages during their working lives. Also, there was no evidence that informants' returns represented 'the concluding phase of the migratory process' (Callea, 1986, p. 63). The return to the 'place from which an individual sets out and to which s/he will return, at least in spirit' (Hobsbawm, 1991, p. 65) only applied to family motivated returnees, while culturally motivated returnees were found to either re-return to the city, had returned with the intention of raising children in the destination places and/or returned to places where they had never lived before and/or that were previously unknown to them.

Returnees to previously unknown places, referred to as ancestral lands, by culturally motivated returnees confirmed suggested motives for Māori return migration associated with the Māori renaissance based on anecdotal evidence in existing literature. Culturally motivated returnees' returns were thus examples of returns in the wider sense to include second and third generation returns associated with issues of identity and sense of belonging (Christou, 2006). While informants of the study returned to or were planning to return to the place of origin of their Māori mother who had married a non-Māori future studies may be interested in which destination place



is chosen by young urban Māoris with two Māori parents from different tribal areas and the variables impacting in their choice.

In contrast, family motivated returnees returned to known places of the husband's or father's upbringing and/or birth, with which returnees had retained or built up links prior to their return, representing cases of classic return migration as defined by DaVanzo and Morrison (1981, p. 85) of moves back to 'places where returnees lived before, where they were born or raised'. Interestingly, both family motivated couples returned to the husband's place of origin. Due to the small number, no conclusions can be drawn of whether the return to the males' places of origin may reflect a male-dominated hierarchy, coincidence, pragmatic considerations or other reasons.

Also confirmed were previous findings about the impact of return migration such as the introduction of new ideas by returnees to the destination community, know-how and labour, financial investment and revival of local building industry through home construction. On the other hand, envy about returnees' higher education and better financial situation has also been observed as was resistance by locals towards novel ideas introduced by returnees.

Other negative consequences of Māori return migration were disappointment amongst culturally motivated returnees linked to unrealistic expectations (Gmelch, 1980) in relation to a nostalgic view of traditional Māori society and an idealised Māori prototype propagated during the Māori renaissance. To a lesser extent, disappointment was also experienced by one couple returning for family related motives as a consequence of frequent, albeit temporally limited annual visits, allowing the returnees to focus mainly on positive aspects (King, 2000) of the husband's home community. However, after going through a number of stages of re-entry (Storti, 2001) the couple as well as community members had re-adjusted and the couple was successfully integrated into the local community at the time of the interview.

## **11.2 Place – Summary and conclusion**

Taking a humanistic approach to place as meaningful site the study has drawn attention to the emotional significance of place for returnees' identities, both on an individual as well as on social level (Cresswell, 2009).

Meanings of the destination place for family motivated returnees was constructed around returnees' personal affinity to their place of birth or childhood upbringing, as places where the spouse or father had been born or lived, and with which links had been retained through regular visits or, in one couple's case, re-built over several years leading up to the return.

For culturally motivated returnees on the other hand, the meaning of their (planned) destination place derived from the place's importance as the birthplace or place of origin of the returnees' Māori parent. While in one case reference was made to the very site of the mother's birth place, in other cases, 'place of origin' was employed at various scales of inclusiveness ranging from settlement to blocks of land belonging to the extended family to tribal territory, spanning individual as well as socially shared meanings of places (Cresswell, 2009). Reference to and attachment of meanings to places at various levels of inclusiveness represent, for example, traditional Māori identification practices as enshrined by the Māori prototype.

Two other aspects of meanings of place have been documented by the current study. One referred to the importance of a rural lifestyle for a Māori identity (Herbert, 1990) as enshrined in the prototype promoting urban Māori's return to rural places. The other meaning of place relates to individuals' strong links with places of origin where the bones of their ancestors are buried in an abstract sense as the basis of an indigenous identity (Niezen, 2002, 2000).

Thus, the importance of all three components for the definition of place from a humanistic point of view (Cresswell, 2009) have been confirmed, with 'places of origin' always being somewhere in particular and well defined (location), containing social relations with (extended) family members, known or unknown contemporary or deceased ancestors (locale) that are highly emotionally charged as the returnee's childhood or birthplace for family motivated returnees, and, for culturally motivated returnees, the anchor of individuals' personal as well as social identities (sense of place).

### *11.2.1 Concepts of home, roots migration, homesteading and homecoming*

In contrast to recent approaches that view 'home' as multilocal or detached from a physical structure, a particular locality or national community, informants of the study on Māori return migration employed the concept of 'home' in its traditional sense as a

bounded and definable geographical locality that is distinct and distinguishable from others at variable degrees of inclusiveness. While this finding contrasts with recent views of home as multilocal or as nodes within a transnational network (Eastmond, 2006) and detached from a physical structure, locality or community, the findings of a traditional Māori conceptualisation of home adds to a host of studies that link home with identity to demonstrate the opposite approach which is characterised by an intensification of localist attachment and regionalisation typical for ethnification and indigenist movements in response to globalisation (Friedmann, 1994; Overbeek, 2000).

The traditional view of home applies to both family as well as culturally motivated returnees of this study, whose effected or planned return represented the wish for historical and geographical self-placement (Di Sparti, 1993 cited in Ganga, 2006, p. 1396) and which may be interpreted as 'roots migration' (Wessendorf, 2007). While Māori returnees moved within the national boundaries of New Zealand (with the exception of informants 3 and 4) unlike Wessendorf's informants' transnational returns, the fundamental characteristic of the motivating force to return to ancestral places or places of their parents' origin in response to the search for a sense of identification and belonging with the aim of settling permanently parallels Wessendorf's findings of a study on roots migration.

Wessendorf's (2007) conclusion that roots migrants' connections to the homeland are based on everyday translocal ways of being and belonging during childhood and adolescence only applies to family motivated Māori returnees, while culturally returnees had to re-establish connections to ancestral places through genealogical research inspired by the Māori renaissance and triggered by various factors such as the birth of children.

The distinction between the two sub groups of Māori roots migrants, family motivated and culturally motivated, equates to Casey's (1993) distinction between 'homecoming' and 'homesteading'. Homecoming is defined as 'the move to a previously known place that contains personal memories of a past self and precious acquaintances' (Casey, 1993, p. 290), which applies to family motivated returns of this study. Homesteading is defined as 'the journey to a previously unknown place with the intention to make it a new home' (Casey, 1993, p. 290), which applies to culturally motivated returns.

Although unknown to them until culturally motivated returnees' interest in things Māori and in their personal ancestry is sparked, they nevertheless experience a strong sense of belonging to the place of their return (informant 1) or planned return, referring to it as 'our [family] land' (Brenda) and ancestral place of the tūpunas (Nin). Not only is the geographical locality of the intended or actual return initially unknown to culturally motivated returnees, but also local residents. Links with residents, most of whom are part of the returnees' extended family, are only established after detailed genealogical research by culturally motivated returnees, although for those described by informant 1 the link is provided by the returnees' mother who had been born in the eventual destination place. While true for family motivated returnees, home as a site 'where one could move about with ease and familiarity' (Casey, 1993, p. 300) does not apply to culturally motivated returnees as evidence of disappointment and re-returns as described by informant 1 demonstrates. Amongst prospective returnees, nostalgic feelings towards a tribal homeland and the wish to return to a home as a site 'where one is known and trusted and where one knows and trusts others, where one is accepted, understood, indulged and forgiven' (Storti, 2001, p. 3), the 'place of rituals and routine interactions of entirely predictable events and people, and of very few surprises, where one feels safe and secure and where one can be oneself' (Storti, 2001, p. 4) is based on a idealised Māori prototype rather than on personally experienced reality. This 'symbolic ethnicity' (Gans, 1979 cited in Aydingün & Aydingün 2007, p. 117) appeared to be sufficient for group members to form boundaries around their Māori group identities, paralleling findings by Aydingün and Aydingün's (2007) study of Crimean Tatars' return home. The symbolic meaning of homes thus constructed is the foundation for collective identity based on a distant place (Bolognani, 2007) and solidarity amongst group members (Shuval, 2000), and it represents individuals' 'ways of belonging', that is, their emotional connections with distant localities and their inhabitants, signalling an identification with a particular group (Glick Schiller, 2004 cited in Wessendorf, 2007, p. 1090) such as a tribe or extended family (Nin and Brenda).

Cultural returnees' expectations of 'home' associated with an idealised Māori prototype on the one hand and, on the other, with a romanticised rural lifestyle, lead to disappointment and disillusionment in several observed cases, especially the one

described by informant 1: not abandoning efforts of making the mother's birthplace their home, some stayed while others left again (informant 1).

Those who left nevertheless maintained close links with their re-discovered home where the 'fires were kept burning' (ahi kā) by those who worked hard to stay (informant 1), returning frequently for family and other communal occasions. Similar to a myth of return, the retention of links with a distant home provide 'unsuccessful' returnees with group membership (Cohen & Gold, 1997) and cultural identities (Bird, 2002), expressed through traditions such as prayer, practices and ceremony (Hudson-Rodd, 1998), with moral strength and a sense of tradition (Durie, 1998), with certain, often exclusive rights (Bird, 2002) such as tangata whenua status, and with stories that link group members with the community's past, present and future. Most fundamentally, it allows 'unsuccessful' returnees to overtly express their Māori identities within a different, mostly European majority group while defying assimilation (Bolognani, 2007) and – through the common characteristic of lived links with an ancestral place – to claim an indigenous identity.

Homecoming to a familiar place applies to family-motivated returnees, most notably to informant 6 who had been raised in the place of his family's return. The wife of informant 6, informant 5, and their youngest daughter, informant 7, had been born elsewhere, the former on different tribal territory, and the latter in a large city (Auckland). Through frequent and regular visits during the family's residence in Auckland, informants 5 and 7 were nevertheless intimately acquainted with their eventual destination place and its inhabitants, minimising adjustment problems and allowing the family to blend in with the local community easily and quickly.

In contrast, the other couple (informants 3 and 4) whose 'homecoming' led them to the husband's place of birth and upbringing, did experience adjustment problems upon their permanent return when informant 4 was met by local residents with rejection, a sentiment that he partially reciprocated. The disappointment experienced by informant 4 may be explained by his confusion of the 'same place' with 'identical place' (Casey 1993). To expect the home place to be identical to the pre-departure state is unrealistic as one cannot return ever for it is never the same place the person had left behind (Kirkegaard, 1964) and there is 'no return to status quo ante' (King, 2000, p. 20) because of changed circumstances both in the home place but also because of developments affecting expatriates during their absence. More specifically, informant

4 had reached an advanced stage in his professional career during a lengthy overseas absence associated with certain views and attitudes towards a range of everyday practices. These attitudes, mostly acquired as part of city living differed fundamentally from those of the local rural community he left behind, not least because of fundamental social, legal, and economic changes in New Zealand associated with the Māori renaissance. Interestingly, the wife of informant 4, informant 3, was not affected by disappointment to the same extent as her husband, possibly because of her lack of knowledge of the pre-departure situation in their destination place and associated lack of expectations.

At the time of the interview disappointment experienced by informants 3 and 4 had already given way to optimism as informant 4 had been offered various chores within the community. The acceptance of informant 4 back into his home community may be associated with the latest stage of re-entry according to Storti (2001) referred to as 're-adjustment', which concludes the series of a 'leave-taking' and departure stage, 'honeymoon' of coming home and 'reverse culture shock'.

Despite the couple's return to the very community of birth and upbringing of informant 4 'home' to informant 3 is New Zealand as a whole. The salience of New Zealand as home for informants 3 and 4 can be explained by their status as expatriates and lengthy overseas residence who were not as drawn into tribal politics associated with the Māori renaissance as New Zealand residents would have been. It is thus New Zealand that evokes a strong sense of place in informant 3, strong emotional feelings about the locale of her country of birth with its different features to her previous place of residence.

While the emotions experienced by informant 3 may be shared with other expatriates, including Māori and non-Māori, they are directed towards the nation of New Zealand, which is in contrast to the significance of home for the remaining informants who represent intra-national returnees whose home is at a lower level of inclusiveness. Interestingly, no account of a comparably strong emotional experience upon their return home was given by intra-national returnees, a point that deserves further investigation.

The initial temporary stay by informant 3 for holiday purposes in New Zealand rekindled a sense of belonging, prompting a desire to return 'home', first regularly on an annual basis and later, permanently.

The concept of New Zealand constituting home does not change for informant 3 after their permanent return to New Zealand as she continues to refer to the couple's exact destination place as 'back here' or 'up here' rather than 'home'. No detailed information exists on how informant 4 as the former resident of the couple's destination place conceptualises 'home' because his interview was conducted parallel to another one and was not audiotaped.

Returnees from within New Zealand refer to their home places at smaller levels of inclusiveness such as family or tribal land because there is no need to contrast one's home country with another country. Among the intra-national returnees there is yet again a difference between culturally and family motivated returnees. Family motivated returnees like informants 3, 4, and 5, 6 and 7 return to familiar places, which are the places from where the respective husbands (informants 4 and 6) had 'set out to return to' (Casey, 1993). The applicable level of inclusiveness is the very community where informants 4 and 6 with their spouses return to. In the case of informant 3 and 4 links with local community members, made up predominantly by family members at varying degrees of closeness, had never been severed during their absence but, on the contrary, meticulously maintained and reaffirmed at communal events such as building a marae or refurbishing the cemetery. In the case of the overseas couple, links had been put on hold for a number of years, but they were systematically re-established and re-affirmed during annual holidays, following the death of the father of informant 4 and pre-dating a permanent return.

Despite being grouped as a culturally motivated returnee, the return to the place of upbringing, more specifically to the locality and community of childhood, also applies to informant 8. However, while family motivated returnees neither mention tribal affiliations nor tribal territories or tribal links during their interviews, informant 8 frequently refers to her tribal territory as 'home', often in conjunction with rivalries about tribal territories and rights associated with tangata whenua status, calling on young tribal members to 'come home' in support of their tribe of Ngāti Kurī.

More characteristic for culturally motivated returnees however is the application of the term 'home' to previously unknown and unfamiliar tribal territories or family land. While Brenda and Nin only vaguely refer to home as family land, returnees as described by informant 1 claim a specific location, their mother's birth place, as home,

where they are determined to settle permanently after detailed genealogical investigation into tribal and family links.

To culturally motivated returnees the spatial location does appear to play a less significant role for the definition of their home than the personal links that the places embody. To returnees as described by informant 1 'home' is the place that derives its special significance from the fact that their mother had been born there, and Nin and Brenda's homes are located where their newly established links with family members converge and where their traceable ancestry originates from.

Links with family members and the place of one's personal or one's spouse's upbringing or ancestral origins at various levels of inclusiveness are cornerstones of a Māori prototype propagated during the Māori renaissance. Thus, homes as definable and distinguishable places are essential characteristics for a Māori identity on the one hand, and, on the other, for an indigenous one in its abstract sense of intimate links with ancestral lands.

The various levels of inclusiveness of home ranging from the very spot of the mother's birthplace via settlements of the extended family to tribal territory, all of which are enshrined in a Māori prototype, provide returnees, and indeed all Māoris, with a choice of home to identify with depending on the context and the salience of any one home/identity construct, as explained by Brewer's model of optimal distinctiveness.

An extended view of home to include places of ancestors' or parents' origins applies to second generation returnees who have been found to face the dilemma of a dual meaning of home to imply both the place of upbringing as well as the place of a parent's origin, challenging the returnee's sense of belonging (Christou, 2006). These ancestral places may be known to the second generation returnee (informant 7) or unknown (Nin, Brenda and returnees described by informant 1). While Brenda and Nin return to family land on their mother's side as their father is Pākehā, it may be interesting to investigate whether second generation returnees whose mother and father are Māori, favour one over the other and what variables impact on their choice of destination place.

Similarly, the finding of individuals 'returning' to spouses' places of upbringing, origin or ancestry has not been dealt with in existing literature and calls for additional



research of patterns about the choice of destinations favouring one or the other spouse. The choice of destinations may be associated with pragmatic factors, social structures or gender differences as well as with individuals' identification practices. In the current study, both family motivated couples 'returned' to the husbands' homes. Due to the small sample size no patterns emerge, nor has the observation been followed up by specific questions about the background of it.

For returnees in general, but specifically for those who 'return' to spouses' or ancestors' homes it remains to be investigated to what extent they experience their destination place as their home, more specifically, whether they can overcome the difference between themselves and original inhabitants who are 'born into a specific community that resides in a specific place and who have developed an intimate relationship with the homeland, a passion, understanding and identification that is fundamentally different to that of an outsider (Akiwenzie-Damm, 1996) and to what extent they can identify with their homes where natural features tell stories about residents' personal past and indeed the history of the entire kin group (Richling, 1985). In the Māori context one tool for the investigation of returnees' sense of home may be through the tauparapara/pepehā, the traditional practice of place-based personal and group identifications.

### **11.3 Identity – summary and conclusion**

The traditional Māori practice of place-based identifications merges the two components, social and personal, of a person's identity as conceived by several contemporary identity models such as Social Identity Theory (SIT).

While the social aspect for family motivated returnees referred to the immediate known family, for culturally motivated returnees reference to the social aspect was more pronounced and referred to the previously unknown wider circle of the extended family (whanau), the tribe (iwi) and, importantly, the Māori sub section of New Zealand society. The latter was not only employed frequently by culturally motivated returnees to distance themselves from membership to non-Māori social groups, most notably to Pākehā, but also to claim an indigenous identity, the most inclusive group identity mentioned by returnees.

Culturally motivated returnees' interest in group membership at various levels of inclusiveness based on a traditional Māori prototype was sparked by the Māori

renaissance during which Māori consciously set out to acquire a sense of identity (Rata, 2000) and during which a positive Māori image was propagated, generating pride and interest in things Māori and supporting the constructivist view that categories such as Māori identity are actively constructed in response to changing contexts. Pride in a Māori identity was clearly evident amongst culturally motivated returnees, some of whom abandoned their non-Māori identities in favour of an exclusively Māori identity, and who wanted to provide their children with a firm Māori identity through education in the newly established 'kōhanga reo' organisation.

The positive view about Māori was generated by strategies of social creativity including, for example, emphasis on the uniqueness of Māori culture, the use of new dimensions for comparison and the re-evaluation of existing dimensions, of, for example indigenous status. Several of the strategies employed by Māoris are also characteristic for other indigenist movements, all of which share the core marker of group members' primordial links with their homelands to which they have a strong spiritual affinity that no-one else can claim, making up the global phenomenon of indigenism (Niezen, 2000, 2002).

In addition to self-enhancement (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) through the new positive view about Māori, other motivations for choosing Māori group membership included optimal distinctiveness through the choice of group membership at various levels of inclusiveness (Brewer, 1991) based on traditional place-based identification practices, and uncertainty reduction through a Māori prototype. The Māori prototype provided mostly young urban Māoris who were 'lost' or disenchanted with a negative Māori image generated by disproportionately high poverty and crime rates amongst Māori with clear guidelines to live by based on a template, a set of normative Māori behaviours based on tradition to provide individuals with 'security and salvation through prescribed sets of standards, values and rules for living' (Friedman, 1994, p. 243).

One such normative characteristic of Māori identity is a person's close affinity to land in general, (te whenua), and to specific parcels of land, (te marae) (Dann, 1988) to which the person is linked through genealogy (whakapapa) (Lian, 1992). Like several of the study's informants, many urban Māoris embarked on genealogical research in a quest to re-establish links with members of their extended families and with the rural community from which their Māori parents or ancestors originated from. The ultimate

aim was to 'return home' to their tūrangawaewae (Walker, 1990), to lead an 'authentic' Māori lifestyle (Herbert, 1990) as part of the extended family and learn the language and customs of the ancestors.

By providing sets of the typical or ideal defining features of Māori identity through the widely propagated prototype against which individuals' Māoriness could be assessed (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002), group boundaries were also drawn clearly and exclusively in the salient ingroup-outgroup context of the Māori renaissance. Thus, places at various levels of inclusiveness do not merely serve as backdrops for individuals' behaviour, but they are actively incorporated as part of their self (Krupat, 1983) through the traditional place-related identification practices, serving as building blocks for formation of both collective as well as individual identity (Thompson, 1996).

The investigation of the complex interplay between individual and collective identity, various contexts and identification practices as well as contexts and behaviours affecting and motivating Māori return migrants has been well served by the application of Social Identity Theory which allowed for theorising links and accounting for several of the phenomena observed. Social Identity Theory thus provides a suitable framework for investigating voluntary return migration, especially amongst ethnic and indigenous groups, which has been attracting increasing interest in the context of globalisation.

#### **11.4 Research questions revisited**

Findings from the interviews are discussed in relation to applicable research questions, which are derived from existing literature on return migration, place and identity and set out in chapter 1.1.

##### *11.4.1 Research question 1*

Research question 1 which stated that returnees' motives are varied and may include deeply personal or family related reasons while others will be strongly influenced by the outside context of the social and political climate of the Māori renaissance (cultural reasons) has been confirmed. Returnees' main motives could be grouped broadly into family related motives and cultural motives.

Examples of family related reasons were deaths in the family, need for care of an ailing family member, homesickness, the creation of a family focus, redundancy and family chain migration. Examples of cultural reasons were a re-identification as Māori, to find out about ancestors, to provide children with a Māori environment while learning customs, traditions and genealogy and to live a communal Māori lifestyle based on ancient traditions.

In addition to previously discussed differences relating to family links as part of the Māori prototype for culturally motivated returnees and as immediate personal contact for family related returns, another clear difference between the groups concern identification practices by their respective members.

Amongst those who returned predominantly upon family related reasons, the use of 'us', 'we' and 'our' relates exclusively to the immediate family, including a husband-wife constellation (informants 3, 5 and 6) or siblings and parents (informant 3):

'We actually left here 1967' (informant 3, referring to her parents and siblings).

Another use of 'we' by informant 3 refers to her and her husband:

'We don't get the thousand dollars or nine hundred dollars a week that we are used to in our jobs in Sydney... So, full-up it has been an adventure in a way, in that we had to step out and face say, well, we have each other, we have the ability to be able to make something, to do something for ourselves' (informant 3).

Similarly, informant 6 refers to himself and his wife when using 'we':

'You know, we knew we'd done the right thing [to come up North] when the kids and friends started to come back' (informant 6).

Vice versa, his wife, informant 5, refers to herself and her husband through the use of 'we':

'We like to keep things the way they are' (informant 5).

Informant 2 solely uses the first person to tell her own story of why she had returned. In order to tell stories based on observation about other returnees, informants within the family-motivated return group used names or specific terminology of family relations such as 'niece', 'nephew' and others, referring to individuals' experiences rather than to group members' experiences. No analysis of identification processes was possible for the family described by informant 1 due to a lack of direct quotes.

In contrast to returnees with family-related motives, amongst culturally motivated returnees there is a noticeable tendency to identify with a group. At the most inclusive

level a 'we', 'our' and 'us' reference refers to the Māori subsection of New Zealand society. Identification with Māori as a group is most pronounced amongst the prospective returnees, as the following examples demonstrate:

'We ask for respect for our culture... We are entitled to our heritage... We are entitled to support, to develop, to nurture our heritage... Your common bond is the fact that you are Māori... For example, we have different attitudes to lots of things' (Nin).

'I have never been given the chance to be with my own people' (Brenda).

Amongst the same group of culturally motivated returnees the use of possessive adjectives and adverbs, albeit at a more restricted level of inclusiveness, relates to a tribe. Reference may be to the speaker's own tribe through the use of 'us', 'we' and 'our', or, to another tribe, through the use of 'them' and 'they', which, in the example at hand, refers to Te Aupōuri:

'As I say, they only know us, and we only know them. And so, we don't want anybody to have them, other than us. But what they can't do is be involved in land transactions... But we can't run off, because we are ahi kā... So we are stuck here, getting devastated... This is our rohe... But we are prevented from doing that because we have to have permits... Even the land has a home feeling for us... And we won't move from there to there without our kaumātua... We can't help our loyalty' (informant 8).

The strong identification with her tribe even leads informant 8 to speak on behalf of other tribal members, and to the belief that her view is representative of every tribal member's view.

On yet another, smaller level of inclusiveness, the 'we' and 'us' reference relates to the speaker's family, most commonly, the extended family:

'In our family we're searching for our Māoritanga... We feel that we are better off on the land... We want to head back to our tupuna... We meet once a month' (Brenda).

The use of the us-them rhetoric is characteristic for the Māori renaissance during which a separate Māori sector of New Zealand society was constructed. The importance of the rhetoric about traditional Māori lifestyle is further evident in returnee's idealised, but unrealistic expectations of a return, which were usually followed by disappointment and disillusionment. Part of the idealised depiction of Māori society as propagated by the Māori renaissance was the view that a firm Māori identity would allow children to escape the dysfunctional lifestyle that affected Māori during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, and that the best place to cultivate a Māori identity was his or her ancestral land. The widespread awareness of

the importance of a Māori identity and subsequent interest in things Māori are clearly tied to the Māori renaissance (informant 1), which may surface 'all of a sudden' (Brenda) or as a consequence of the birth of a child (Nin). Sudden and distinct efforts at re-identifying are common amongst young adults who had been deprived of things Māori during their formative years, most commonly as a result of an urban lifestyle (informants 1 and 2).

#### *11.4.2 Research question 2*

Research question 2 which stated that cultural reasons for a return related to the search for a Māori identity will be particularly pronounced amongst young urban Māori, especially those with young children has been confirmed. Because research question 2 is closely linked to research question 1 it has already partially been discussed.

A firm Māori identity as the key to a prosperous and happy life appealed particularly to urban Māori who suffered from disproportionately high unemployment and delinquency rates (see informant 1). Despite applying to adults as well as children, children were often the trigger to heightened re-identification efforts as young parents wanted to provide their children with the best possible start into their young lives (Brenda and Nin, informant 1).

Young urban Māori were particularly susceptible to the Māori renaissance both as a cultural movement as well as a political one as a consequence, amongst others, of a widespread sense of deprivation following their upbringing in a Pākehā world that many did not feel comfortable with (see informant 2, Brenda and Nin). As things Māori gained value both within New Zealand as well as internationally as part of the global indigenist movement individuals felt more inclined to emphasise their Māori heritage at the expense of their Pākehā background (Brenda and Nin). In addition to the pride associated with being Māori the 'new' identity provided individuals with group membership and clear guidelines and norms to live by, based on a traditional prototype located in a glorified past (see informants 2 and 8).

#### *11.4.3 Research question 3*

Research question 3 which stated that cultural reasons related to the search for a Māori identity will be particularly pronounced amongst those who returned during the 1980s and 90s has been confirmed.

Returns of family members of informant 1 were explicitly tied to 'that movement at the time in the late 70s/80s, the belief that here was a better way of living, the communal way', while Brenda and Nin were interviewed during their pre-return phase in 1984.

Officially, the wave of ethnic pride that lay at the heart of many Māoris' decision to return, was recognised during subsequent censuses during the 1980s that saw an unprecedented increase of people reporting as 'full' or 'sole' Māori (Pool, 1991 cited in Kukutai, 2001, p. 28), made possible by a number of changes of the census. Another fundamental change was the official recognition of the historical treaty partnership between Māori and the state in 1975 and the replacement of public and academic discourse of multiculturalism by biculturalism, generating far-reaching political mobilisation amongst Māori during the 1980s (Webster, 1998).

#### *11.4.4 Research question 4*

Research question 4 which stated that those who returned for cultural reasons are more likely than those who return for family and personal reasons to encounter problems upon their return such as disillusionment and disappointment as a result of a nostalgic pre-return view of rural and traditional Māori lifestyle has been confirmed, most clearly by informant 1 who provided an account of an extended family's entire pre- and post-return experience. Additional cases of disappointment are also described by informant 2 in relation to young urban returnees who 'brought back their townie ways', but 'no resources to work the land'.

Although the post-return stage had not been reached at the time of the research by the two prospective returnees, both had clearly adopted an idealised and romanticised view about historic Māori society as well as about contemporary rural life associated with unrealistic expectations of their anticipated return experience. A romanticised view about historic Māori society is also expressed by informant 8. However, her view about contemporary Māori life in rural areas is sufficiently realistic as a

consequence of her upbringing on tribal land before her departure to the city for qualification purposes in order to prevent her from disappointment and disillusionment.

Amongst those who returned for family related motives, post-return problems were predominantly of a pragmatic type and not associated with disappointment and disillusionment. Disillusionment was not an issue because family motivated returnees of this study had been prepared for their post-return lives through regular contact. For informants 5 and 6 the contact with the rural community of their return had never ceased and informants 3 and 4 had returned on an annual base for seven years prior to their returns. These annual returns, however, while preparing the couple for their return, were not adequate to bridge the gap between the attitudes and life experiences that informant 4 had developed during his overseas residence and those of locals of his return community. As a result, his initial efforts of innovation in the community were met with resistance and led to his exclusion from communal matters. Through continued effort, however, informant 4 was accepted into the community after a couple of years marred by disappointment.

#### *11.4.5 Research question 5*

Research question 5 which stated that regular contact and visits prior to a permanent return will have an alleviating effect on post-return difficulties has been confirmed.

Regular pre-return visits have been mentioned only by informants who returned for family related motives. Amongst culturally motivated returnees of this study, only informant 8 had retained contact with the home community on her tribal land. As a consequence, her post-return experience was different from those culturally motivated returnees described by informants 1 and 2 who experienced severe post-return problems associated with disillusionment and disappointment after returning to a place and community which were unknown to them prior to their return.

Amongst those who returned for family related motives there had been either ongoing contact with the home community (informants 5 and 6), or regular contact during the seven years leading up to the actual return (informants 3 and 4). In the former case, no problems that were specifically associated with the return were mentioned. In the latter case, informants 3 and 4 were well prepared for the self-sufficient lifestyle they encountered upon their return. Nevertheless, their regular returns for holiday purposes



did not prevent informant 4 from struggling to gain community members' acceptance, which he did after a 'couple of years' following their return.

#### *11.4.6 Research question 6*

Research question 6 which stated that destinations are also varied, as are the meanings of 'home' was confirmed in the study as destination places included returnees' places of birth and/or upbringing, spouses' places of upbringing and/or birth, tribal land, or places of origin of one of the parents.

Meanings of home referred to feelings associated with one's personal history, the family's history, spouses' backgrounds, to be near family after deaths of family members, to create a family focus for returnees for family related motives. For culturally motivated returnees, meanings of home related to a traditional Māori lifestyle on family land as an active member of the local community and fulfilment of tribal obligations, and support of the tribe while living on tribal land.

**Appendix 1**  
**SELECTED MĀORI GLOSSARY**

(Moorfield, 2003–2010)

*ahi kā*

(noun) burning fires of occupation – title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time. The group is able, through the use of whakapapa, to trace back to primary ancestors who lived on the land. They held influence over the land through their military strength and defended successfully against challenges, thereby keeping their fires burning.

*atua*

(noun) ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being...

(noun) God

*aroha*

(verb) (-ina,-tia) to love, feel pity, feel concern for, feel compassion, empathise

(noun) affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy

*hapū*

(stative) be pregnant, conceived in the womb

(noun) kinship group, dan, tribe, subtribe – section of a large kinship group

*hāpua*

(stative) be hollow (like a valley), depressed

(noun) pool of water, lagoon

*hui*

(verb) (-a) to gather, congregate, assemble, meet

(noun) gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference

*hunga kainga*

hunga: (noun) group, people, company of people

kāinga: (noun) home, address, residence, village, habitation, habitat

*iwi*

(noun) extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race – often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor.

(noun) strength, bone

*karakia*

(verb) (-tia) to recite ritual chants, say grace, pray, recite a prayer, chant

(noun) prayer, grace, blessing, (church) service

(noun) incantation, (ritual) chant, intoned incantation – chants recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures

*kawa*

(verb) (-ia,-ina) to perform the kawa ceremony, open a new house

(noun) a ceremony to remove tapu from a new house or canoe

(noun) karakia (ritual chants) and customs for the opening of new houses, canoes and other events

(noun) marae protocol – customs of the marae and whareniui, particularly those related to formal activities such as pōhiri, speeches and mihimihi

*kaumātua*

(verb) (-tia) to grow old, grow up

(noun) adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman

(adjective) be elderly old, aged

*kōhanga reo, te*

(noun) Māori language preschool

*kura kaupapa*

(noun) primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction

*mana*

prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma

*mana whenua*

(noun) territorial rights, power from the land – power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land. The tribe's history and legends are based in the lands they have occupied over generations and the land provides the sustenance for the people and to provide hospitality for guests

*Māoritanga*

Māori culture, practices and beliefs

*marae*

be generous, hospitable

courtyard – the open area in front of the whareniui, where formal greeting and discussion take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae

*Muriwhenua*

(location) North Cape area of the North Island, Far North (i.e. north of Kaitia)

*pā*

(noun) fortified village, fort, stockade, screen, blockade, city (especially a fortified one)

*Pākehā*

(noun) New Zealander of European descent

(noun) exotic – introduced from or originating in a foreign country

*papa kāinga*

(noun) original home, home base, village

*pepeha*

(verb) (-tia) to say, exclaim, be the subject of a saying

(noun) tribal saying, proverb (especially about a tribe), set form of words, formulaic expression, figure of speech, motto, slogan

*rangatahi*

(noun) younger generation, youth

*rangatira*

(stative) be rich, well off, noble, esteemed, revered

(noun) chief (male or female), chieftain, chieftainess, master, mistress, boss, supervisor, employer, landlord, owner – qualities of a leader is a concern for the integrity and prosperity of the people, the land, the language and other cultural treasures (e.g. oratory and song poetry), and an aggressive and sustained response to outside forces that may threaten these

*reo*

(noun) voice

(noun) language, dialect, speech

*Rerenga Wairua, Te*

(location) Cape Reinga, Departing Place of Spirits

*rūnanga*

(verb): (-tia) to discuss in an assembly

(noun): (tribal) council, assembly, board, boardroom

*takiwā*

(noun) district, area, territory, vicinity, region

(noun) time, period, season

(noun) space

*tangata*

(noun) people, men, persons, human beings

*tangata whenua*

(noun) local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land – people born of the whenua, i.e. of the placenta and of the land where the people's ancestors have lived and where their placenta are buried.

*tangihanga*

(noun) weeping, crying, funeral, rites for the dead

(noun) sound, playing

*tapu*

(stative) be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under atua protection

(noun) restriction – a supernatural condition

*taumata*

(noun) summit, top of a hill, resting place (on a hill), level, grade

*tauparapara*

(noun) incantation to begin a speech – the actual tauparapara used are a way that tangata whenua are able to identify a visiting group, as each tribe has tauparapara peculiar to them

(verb) (-hia, -ngia, -tia) to play together

*tikanga*

(noun) correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice; reason, purpose, motive

correct, right

*tohunga*

(stative) be expert, proficient, adept

(noun) skilled person, chosen expert, priest – a person chosen by the agent of an atua and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of sign indicating talent for a particular vocation

*tūāhu*

(noun) sacred place for ritual practices by a tohunga, consisting of an enclosure containing a mound and marked by the erection of rods which were used for divination and other mystic rites

*tūpuna/tupuna*

(noun) ancestors, grandparents – western dialect variation of tipuna/tīpuna

*tūrangawaewae*

(noun) domicile, place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa

*tūturu*

(stative) be fixed, permanent, real, true, actual

*waiata*

(verb) (-hia, -tia) to sing

(noun) song, chant, psalm

*werowero*

(verb) (hia) to challenge frequently, stab, poke

(noun) stabbing, piercing

*whakapapa*

(verb) (-hia, -tia) to lie flat, lay flat, recite in proper order, recite genealogies

(noun) genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent

*whānau*

(verb) (-a) to be born, give birth

(noun) extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people – in the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members

*whare*

(noun) house, building, residence, dwelling, shed, hut, habitation, people in a house, suit (cards)

*whare wānanga*

(noun) university, place of higher learning – traditionally, places where tohunga taught the sons of rangatira their people's knowledge of history, genealogy and religious practices

*whenua*

(noun) land country

(noun) placenta, afterbirth; ground

*whenua papatipu*

(noun) land under customary title, ancestral land – the base upon which the hapū was nurtured

## Appendix 2

### FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT MURIWHENUA

(Taonui, 2009a-c)

#### *Iwi (tribal) identification*

In the New Zealand censuses since 1991, residents of Māori descent were asked to indicate the tribe to which they were affiliated. The figures below show the number who indicated the Muriwhenua tribes (including those who indicated more than one tribe), and the regions where they were found in the greatest numbers.

|             |                                                                  | <i>Major regional locations</i>     |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ngāi Takoto | 1991 census: 186<br>2001 census: 489<br>2006 census: 774         | Northland: 345<br>Auckland: 291     |
| Ngāti Kahu  | 1991 census: 4,275<br>2001 census: 6,957<br>2006 census: 8,313   | Auckland: 3,549<br>Northland: 2,625 |
| Ngāti Kurī  | 1991 census: 1,395<br>2001 census: 4,647<br>2006 census: 5,757   | Auckland: 2,454<br>Northland: 1,899 |
| Te Aupōuri  | 1991 census: 6,720<br>2001 census: 7,848<br>2006 census: 9,333   | Auckland: 4,104<br>Northland: 2,415 |
| Te Rarawa   | 1991 census: 5,919<br>2001 census: 11,526<br>2006 census: 14,895 | Auckland: 6,843<br>Northland: 4,455 |

#### *European Contact*

On 28 April 1840, 61 Muriwhenua chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi at Kaitiāia. Lieutenant Governor William Hobson assured them that the treaty would control Pākehā settlers and protect Māori lands and interests. Nōpera Pana-kareao encapsulated Māori understanding of the treaty based on these promises, saying, 'Ko te atarau o te whenua i riro i a te kuini, ko te tinana o te whenua i waiho ki ngā Māori' (The shadow of the land will go to the Queen [of England], but the substance of the land will remain with us). One year later he reversed his opinion, saying that the substance of the land had gone to the Queen and that Māori retained only the shadow.

Muriwhenua suffered under government policies on Māori land. The government's investigations into European land purchase claims before the treaty resulted in the loss of about 60,000 hectares. Further government purchases resulted in the alienation of another 113,000 hectares by 1865. By 1890 the government had acquired another 31,000 hectares, so that the Muriwhenua tribes no longer held sufficient lands to



maintain their traditional way of life. Some took up kauri gum digging, but it was a short-term boom. The Waitangi Tribunal conclude that 'with nearly all their usable land gone, Muriwhenua Māori were reduced to penury, powerlessness, and, eventually, state dependence'.

### *Muriwhenua today*

In 2006 there were almost 40,000 Muriwhenua Māori in New Zealand. As a result of huge land losses and marginalisation of Māori society, combined with the migration of Māori to the cities since 1950, less than a third of Muriwhenua people (almost 12,000) lived in the Northland region in 2006. Many lived outside the tribal area, with over 17,000 descendants in the Auckland region.

Muriwhenua people have played an important role in Treaty of Waitangi politics since the 1960s. Whina Cooper led the 1975 Māori land march from Te Hāpua to Parliament.

The tribes have also played a pivotal role in claims before the Waitangi Tribunal, lodging multiple claims since 1994. The Muriwhenua fishing report (1988) was instrumental in the 1992 settlement of Māori claims to offshore fisheries. The Muriwhenua land report (1997) documented the history of land loss and its impact on the tribe. Initially, Muriwhenua land claims were to be settled under the confederation of Te Rūnanga-ō-Muriwhenua. However, after several debates within the tribes, it was decided that each tribe would negotiate separately.

### Appendix 3

#### SELECTED MĀORI CONCEPTS RELATING TO PLACE

The following examples have been mentioned in the text, but their selection is arbitrary from a number of place-related concepts that are in everyday use, not only by Māori, but increasingly by the general public. The list is not exhaustive, nor does the alphabetical order convey a ranking of their importance. There exist variations of concepts' interpretations and the ones cited subsequently are those by authors used in the text.

##### *ahi kaa*

The concept refers to keeping the marae warm with the continuing presence of people (Stokes, 1980, p. 8).

##### *Hawaiki*

Hawaiki is a rich, many-sided place in Māori history, mythology and tradition. It is often referred to in songs, proverbs and genealogies. For example, parents welcome their newborn children with the phrase:

E taku pōtiki, kua puta mai rā koe i te toi i Hawaiki.

My child, you are born from the source, which is at Hawaiki.

Similarly, orators farewell the dead with the phrase:

E ngā mate, haere ki Hawaiki,

Ki Hawaiki nui, ki Hawaiki roa, ki Hawaiki pāmamao.

To the dead, depart to Hawaiki,

To great Hawaiki, to long Hawaiki, to distant Hawaiki.

Hawaiki is the place from which we are born, and it is where we go after we die. Hawaiki, therefore, is deeply associated with the cycle of birth, life and death. This cyclic dimension is only one aspect of a concept shrouded in mystery and complexity. In some traditions Hawaiki is perceived to be a physical place from which the Māori people first emerged before arriving in New Zealand. Others associate it with certain compass points, particularly the east, or regard it as an actual island located somewhere in Polynesia. Yet others believe that Hawaiki can be found in New Zealand. All these traditions and versions represent Hawaiki as a special place full of mystical power and regenerating force – the source and origin of life itself. It is the homeland of many of the major figures of tribal mythology and traditions, including Māui, Tāwhaki, Tiki and Rātā. These and many others lived in Hawaiki, and their deeds serve as examples for succeeding generations. Over numerous generations Hawaiki has become a mythical template for everything that is good, powerful and benevolent in the traditional Māori world view. The importance of Hawaiki traditions to succeeding generations, as both the source and the model for life, is found in the expression:

Ehara i te mea poka hōu mai: nō Hawaiki mai anō.

It is not a new thing done without proper cause: it has come to us all the way from Hawaiki.

Hawaiki is significant as the place where the fullness of life is first envisioned and experienced. It is the beloved image of life's origin and purpose. And Hawaiki is where human regeneration is secured and human life finds meaning (Royal, 2009).

#### *iho whenua*

When a child's umbilical cord was cut and buried with the afterbirth in the land, it was known as an iho whenua. The iho whenua of a child of rank was marked by the planting of a tree. The tree was named as the iho whenua of that child and signified ownership as well as connection to the land. The iho whenua was cited in any disputes over territory (Walker, 1990, p. 70).

#### *mana whenua*

Mana whenua is about the links between tribal strength, integrity and survival (Durie, 1994, p. 36). Thus, mana whenua lies outside the individual, but within the land and the community inhabiting it (Durie, 1999, p. 358). Mana whenua can be acquired through a number of ways such as conquest, gift or whakapapa (genealogy). In this sense, mana whenua refers to the bond of a group of people or an individual to a specific place which is strengthened by a continual occupation of that place throughout generations (Patterson, 2000, p. 19). Continual land ownership is the basis for health and well-being of the tribe, be it understood in economic terms, where land provides for physical needs in its capacity to produce, or as an anchor providing a source of personal and tribal identity as well as a link with kin (Durie, 1994, p. 36).

#### *marae*

The commonly accepted definition by the Department of Māori affairs states that: although technically the word marae refers to the open space in front of the meeting house upon which various ceremonial occasions are centred, it would be true to say that in the eyes of most people today and in common parlance, a marae consist of a Māori meeting house or hall together with surrounding land (normally a significant area of open ground) and buildings used in conjunction with the meeting house or hall; the whole being located on a defined parcel of parcels of land and administered by legally appointed trustees of a trust body for the common use of benefit of a defined group of Māori (Town and Country Planning Bulletin, 1975). Maraes are used for a range of human activities and experiences starting with birth, through marriage to death, but also for business and meetings for any kind of decision that affects the community (Stokes, 1980, p. 25). Rural tribal marae are as important for the urban Māori populations as for rural Māori as many urban Māori return to their ancestral rural communities when the occasion demands it (Town and Country Planning Bulletin, 1975). Thus the marae is the focus of Māori community life, it is the sacred ground and a place where Māori language and custom prevail (Stokes, 1980, p. 4) and as such it epitomises Māori cultural identity (Asher and Naulls, 1987). However, a marae flourishes as a focus of community life only when there is a core of people associated with it, termed 'ahi kaa' (Stokes, 1980, p. 8).

### *papakaiinga*

The term refers to a collection of surrounding homesteads of kin groups around a marae (Webster, 1998, p. 35) and can be literally translated as 'earth-village' (Hooson, 1984, p. 52). Originally it referred to a piece of land which was set aside around the marae specifically for housing – 'housing land', and thus comprised the housing area associated with a marae to keep it warm (Hooson, 1984, p. 52). Today, this cluster of dwellings continues to be characterised by strong family associations because it has culture, history and community associations which link different individuals of the same family (Stokes, 1980). Papakainga have emotional significance because of the generations of illustrious forebears who resided there. They are tapu and of special cultural significance as are urupa (burial sites) and herenga waka (mooring or landing places of canoes) (Walker, 1987).

### *tangata whenua*

The Māori describe themselves as 'tangata whenua', people (tangata) of the land (whenua). At the centre of this relationship with the land is the idea that the Earth-mother herself, Papa-tuanuku, is the ancestor of the Māori (Patterson, 2000). This analogy of a personal relationship with land and people is supported by the fact that whenua refers to the placenta as well as the land (Pere, 1982). Although the term is commonly used, it is fraught with wide interpretations and authorities have often struggled to define what responsibilities and rights are associated with it. In the context of policy making the failure to distinguish between rights to allocate and rights to use land has compromised the status of tangata whenua (Kawharu, 2001). The idea of 'tangata whenua', though, relates to particular places for which a particular group of people is responsible and over which they have authority and control (Patterson, 2000; Durie, 1999). The special status of tangata whenua also prescribes and allows for the demonstration of a capacity for hospitality, which is referred to as mana (special standing) whenua (land) (Durie, 1999).

### *taunaha whenua*

'...the claiming of the land...was fixed at the outset when people bestowed their mana on the land by naming it after themselves or after some event enhancing their mana. The latter would be re-told and transmitted to successive generations. Certain ancestors would depict certain virtues and their descendants would see them as models, as heroes and heroines' (Norman, 1998, p. 200).

### *tūrangawaewae*

The term literally means 'standing (turanga) feet (waewae)' (Patterson, 2000). The term refers to people's belonging to the land and being part of the land (Durie, 1999). Thus the relationship between tangata whenua and their land is characterised by a deep spirituality as the land is seen as the provider of the inhabitants' inner being as much as their physical needs (Patterson, 2000). In that sense, a Māori person's identity as tangata whenua is literally grounded (Durie, 1999) and inextricably bound to his/her relationship with a defined part of the land (Kawharu, 1979; Walker, 1990).

The bonds between tangata whenua and their lands are not easily broken (Patterson, 2000) as recent experience has shown: Māori families in rural areas often like to live on their own land even when they are not using it for farming purposes and even though it may not be in the most convenient location in relation to their employment (Town and Country Planning Bulletin, 1975). Similarly, the expansion of the urban area causes considerable concern to Māori who wish to preserve their turangawaewae in instances where ancestral lands and marae are threatened (Stokes, 1980).

### *tūāhu*

Places that were set aside as sacred were termed 'tuahu'. Usually they didn't seem to be marked in any way, but at times unworked stones were set up at such a place (Best, 1976).

### *ūkaipō*

'The place of nurturing', literally: the place where a person is suckled. The term also refers to the place in which a person grew up, where s/he was raised on the 'fat of the land', especially during childhood. When a person dies it is expected that s/he to be interred with the bones of the ancestors, that is: 'at home' (Barlow, 1994, p. 143).

### *whenua*

'Whenua' in Māori is the placenta by which the descendant is nourished, but it also refers to the land, the body of Papatuanuku, the provider of nourishment and sustenance for their myriads of descendants (Pere, 1982). The term 'whenua' thus embodies a relationship between land and motherhood: 'the land is our mother and father, it is the loving parent who nourishes us, sustains us...when we die it folds us in its arms (Te Puea, cited in Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora Māori o Ngai Tahu, 1998, p. 27). Like the mother nourishes the person, so does the land, providing the individual with a link with the environment. Just as bonding between mother and child is crucial, so is the bonding between the person and the land for the development of a secure identity (Durie, 1999). Traditionally, the placenta was buried in a special place thus forming a bond between the newborn and Papatuanuku, the Earth mother (Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora Māori o Ngai Tahu, 1998, p. 68). Destroying the whenua would mean to destroy the child's mana as the mauri of the living child would be gone (Teone Taare Tikao cited in Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora Māori o Ngai Tahu, 1998, p. 68). 'Māori should take the placenta back to their cemeteries. To follow traditions such as this one give us identity (Waireti Walters-Ratima cited in Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora Māori o Ngai Tahu, 1998, p. 69);

### *Selected concepts associated with 'whenua'*

Available from: <http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/index.cfm?dictionaryKeywords=whenua&n=1&idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&search.x=28&search.y=8>  
[Accessed 14 December 2010].

*whenua tapu*: sacred land, dead ball area (rugby)

*whenua taunaha*: named land – land claimed by right of discovery

*whenua papatipu*: land under customary title, ancestral land – the base upon which the hapū was nurtured

*whenua raupatu*: confiscated land – land taken by force

*whenua pīrere*: temporarily occupied land

*whenua ōhākī*: deathbed land grant – by a dying chief

*whenua tuku*: gifted land

*whenua rāhui*: reserve – land set aside for a special purpose

*mana tangata whenua*: indigenous rights

*whakauru whenua*: to preserve the land title

## Appendix 4

### EXAMPLES OF INDIGENOUS PLACE IDENTITY

The following examples of indigenous identity in relation to place are selected arbitrarily from authors and case studies mentioned in the text. The first reference provided is the source of the information; all other references are cited in the source's reference. Their order of citation is random and not based on any criteria, nor has their validity been examined or investigated.

#### *Hawai'i*

(Kana'iaupuni and Liebler, 2005, pp. 691-692)

The unique characteristic that Native Hawaiians will always have (as opposed to other social groups of the US) is their genealogical connection to Hawai'i as the ancestral homeland. In questions of identity, therefore, place plays a critical role through Native Hawaiian traditions and customs that weave together physical, spiritual, and social ties to the land and sea. Included, for example, is the sophisticated knowledge of agriculture, aquaculture, and astronomy developed by Hawaiians; shared respect for earth forms (e.g., lava flows, rock formations, soil disposition, etc), winds, rains, places – each named for its particular form and tendencies as living entities; genealogical traditions linking people, spirits, and places; and the collective memory of a shared political and social history.

Physically, a deep source of Hawaiian connectedness is in ties to the land and sea, expressed in the proverb 'ka maui o ka 'āina a he maui kānaka, the life of the land is the life of the people' (Oneha 2001). Like many indigenous cultures, the relationship between identity and geographic place encompasses living off the natural resources of the land, traditional cultural uses, and historical connections to places (Kanahele 1986; Lindstrom 1999). Unlike Western land tenure systems, Hawaiian and Pacific perspectives stem from traditional practices of collective ownership, where rights to land/sea access were negotiated by generation and family lineage as well as personal, family and community need (Rapport 1999). 'Āina', the Hawaiian word for land most commonly used today, also means 'to eat', signifying the physical relationship between people and the earth that they tend. Importantly for identity processes, Hawaiians see a dynamic, intimate relationship in the reciprocal nature of caring for the land (mālama 'āina) as it cares for the people, much like a family bond (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992b).

Symbolic connections to ancestry, history, and cultural values are also firmly embedded in individual and collective definitions of place. One way that these connections are made explicit is through naming practices associated with land, sea and heavens. In aboriginal theory, 'cultural principles embedded in names illustrate a people's cognitive relationship with their surroundings' (Kennedy 2002, p. 17). Place names link the past and the present, displaying the interwoven significance of place, history, and personal relationships. Kanahele (1986) points out that no place with any significance went without a name in Hawaiian tradition.

Across the Pacific, identity is borne of establishing one's genealogical ties to ancestral beginnings. Ancestral ties include not only people, but the natural and spiritual worlds. Hawaiian scholar, Kame'eleihiwa (1992b, p. 2) writes that Hawaiian identity

is . . . 'derived from the Kumulipo, the great cosmogonic genealogy'. Its essential lesson is that every aspect of the Hawaiian conception of the world is related by birth, and as such, all parts of the Hawaiian world are one indivisible lineage. . . . the genealogy of the Land, the Gods, Chiefs, and people intertwine with one another. In Hawaiian culture, genealogical chants identify the lines of trust and social connection in addition to telling family histories. Kame'eleihiwa argues that genealogical chants 'reveal the Hawaiian orientation to the world about us, in particular, to Land and control of the Land' (p. 3). Ancestral genealogies also carry the names that ground today's Hawaiians to an honoured past, as much as they pave the way to a wiser future (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992b).

These traditions are still important to many in contemporary Hawai'i. It is fairly common practice to identify one's lineage and where one was raised, including connections to a specific mountain, valley, wind, rain, ocean and water. Culture-based leadership training, schools, and education programmes continue to instil these practices in today's young Hawaiians. Articulating these connections in social interactions provides an important context for social relationships and negotiations between individuals and groups. It is not uncommon for Hawaiian community meetings to begin with genealogical introductions that interweave the places and people behind each individual in attendance. Found throughout the Pacific islands in various forms, this process often requires a significant amount of time but establishes important relationships for the work to be conducted.

The importance of place to Hawaiian identity is powered not only by ancestral genealogy, but also by the collective memory of a shared history. Hawai'i, the place, connects the Hawaiian diaspora through 'social relations and a historical memory of cultural beginnings, meanings and practices, as well as crises, upheavals and unjust subjections as a dispossessed and (mis)recognized people' (Halualani 2002, p. xxvi). As with genealogical chants, the public remembering of the shared history of Hawaiians is a catalyst for strengthened identity.

*(Australian) Aboriginal connection with land and place*

(Ramsay, 2003, p. 111)

Aboriginal attachments to place underscore an innate, intimate connection between land, identity, law and culture that is 'fundamentally different . . . to the commodifying logic of the [colonial/]capitalist state' (Gibson, 1999). Yunupingu states: Our land is our life. This belief is central to Aboriginal people's existence . . . Aboriginal belief systems based on affinity to land underpin Aboriginal existence . . . [W]e believe the land is all life . . . we are part of the land and the land is part of us (Yunupingu, 1997). Land thus lies at the heart of Aboriginal spirituality; it is the life source for all that is connected to a place (Dodson, 1997). Lovett (1999 cited in Ramsay, 2003, p. 111) invites us to: 'Feel the country. Sit down and put your hand on a stone, and feel the warmth of the sun in that stone. Put your hand against that tree and feel it swaying, because it too is a living thing'.

*Vanuatu*

(Bonnemaison, 1985)

Identity in Melanesia is a geographical one that flows from the memories and values attached to places (p. 30). Membership in a clan or social group, individual or



collective identity is inherited through a network of places, the sum total of which constitutes a territory (p. 30). A group's territory is shared by current inhabitants with the ancestors who have lived there since time immemorial (p. 31) and with future generation yet to come (p. 32). The relationship between humans and place is such that no one can leave for long, otherwise s/he would alienate his/her identity (p. 32).

The doctrine of attachment to the place of first appearance of clan ancestors also provides the basis for the political control of space. Journeying from that territory is tightly controlled by the group and endowed with its purpose comparable to a mission. Journeying takes place along specified roads of mythical origin related to myths of origin (p. 33). Subsequent mythical cycles detail the evolution of territories, notably through the myth of the monster Semo-Semo who was killed and its body parts scattered around the island, resulting in the definition and naming of the various territories (p. 36) by the founding ancestor. These territories provide their inhabitants with a sense of security through the spatial organisation of networks of social spaces (p. 39) rather than economical advantages through, for example, fertile soils. Social spaces are central places bearing symbolic and ritual significance such as dancing grounds in the shade of a great banyan tree, sacred places connected with magic stones as well as dwelling sites and garden areas (p. 39). At the centre of each territory is the root-place – or 'stamba' (p.41), where the founding ancestor first appeared, and which is from where identity and territorial rights governing access to land emanate (p. 41).

*Navajo perspectives on Birth, Keyah (land), place and identity*

(Lamphere, 2007, p. 1141)

Navajo identity is tied to three important concepts: birth, land (Keyah) and place. Birth creates kinship (k'e) and one's most important relationships, but it is also tied to the land and place. One is 'born up and out of the mother's womb'. A person is born of their mother's clan and 'born for' their father's clan. The placenta is buried so as to return it to Mother Earth. The cord is also buried in a place that will have significance for what the person will become. A boy's cord was often buried in the horse corral or planted fields, if the mother wanted him to become a good provider. A girl's cord might have been buried in the sheep corral (so that her thoughts would be with her livestock) or near the loom in the hogan (if the girl was to become a good weaver). As Schwarz (1997 cited in Lamphere, 2007, p. 1141) explains, 'Burial of the cord in the earth anchors the child to the 'belly button' of Mother Earth and establishes a lifelong connection between a person and a place, just as the cord anchors a child to its mother while in the womb and establishes a lifelong connection between mother and child.

## Appendix 5

### MURIWHENUA LAND REPORT – SUMMARY

<http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/summary> [Accessed 23 October 2010].

Claim Wai 45 was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal in December 1987 by the Honourable Matiu Rata and concerned the acquisition of land in the Far North.

The Tribunal constituted to hear the claim comprised Chief Judge Eddie Durie (presiding), Bishop Manuhua Bennett, Sir Monita Delamere, Joanne Morris, and Professor Evelyn Stokes. Following the death of Sir Monita in April 1993, the Tribunal continued with a quorum of four.

Fifteen hearings were held between August 1990 and June 1994, and in March 1997 the Tribunal released the Muriwhenua Land Report, which covered pre-1865 land transactions. The Tribunal was satisfied that the claims to 1865 were well founded and that the consequences had been such that recommendations for the transfer of substantial assets, to be effected as soon as practicable, would be appropriate. However, it held off making recommendations until the parties had been heard on the issue of remedies.

In all, the Muriwhenua claims are about the acquisition of land under a show of judicial and administrative process. They concern Government programmes instituted to relieve Māori of virtually the whole of their land, with little thought being given to their future wellbeing or to their economic development in a new economy. There is little difference between that and land confiscation in terms of outcome, for in each case the long-term economic results, the disintegration of communities, the loss of status and political autonomy, and despair over the fact of dispossession are much the same.

In 1990, while the inquiry was proceeding, the claimants asked the Tribunal to intervene in the sale of 1183 hectares of Kaimaumuau land adjoining Rangaunu Harbour. In a short report, the Report on Kaimaumuau Lands, the Tribunal recommended that the Crown take all steps that it reasonably could to retain or recover the land at Kaimaumuau about to be sold by the State-owned enterprise Landcorp, and that like measures be taken to prevent the sale of other State enterprise or Crown surplus land in Muriwhenua during the currency of the Muriwhenua inquiry.

## Appendix 6

### PREFACE TO MURIWHENUA LAND CLAIM

<http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/scripts/reports/reports/45/F1D879E3-9CFC-4099-96AF-0884BC61B0F5.pdf> [Accessed 23 October 2010]

This report covers seven claims in Muriwhenua, the country's most northerly district. [As depicted in figure 1], its southern end is fixed by a line from Whangape Harbour in the west to north of Whangaroa in the east, following the Maungataniwha Range. Since Māori hapu or tribes were not generally defined by land boundaries in the manner of states, and were mobile, this boundary is chosen for reasons of geography only. There are hapu with customary interests on either side of this division but, over the several years of the Tribunal's hearing, no one contended that the overlaps need affect this report or the disposal of the claims.

It substantially assisted the Tribunal's progress that, throughout the proceedings on land, fish, and other matters, from 1986 to the closing addresses on the first part of the land claim in 1994, all but one of the claims were represented through a single body, the Runanga o Muriwhenua. The runanga arranged research and legal representation for all claims for the principal hapu aggregations of Ngati Kuri, Te Aupouri, and Ngai Takoto on the northern peninsula, Te Rarawa in the west and Ngati Kahu of the central area around Doubtless Bay. Only one claim was outside this arrangement. Owing to their distinctive experiences, Ngati Kahu o Whangaroa were heard separately in respect of lands east of Mangonui harbour. The six principal groupings mentioned covered all the claims made to the Tribunal. although within or related to those umbrella groups are other hapu that have customary associations with the area.

The location of the various groups [as shown in figure 1] is approximate only. Because of the past mobility and varying fortunes of the hapū over time, hapū locations and the extent of their influence have regularly changed and relationships are so close it is overly pedantic to divide them. For the purpose of the history that this report describes, it is necessary to show only the main areas of influence for the larger hapū groupings.

It is not assumed, however, that the coordination under the Runanga o Muriwhenua still applies. It may do, but in 1996 the Tribunal received notices indicating that some sections of Ngāti Kuri, Ngati Kahu, Ngai Takoto, and Te Rarawa, and also the Murupaenga whānau, now seem to be represented independently. They and the runanga have yet to be heard on these matters.

When the claims were first brought to hearing, as long ago as 1986, the historical land claims were adjourned when the claimants sought urgent hearing in relation to certain contemporary events. The first was the intended transfer of Crown assets to various State-owned enterprises, which, the claimants said, would prejudice the chances of recovery against the Crown if claims were proven. The Tribunal reported on that matter and eventually, after court proceedings and the involvement of other tribes, a protective scheme was settled on a national basis. The second was the Government's proposed allocation of fish quota. In a test case for all Māori, the claimants were diverted to lengthy proceedings on the nature of the Muriwhenua fisheries. The outcome, again, was a report followed by a national settlement. The third related to the Mangonui sewerage scheme, on which the Tribunal reported in 1988. The

Tribunal was then diverted to other business, and it was not until later that a reconstituted Tribunal returned to consider the land claims.

At the first hearings, in 1986, the claimants contended that the Crown's Treaty of Waitangi promise to protect Māori interests could not have been upheld when Muriwhenua Māori had been so deprived of land as to be poverty-stricken soon after European settlement began. No one was certain how that had come about, but the claimants contended the result spoke so amply for itself that the Crown should look into the matter and advise. As this report explains, we have sympathy for that view. There is sound judicial opinion that the Crown has a legal responsibility to establish the validity of its extinguishment of native title, and a Treaty responsibility to show the steps taken to protect Māori interest in the process. However, the Tribunal itself, as constituted under the Treaty of Waitangi Act, has no independent research capacity to ensure a full examination of all matters and, accordingly, the Tribunal commissioned Dr. Rihy and Mr. Koning to provide an historical report.

The scope of the claims became apparent as research was presented and the historical events unfolded. Such were the issues, however, it was felt that the claims would not be well managed without dividing the historical field. As most of the Muriwhenua land had passed from Māori ownership by 1865, when the Native Land Court heralded a new administrative order, it was decided to limit the initial inquiry to causes of action or to policies complained of that was established before that date. This division could not be enforced with undue rigidity, however, and the inquiry proceeded beyond 1865 to determine the final outcome of policies previously in place.

Although the issues did not become apparent until the research had progressed, the Tribunal did not require the filing of further claim particulars. Instead, prior to the closing addresses, the issues were determined from the data then to hand. ...

It was further decided to report no more than our findings of fact and interpretation, and, if it appeared the case at this stage was well founded, to assess the situation before proceeding further. The Tribunal is satisfied that the claims to 1865 are well founded and that the consequences have been such that recommendations for the transfer of substantial assets, to be effected as soon as practicable, would be appropriate. Those interested will now be heard on whether the Tribunal should proceed to consider recommendations for relief, or whether, instead, negotiations will be sought, or the inquiry continued into post-1865 matters. Already some research has been done, and evidence given, on the later period.

The Taemaro claim relates to Ngati Kahu o Whangaora and lands east of Mangonui harbour. It is included in the third report as it is part of the same district and has been affected by the same history. There are also some differences; however, including on that the claim was limited to causes of action arising before 1865. These differences enable the Taemaro claim to be severed from mediation but, no settlement being achieved, it was reinstated in the current inquiry. The Tribunal is satisfied that the Taemaro claim is well founded, and we will now hear claimants and the Crown on the recommendations to be made to conclude all matters.

This report has conclusions based on evidence far too voluminous to record in detail. A fuller summary of many aspects, by Tribunal member Professor Evelyn Stokes, has been relied on and is available as part of the Tribunal's record. A record of the inquiry,

of the proceedings and the documents, is printed as appendix and is followed by a bibliography of texts to which the Tribunal referred.

## Appendix 7

### ENGLISH VERSION OF THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

<http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/english.asp> [Accessed 24 October 2010]

The following version of the Treaty is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

#### Preamble

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands—Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

#### Article The First

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

#### Article The Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

#### Article The Third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

W. HOBSON Lieutenant Governor.

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof: in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty.

[Here follow signatures, dates, etc]

## Māori Version of the Treaty of Waitangi

<http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/Māori.asp> [Accessed 24 October 2010]

The following version of the Treaty is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

### Preamble

KO WIKITORIA, te Kuini o Ingarani, i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga, me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata Māori o Nu Tirani-kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira Māori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te Wenua nei me nga Motu-na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei.

Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Māori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana.

Na, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aianeī, amua atu ki te Kuini e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.

### Ko te Tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu-te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

### Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu-ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te Wenua-ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

### Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini-Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata Māori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

(Signed) WILLIAM HOBSON,

Consul and Lieutenant-Governor.

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu.



Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga.

## Appendix 8

### KOHANGA REO

#### *Kōhanga Reo National Trust*

[http://www.kohanga.ac.nz/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1](http://www.kohanga.ac.nz/index.php?option=com_content&view=frontpage&Itemid=1) [Accessed 24 October 2010]

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust was established in 1982 and formalised as a charitable trust in 1983. The Mission of the Trust is the protection of Te reo, tikanga me nga ahuatanga Māori by targeting the participation of mokopuna and whanau into the Kōhanga Reo movement and its Vision is to totally immerse Kohanga mokopuna in Te Reo, Tikanga me nga ahuatanga Māori.

The Trust, as the governing body, has therefore had a key role in providing the support needed by Kohanga Reo. This support has involved specific investment in mokopuna, whānau, and their cultural infrastructure of language, kinship, relationship management, whānau learning, and whānau decision-making.

“The quality of learning and development of mokopuna stems from the collective strength of the whānau.

Te Kōhanga Reo training and qualifications strengthens the whānau within Te Ao Māori which will enhance whānau and mokopuna development”.

#### *Kōhanga Reo – History*

[http://www.kohanga.ac.nz/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=4&Itemid=10](http://www.kohanga.ac.nz/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4&Itemid=10) [Accessed 24 October 2010]

Te Kōhanga Reo was begun in 1981 by the Department of Māori Affairs in response to Māori concern to ensure the continuing survival of the Māori language. The first Kōhanga Reo, Pukeatua, was opened in 1982 (near Wellington). From 1982 to 1989 Kōhanga Reo flourished in an environment of excitement and celebration. One hundred Kōhanga Reo were established in 1982 and growth continued until 1994 when there were 800 Kōhanga Reo catering for 14,000 mokopuna. Kōhanga Reo were virtually springing forth all over the country and with very little financial assistance from government.

However, in 1990 the responsibility for Kōhanga Reo was transferred from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education. The move of the Kōhanga Reo operations from the Department of Māori Affairs to the newly formed Ministry of Education put greater emphasis on more regulatory controls for Kōhanga Reo. This change had huge implications at the grass root level.

Kōhanga Reo had to come to terms with the regulatory environment and compliances of the early childhood sector and a mainstream department, whilst maintaining the unique kaupapa of the Kōhanga Reo movement. Such a system of measurement often came at a heavy cost to our kaupapa.

Despite this the Kōhanga Reo movement continued to grow in answer to the desperate cry from kaumātua (elders), parents and rangatahi (the young) to save the Māori

language from disappearing. The hearts of the people were captured and under the guidance of kaumātua throughout the country the movement flourished.

### *Kōhanga Today*

The language still has a fragile hold in Māori society as a whole, but every year now there are several thousand young children entering the education system already fluent in the language and tikanga (customs) of their ancestors.

This remarkable turnaround was not an accident but the result of a deliberate decision in Māoridom to keep the language alive. These mokopuna (grandchildren), and there are now something like 60,000, are the young "graduates" of the Kōhanga Reo movement.

Te Kōhanga Reo without question has flourished on the realisation that all members of the whānau are extremely significant and valuable in the lives of the mokopuna. They provide a climate that is caring, joyful and secure where the mokopuna learn their language and values. This results in children and whānau who are more confident and proud.

Since its inception the Kōhanga Reo movement has been hailed as one of the most exciting and powerful national initiatives undertaken by Māori people. It has had an impact on New Zealanders, on the government of this country and indeed on the international scene. This success is due to belief in the kaupapa, the unconditional commitment required of the people and the knowledge that 'the child shall lead the way'.

**Appendix 9**  
**FIGURES AND TABLES**

Table 4: Distribution of ethnic descent populations, 1996, percentages, for urban areas of usual residence:

|             | European | Māori | Pacific Is. | Asian | Total |
|-------------|----------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|
| Total urban | 84.4     | 83.1  | 97.1        | 97.3  | 85.4  |

Source: Bedford & Goodwin, 1997

Table 5: Percent usually resident in main, secondary and minor urban areas

| Census year | 1991 | 1996 | 2001 |
|-------------|------|------|------|
| Male        | 82,5 | 82,5 | 83,5 |
| Female      | 83,7 | 83,8 | 84,5 |
| Total       | 83,1 | 83,1 | 84,0 |

Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2002

Table 6: Inflows and outflows by area type of usual residence and birthplace, total people of Māori ethnicity, 2006 census

|          | Main Urban | Secondary Urban | Minor Urban | Rural Centre | Rural and other | Total |
|----------|------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|-------|
| Inflows  | 21201      | 5586            | 10635       | 3654         | 12780           | 53856 |
| Outflows | 17496      | 5697            | 13326       | 4422         | 12915           | 53856 |

Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2006

Table 7: Percent of Māori internal migrants for 1986-2006 censuses

| Census year               | 1986 | 1991 | 1996 | 2001 | 2006 |
|---------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Stayers                   | 52.6 | 46.6 | 45.5 | 38.7 | 38.2 |
| Movers within New Zealand | 47.4 | 53.4 | 54.5 | 61.3 | 61.8 |

Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2006

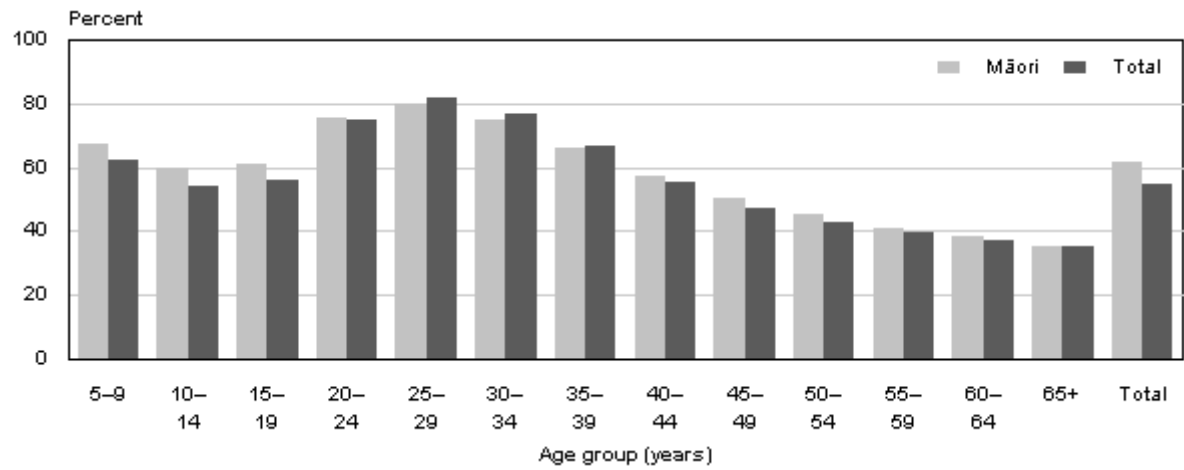


Figure 3: Māori ethnic group and total New Zealand internal migrant movers – percentage of each age group, 2006 census

Source: [www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/internal-migration-report/Māori-mobility-in-new-zealand](http://www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/internal-migration-report/Māori-mobility-in-new-zealand)

## Appendix 10

### TRANSCRIPTS OF INTERVIEWS

Transcripts of the interviews are presented in full and in the order of Table 2 'Summary of return motives' in Chapter 7. Translations of Māori terms are based on translations extracted from the online Māori dictionary and they appear as footnotes as does background information to points mentioned by informants. Each transcript is preceded by a brief summary about the informant and the context within which the interview took place. With the exception of the published interviews of two prospective returnees, informants' names and other information that may allow for identification have been omitted for privacy reasons.

#### *Abbreviated interview with Brenda Burt*

Metro, 1984. Korero, the way we are. September issue, pp. 80-84.

Brenda Burt is 28. She describes herself as quarter caste Māori. She is of Ngāpuhi<sup>34</sup> descent but can't be more specific about tribal affiliation. Her mother is Māori, her father English. They live in Auckland. Brenda is married to Peter, a Pākehā, and has two children, Jason and Selina, both pre-schoolers. She was brought up in Auckland. At present she is on maternity leave from a government department office job and is involved four days a week with the kōhanga reo<sup>35</sup> in Freeman's Bay.

'I was put into Pākehā society – my mother thought it was the right thing to do, to get educated, to get me to have a job and to be married and have children. But now I have suddenly woken up, mainly by having children – all of a sudden it came to me that I am a Māori and not a Pākehā. I always had a background of Māori; when I was a teenager I was put into a cultural group. I was taught how to go onto a marae<sup>36</sup>. But that's all it was. Then all of a sudden these values of culture, of being in a culture group and going on the maraes, to tangis<sup>37</sup> – its woken up, these values I have had surrounding my childhood and probably adulthood. My mother hasn't really cut me off from it because she's not cut off from it. Her Māoriness is part of her, now it's part of me – whereas before I did exclude myself because I thought it was the right thing to do. Now that I've woken up I really have turned anti-state, because the set-up is state, like you're put into a school where you learn Māori things.

Most of my family are situated in Auckland. Most of us are striving for our Māoritanga and also to identify ourselves as Māoris, not Pākehā-Māoris. I've always been classified as a Pākehā-Māori. I know in myself that I am Māori. I hate being classified as Pākehā-Māori. But with my mother and other members of my family, I can understand why they said it because I was put into a Pākehā school; I had Pākehā friends (who I'm still friends with). I was never really given the chance to be with my own people until now.

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<sup>34</sup> tribal group of much of Northland

<sup>35</sup> The kōhanga reo movement, literally 'language nest', was initiated as part of the Māori renaissance with the aim of retaining the Māori culture through total immersion of children between birth and six years of age in the language and within an appropriate cultural context while enabling people of all ages to meet and work together towards a bilingual and bicultural nation (appendix 8).

<sup>36</sup> courtyard and building complex for official gatherings

<sup>37</sup> abbreviation for tangihanga: funeral, rites for the dead

In our family group we're searching for our Māoritanga. It's funny, we all want to go back to our land, get away from the city. We feel we are better off on our land than in the city. Up there, there's no pressure, no set standards. Your life up there is just to survive and be happy.

We want to head back to our tupuna<sup>38</sup>. We're working towards building a marae; it gives us unity in the city. We meet once a month, we try to work together to raise funds for this marae<sup>39</sup>.

I want to get what I can out of that land. That's not money, but to learn about my ancestors. My mother gave me the Māori environment, but I wasn't aware of it because my father had a lot of influence on me. There's no hard feelings over me going into my Māoritanga, but he's got that idea that Māoritanga doesn't do anything for you. He just doesn't understand. My mother understands.

I am not anti-Pākehā, but I am anti-system and angry at what I missed out on. All of a sudden I've put myself in this type of environment where I'm happy and content. If I had to choose between my Pākehā friends and my Māoritanga, I'd pick my Māori heritage, because that's the stronger side of me, because I know that's what I want, I know that's what's been missing in my life. I'm hoping that my children won't miss it, that they have the best of both worlds. Through kōhanga reo I want my children to obtain what I missed out on, and that's being Māori, from birth hopefully right through all their life.

*Abbreviated interview with Nin Thomas*

Metro, 1984. Korero, the way we are. September issue, pp. 80-84.

Nin Thomas is 26. She is half Māori and half Yugoslav. She was born in Kaitaia and is also of Ngāpuhi descent, from the Rarawa tribe. She attended boarding school in Auckland. After a business course at AIT (Auckland Institute of Technology) she spent four years in Australia, working as an executive secretary in industrial relations. She returned to New Zealand after the birth of her child because she wanted to be around her family. Nin describes herself as a single parent and lives in a rented flat in Pt. Chevalier with her son Inia who is four. Like Brenda she is involved in the Freeman's Bay kōhanga reo four days a week. She says she has chosen to do this rather than re-enter the work force.

I've been through the education system; I've benefited from it. But I haven't developed the Māori side of me, and I feel that because I have a child I need to develop it with him, because if you don't develop it, don't nurture it, don't cultivate it, it'll die. The only things that grow without all that are weeds. And I don't want him to be like that – I want him to be a whole person. I feel that I've managed that myself but I don't want him to miss out. With Inia it woke me up and made me want to find out more about Māori things.

After he was born, Plunket, day care, play centre, kindy, all those things were European. There was nothing there for him to develop the Māori side of his character.

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<sup>38</sup> ancestor

<sup>39</sup> communal meeting ground in front of and nowadays including a set of buildings that are used for ceremonial and worldly gatherings

There was a danger he'd develop as a slightly tanned European, and I didn't want that. For his sake I would like the system to make some sort of allowance for him. To make room for him so he can develop. I've managed it but that's more good luck than anything else. I'd like him and other children to have the support of the system while they do it.

When I got into kōhanga and actually became aware of the issues that are facing the Māori people. And I also became aware of the issues that Māori people are trying to help themselves. My respect grew for my fellow Māori people. I had been brought up in an European environment and I had just accepted things as they were. As I got more involved [with kōhanga reo] the more aware I became of social issues and pressures. I remember when I was working people would say things to me like 'God, why do Māoris always have big families?', 'Why do Māori always drink?' and that sort of thing, and I would think, that's not very nice, but I wouldn't say anything about it. I had no answer for it. Through being involved with Māori people and discussing these things and talking about it, I became aware of why these things do happen, of the pressures that there are on them, and also of the fact that Māori were trying to alleviate these pressures by helping themselves.

We ask for respect for our culture, for the indigenous culture of New Zealand. New Zealand is the only country in the world where Māori is spoken. Māori is the indigenous language of New Zealand. We are entitled to our heritage. We are entitled to support, to develop, to nurture our heritage. Why mock us for what we want, why feel threatened?

The state is for Pākehās and not Māoris. It is an established system, an established system based on European principles, and the Māori people, the children, the adults, right through our life have to fit into it. A lot of Māori people don't, which is why we have so many problems – they can't fit in within the rigid structure of a European system.

So now we're getting all these alternatives, things like mātua whāngai<sup>40</sup> where Māori people take their own children back, look after their own, rather than have them in the state system where they're put in homes. And kōhanga reo, which is the big thing, which is putting the language back into the children, keeping the language alive by taking the children at birth, taking care of them in an environment where Māori is spoken. It's like forming new whānau based on communities, groups of people together even though there isn't a blood tie. Your common bond is the fact that you are Māori, and you're seeking something that the established system can't provide.

Hopefully these whānau groups will strengthen the identity of young people, give them some purpose and through that, because they're stronger more complete people, strengthen society as a whole. We're developing our children to be a whole person so eventually they should succeed more because both sides of them will be developed. They'll be more successful in European terms and Māori terms. Eventually we think it will probably cut out a lot of the problems that Māori children have now. There will be a greater proportion of Māori people who are confident in themselves who believe in themselves, who are aware of themselves as Māori people, and just as people who matter. Because you have a greater percentage of Māori people who succeed it will change the system through a positive means.

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<sup>40</sup> foster parents



We are asking for respect for our culture. Māori culture belongs to the Māoris, it's their right. The difference between Māori and Pākehā is a cultural difference. For example, we have different attitudes to lots of things. To Māoris, family is the most important thing. Without your family you're nothing. It's more important than a car, more important than having the best house. Europeans are far more materialistic. Europeans in some senses, because of their materialism, are more shallow. With Māoris, being together is important, You're not a person on your own. You're part of a group. Another Māori value is that you take the person for what they are and not what they have. Our value is trying to be happy, not trying to compete with your next door neighbour.

Our parents in some cases (which is why so many Māori people can't speak their own language) have sacrificed the Māori identity of their children, thinking that the kids have to get into the workforce, have to become academics, have to live like Pākehās, do the things that they do, to succeed. They're in awe of the material things the Pākehā has and for that reason a lot of our parents have sacrificed our Māori side. They've produced a person who in a lot of cases is an emotional cripple – well, it's not that harsh, but when you see all the problems, the children. They don't fit into the society their parents want them to fit into. There's something missing, their Māori side isn't developed.

Māori people are very close to the land. The land is more than just a piece of land. It holds your heritage. It's where you come from, it's all your tupunas. It's values of the past. It's quite hard when you are away from your land. In the city there are set standards – you have to wake up in the morning and go to work, whereas in the country you don't really have to do that. Māoris are always considered lazy. But only because their standards are set for them. What's wrong with staying home, what's wrong with just walking, being in the paddocks with the cows, what's wrong with being on the dole in the country? In the country there's not much work for them. They're happy to be living off the land and off the sea. When you think back, that's how our ancestors lived.

We're asking for respect for your right to be different, to come from a different culture. Being a Māori is special. The normal saying is 'Oh, you're lazy buggers'. People who make statements like that just don't understand what a Māori is anyway. We know what a Pākehā is. We understand their values. We don't go around making Pākehā jokes. We respect their point of view, respect that they want to have academic systems. But we don't respect it when they put a Māori down for wanting to go on their marae and wanting to learn the values of their tupunas...

#### *Interview with informant 1*

*13 September 2001, at her home in Auckland*

The informant is a professional Pākehā wife of a working-class Māori husband and the mother of Māori-Pākehā children. Her idealism had motivated her to get involved in Māori revivalism. More specifically, she took on a professional role as historical researcher of genealogical connections of an extended Māori family and their links to tribal land in preparation for a return.

The interview took place a couple of decades after the return described in the interview, allowing for an in-depth reflection on the entire return process complete with precursors, problems, successes, motives and issues surrounding it.

[What motivated them to return] was certainly part of that movement at the time in the late 70s/80s, the belief that here was a better way of living, the communal way. Yes, Māori things were seen by people of my generation to be exotic, I suppose, and so interesting. And here was the answer. Looking back to the past.

Yes, and so it was really that idealism of my generation, I think, that was all part of it. And...just trying to think what it was like then. And a real belief in the idea of community and that Māori had the answer, that they had these truths. And that the more we could be like that the more we would have these truths as well. I wonder, looking back, it was a precursor to new age, that whole mysticism. And trying to find meaning in something, and to check our own world.

A lot of it was due to having children. And thinking that that was ..that very essentialistic idea of 'this is our heritage, they must have it'. If they are deprived of it they'll grow up to be delinquent. And that Māori youngsters are underachieving because they are denied their heritage. So if they are given their heritage they'll be fine. Simplistic really.

..We never went back to live. We were part of a larger family and some members did go back. And some are still there today. [But] they found it much harder [than expected], they had to work very hard. They set up a marine farm that I have written about.<sup>41</sup>

The youngest daughter of the family, her husband was Pākehā, and they found it very difficult, because he was not welcomed. That real rejection of Pākehā. But they stayed and they are still there. And that part of the family then moved back because they were unemployed. They lived in Raglan. And there were six in the family and most of them were unemployed. And so, of course it was the economic opportunity which was the main one to go back and use the land, use the water and to establish the marine farm.

[However, their expectation in terms of communal relations were not fulfilled]. Just like any village: some people get on, others don't, just as you would in the suburbs, actually. There is no mystical wonderful togetherness. They're just people. In fact there is...it could be worse up there. The family broke apart. There was a lot of bitterness and arguing and fighting. Probably because people in such close proximity...it didn't work out as it was intended to at all. About half of them left. There would have been about seven who tried to go and stay. And..no, more than that: about nine. And there are five left up there. ..[it's] because they put so much effort into it and worked so hard that that's their commitment. But the isolation is quite significant. It takes so long to get anywhere...It's in a way like a poor rural lifestyle. It's not a wonderful romantic Māori community of their belief. It's not like that at all. It's hard work. It's isolated, just to touch on it. .... [People lack] probably just variety. One day is pretty much like another and another in such a small community. And concerns about their children's educations, that the school is so small. But they are the concerns that any small rural community has.

[The returnees were not originally born there.] Only the mother had been born there and she had left when she was a little girl. So the only link was through her. And all the children had been born in the city and they didn't know they had any connection to

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<sup>41</sup> Rata, E., 2000. *A Political Economy of Neotribal Capitalism*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

there. They didn't know the name of their tribe, they knew nothing. Until one of the daughters decided to, as part of the Māori renaissance, become quite interested. She started to go to Māori classes. And found out more about her mother's family. It went from there. So it was a mixture of the ideal of the renaissance that she had articulated and she had envisaged that there would be one big happy family within one bigger happier tribe. It seemed very much like that: real pleasure in finding out who relations were, family contact, putting on a big family reunion. But the other one [motive for establishing tribal connections and for an eventual return] was the belief that getting the land would enable the family to survive economically. [They didn't leave much behind.] They lived in rented accommodation. They were unemployed. So this [return] was the hope for their future.

[The land where they returned to] was where she [the mother] came from. I was the very site she had been born on. And the family just went and put a house on it. Took a house up from Auckland and then just altered it. All very basic. There was no electricity for a long time. And of course then people started falling out. Big arguments. Those that left again keep returning for certain occasions and that's fine as long as they can go away again. The house is not big enough for too many people to live in together for too long. [It] was really just a result of over-crowding....[But the others] wouldn't have stayed [even if there had been more space] because they fell out, just a normal family thing of not getting on. And those problems would have occurred wherever they would have gone.

[Those who returned] were in their 20s and 30s. People with young children. So they were committed to creating a better life for their children. That was a strong motivation. ..Now there was a confusion: I think they thought that both things could happen. That the traditional Māori way would give the security and stability which would enable what they really wanted to have, which was education, achievement and getting on. So both those things were, they were hoping that both those things would happen. Of course, the conflict between the two wasn't understood. People today say that if Māori youngsters have a firm basis in their Māoriness they'll achieve educationally, which is perhaps not the case. But that's what we believed.

[Not all spouses were from there, and that created tension.] In fact, none of them were. I think that there is so much conflict up in that area between those who felt that they were a group of newcomers. Very strongly Pākehā newcomers, because these young people, their father was Pākehā, even though their mother was Māori from there. And then there were the Pākehā spouses. So that was another area of conflict. One of them that came was involved with a Māori in the area who was very opposed to Pākehā, very opposed to any inter-marriage and any contact. So that was one of the reasons for the arguments.

[Another problematic] was who should have what land. That was very strong. I think some of them felt that their own relatives would be coming back and there was concern about how the land was going to be divided. [Because] people who came back just took...yes, there was no system. In terms of them to create a system caused so much disagreement. So many individual families did their own thing. ..and there were some arguments, a few arguments.

But in the end, the ones that stayed, were so hard working and so committed and so busy that.... that marine farm they established just provided work for the family. That type of business is, if you don't have much capital then you can't establish a very big one. So it was a small family business really. And just the family members working it.

The two couples who did, well in the end it was really only one couple who made a real go at this. Yes, they just worked really hard. It had a positive effect and also ten years on there is a feeling of stability. The family has a feeling of stability, that someone has done it, it's real. It's been hard, but they are still there and they are involved in the local kōhanga and school. Yes, it has worked for that family.

And the others are able to come and go for specific things. So, although it hasn't been the re-creation of an idealised traditional Māori life it has enabled the family to establish itself. And they are part of something bigger. And yes, they were successful in that way. A family focus, I suppose, culturally. But economically, it's not for the whole family, it's only ever been successful for the nuclear family. They don't want to do all the work and then have people coming and taking that. It's very much like any rural family, Pākehā, Māori whoever: set up a farm, work hard, and relatives come and visit periodically, it's like that.

I sent my boys whose link with the family derives through their Māori father, back to stay with them. They went quite a few times as part of that extended family. But it didn't work out at all well. The conditions were so difficult up there. It's not a ..well, just property. And the last time the boys went back they had gone out in the boat that was sinking – without life jackets. The money I had given them to give towards food and so...they stopped at the Pub just past Ngātaki and bought lots and lots of beer and they left the boys just to smoke marijuana all the time. I was not very happy about it. So I didn't send them again and they didn't want to go again. They were very bored.

I think the Muriwhenua claim has that [improvements of infrastructure to cope with an increase in returns] sorted out and they [returned family members] are involved in all the negotiations. There is a hope that there will be more capital put into the area. Yes, I think there seems the hope that they'd find the capital to develop large scale. I know there is a plan to have a central distribution point for all the very small marine farms in the area instead of everyone doing their own, trying to do their own marketing and so on. They are going to have a co-operative distribution, that kind of thing. Yes, I think that they see themselves just like any, I suppose, pioneer rural community. Getting an economic infrastructure going.

Even though they hadn't been born there they felt that they had complete right to go back. And they worked hard at the time. Finding out their genealogies so they could link up to their own families in the area. They had a very clear sense that they did belong there, even though they hadn't been there before. [The local community] seemed to feel the same. [The mother] returned too, but off and on. She kept her work in Auckland. So she travelled back and forth. But it was her presence, her regular presence that provided that link.

### *Interview with informant 2*

*7 February 2003, at her home in Ahipara (with wonderful muffins)*

(The informant is a middle-aged professional from a rural area to which she returned after a temporary stay in Auckland for study purposes.)

For me it [the return experience] was probably a bit different to others. Because I came home largely because I wanted to... I wanted to be close to family when I met my husband.

I went to Auckland to get my degree and also....there was this real burn-out. I was terribly burnt out, I was down,...but prior to that I've worked ...I left here when I was forty. I am forty six now, going on to forty seven, and I had worked for twenty eight years on land issues. And I got involved in the Treaty claims and everything. I was incredibly burnt out. By 1997, when the Muriwhenua land claim, when the report was released, Margaret Mutu<sup>42</sup> and I were working together. And I said to my people, I've gotta go. And there was a real big concern about me leaving in mid-stream. They thought, she can't get off the horse in midstream. We need you, we need you. But the truth was: they got used to me doing it all by myself. Even the kaumātua would say: 'You've done well', but they wouldn't even accompany me to the meeting. And we were having some big battles within the tribes as well as with the Crown.

So, they held a big meeting because they were so concerned when I said I was leaving. I remember sitting there just feeling hollow and really tired and just listening to them tell me why I couldn't leave. I was full of fear because I wasn't sure whether I could leave, I wasn't sure if anyone else would even employ me. By then I had a bit of a reputation up here anyway. And in some government circles in Wellington it's been difficult to work with because I..I mean, you take a position and then you get entrenched in it, and that's what happened to the whole Muriwhenua thing. And so I was sitting there, well maybe nobody else will employ me anyway. But I had put feelers out anyway down in Auckland and tried for a few things. And I remember going on and on and on for hours in tears, and then one of the kaumātua said to me: 'Your silence is bugging me. What are you thinking, what do you want?' I cried, the tears were just pouring down my cheeks and I remember saying to them: I feel like an eagle trying to fly into a whare paku<sup>43</sup>. I was forty years old, and they still called me 'a girl'. To them I have always been 'a girl'. They were used to me to do whatever they wanted me to do. So that was why I left here in the first place and went to Auckland with very specific goals in mind. To get a qualification. I still had no tertiary qualification. I felt, I had the ability to do so. Also, to re-invent myself. I changed my name [from an English name to its Māori version] (real names omitted for privacy reasons).

And while I was down there I began corresponding by email with a man, and for three and a half years we wrote to each other. My daughter and I had a good life in Auckland. I was able to do my sport. And prior to that I have always been a coach. So I never got to only concentrate on myself. I loved Auckland, and I miss it for a lot of reasons: in Auckland you can be selfish, you can be...I just went out there and paddled by myself in my single, occasionally I'd paddle with a team as a pick-up paddler as I got better and better at it. And I had a very balanced life. I was studying, I was working fulltime, I had my sport, my church life suffered. And I just let it go for – not the full six years – but just got less and less and less. In the process my daughter discovered somebody she loved and she fell in love with him and moved in with him and had a baby and split up with him a few months later. So there were three motives for me to move back here: One was that I completed my degree. One was that my daughter was eighteen and she had this baby and I didn't think Auckland was a great

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<sup>42</sup> Margaret Mutu is of Ngāti Kahu, Te Rarawa and Ngāti Whātua descent, professor of Māori studies at the University of Auckland and University kiua (elder); since 1998 she has been involved in Treaty negotiations for Ngāti Kahu, for which she became the chief negotiator in 2000. She has also been researcher for the Muriwhenua land and Fisheries claim against the Crown

<sup>43</sup> bog, latrine

place for her to be because it was still too close to the whānau of her baby and her father and a lot of negative influences coming from him. And I really thought that the country is a good place to bring your grandchildren up. The third was that the man I had been writing to for three and a half years and I decided that we wanted to meet. And possibly get married. In my heart I knew that although he could work in Auckland more readily than here, it was important for me to have support in case that things didn't work out. As it happens, it has worked out, we have been married now for nine months and he is...it has been a struggle. The other thing I moved back was that we knew that he wouldn't be able to work for a living because he came out here on a visitor's permit only, he didn't have a working permit. I took us six months to get him legal to work. And because we had to live on one salary I felt it was cheaper to live out here.

There wasn't...nothing for me, when I say it was slightly different to a lot of other Māori there weren't any especially cultural reasons other than the family, I suppose. But I wouldn't lay claim to Māori having the monopoly of needing family around them.

A lot of younger ones [Māori] that I have spoken to are moving because they feel lost or they want to find out who they are and who their ancestors were. And just look at the land they came from. Then there are those who find it economically impossible in the city. But the cultural reasons that I have observed are the desire for identity, the connection, sometimes healing: I have spoken to..... Fabulous artist. And she came home when she was really sick and she said... In the end her doctor, or her general practitioner said to her she's got to go home. And she said she came home and she gave up work and it was really hard because she was always used to having money, but she just decided to start painting. She had never done anything like this in her life before. Now she is travelling overseas, showing her exhibitions, and yes, it was that healing, that need for healing that brought her home. And she is still a bit fragile in her health, but she is at least, she feels good in herself and in her spirit she feels good at last.

[Whereas many Māoris who were born and raised in the city return for cultural reasons] it was different [for me]. I was so glad I went to Auckland, the whole urban/rural Māori dichotomy was just starting to surface six years ago [during the mid-90s]. And up here, there was real chauvinism. It was like: bloody urban Māori authorities, who the hell do they think they are, they are just stealing our people for numbers and making money out of it for themselves. But when I went down there what I saw – and there is no such thing as a lost Māori, that's another thing up here – what I saw was their world. Especially working in an area where I was working, where there are often young parents, not married, loosely connected to each other, and truly, I saw some tragic circumstances where, even if they did have parenting, grandparents, those parents and grandparents didn't know what to do. They knew they were Māori, they knew that at the time of death something special should kick in, but they didn't know what. And they weren't providing their young ones with leadership. I can remember one time this baby had died and they didn't know what to do, they didn't know who to call, they didn't know what religion they were. So they didn't know what minister, but they wanted something. They didn't know how to deal with the undertaker or the coroner so I helped them. But when we finally got the body back to the house, they couldn't afford a marae – so they brought the body back to the house, then the issue of when to bury the baby: after 5 days? I said, somebody has to provide leadership here. They kept saying, the older people kept saying: 'it's up to the

Mum and Dad'. But I said 'if it is up to Mum and Dad you are never going to bury this baby, it's not going to be nice'. So, you see that they were lost. While there may be somebody back in their tūrangawaewae<sup>44</sup> to retain the memory of who they were, they don't know who to go to, so they are lost. Maybe we know who they are and could tell them who they are. But they are effectively lost. They are the kind of people who...maybe something will bring them back briefly in touch with home and they don't even know sometimes that they are hungry for it. And then they will reach home. Sometimes they will be over the top in their desire to reconnect, to be born again. You see a lot of them. A lot of the ones who are disconnected, who you'll see connected on the fringes, or sometimes at the front of the activist marches and that. A lot of them are just experiencing, trying to express the anger they feel at what was, they didn't even know they'd lost it. And when they discover they had lost it – that initial rush at 'wow I know who I am'. And then there is an angry response: 'why the hell was I not taught this stuff, what?' And rather than taking it out on themselves they often turn it against government, the establishment, whatever that looks like, and generally that is white and middle class.

But look at my... all my nieces have married boys like this, or have taken up with boys like that, and come home and they are just in their early teen years or just before and they come back with their Auckland ways or their townie ways. And they sit on thirty acres of land and you don't even see a cow on the land. Or they sit inside a house on a day like this watching TV. And they are young and they are strong and they are fit, but they have no resources to think for themselves. That's another face of the migration back home, I think.

When you weren't disconnected from your culture I don't think you'd enjoy it as much as though you never had it. So I was lucky, I went to Auckland, and the things that I've grown up to take for granted I realised that actually. I took so much for granted. A hui<sup>45</sup> and pōwhiri<sup>46</sup> and that on the marae would just make me hōhā<sup>47</sup>. And I got it down to a fine art that I can turn up just after a pōwhiri. But at the same time I know what it is all about. So I am not doing it out of ignorance. I just didn't realise how lucky I was.

In the early 1990s the whole round of redundancies that happened as a result of the restructuring in the 80s, my uncle and auntie came home on that, and came home with good money, their redundancy packages. They built a nice house for themselves. Or they finished off their mortgages in Auckland and/or sold their house to somebody else, or passed it on to their kids. That generation that came home looking quite flash. And then there is the generation of my age group who come home to escape the crime rate or something has driven them home. And a lot of them are not so flash. Like people living in trucks. In Pawarenga there are several places like this in the bush, where the building inspectors don't go, they never get to see that kind of thing.

But [with the group that came back with a bit of money] there were two problems that I noticed because, again, I was there when it happened, I was in my late 30's at the time: They came back with an attitude that nothing had happened before they came back. Nothing had happened, but there were the Maraes falling down.. And another

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<sup>44</sup> place where one has rights of residence

<sup>45</sup> gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference

<sup>46</sup> invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae

<sup>47</sup> be boring, tiresome, bored, wearisome, fed up with

was that they were building quite nice homes. One of the flashiest homes in Pawarenga is an eight bedroom mansion. It has columns out the front. And it is way above the Pawarenga, on a hill overlooking Pawarenga. And I remember...God bless her, she just died last month. When she first came home they built their home. Her husband and she took all her counterparts, she had never really been away from home or been home for quite a few years, and she took them through on what we called 'the Royal Tour' and the only comment that really came out strongly from that was the old lady saying: 'Poor Jim', because they saw that they had separate bedrooms. 'Poor Jim, she doesn't even sleep with him'.

When we were all growing up together we didn't know we were poor because nobody was much flashier than anybody else. Yes, there was a bit of envy. And envy in the heart is really a problem. There were also additional things as they came back. Even though they didn't bring their children back with them, their children or their grandchildren often come to live with them and they brought fresh city ways much faster, I am thinking drugs and all these things. Particularly dak has always been part of the scene. When I was growing up in the early 70s it was just starting to come in but Māori weren't very involved with jet set hippies who were using it. I personally have come to see, I don't know whether it is a genetic thing or just part of being a colonised people, but the effect on Māori of dak is, our psyche is just different. There is not an ethic of moderation for a start. You don't have a glass of wine with a meal, you get pissed. You don't just have a smoke, you have a session. And often our young ones, and the not-so-young-ones are not using their drug of choice for social reasons, they are using it for effect. Life's not so good, let's get wasted. And I don't know whether that'll change. I think it would. There are young professional Māori that are now using the so called social drugs. I just see that they tend to not use it to excess and it does not seem to affect their work either. But I am not totally convinced. So they brought that kind of ethic of instant gratification and they have not necessarily learnt yet. Thank God, those are the young ones that have stayed, and often they have stayed for no good reasons too, when they couldn't make it out in the world, but at least they have kept some of the old ways like, when you got to the coast and get bags of whatever, you drop it off on the way, and you got to the old people and make sure the widows have a feed and, you know, and that is all that counts. Some real rat bags at home, but they still practice that ethic. They might steal the gold fillings out of your teeth when you are not looking, but they would never dream of wasting food and letting people go hungry.

But they also brought back skills. That old age group. And they did – we saw a refurbishment of the Marae. Things like the golf club were suddenly revitalised. The gene pool was extended a bit. Like the kids going all the way to Australia to meet each other and get married.

Just listen to my parents talk about where the migration took place in the 50s and 60's. They came home in 1956, when everybody was going the other way. And I remember one of the returnees saying to my mother that she was lucky: 'You are lucky that you managed to stay home, when I had to go to Auckland'. And Mum said to this person who was speaking from a quite angry position: 'It wasn't luck. Not at all. I came home because I wanted to'. So there was a tension between those who went and those who stayed.

I have noticed also that migrations home tends to be in waves. For example, in the 1980s when the extensions to Marsden point were happening, then a whole rush of



our people came home with welding skills, carpentry skills, plumbing skills. And a lot of those have gone back to Auckland since. Since it shut down. Whenever there is a major collapse of businesses, of business confidence, Māori seem to be the ones, they are like the canaries: when they fall off the perch that's an indication that things happen. [Whenever there is an economic opportunity Māori move back and fro]..Even with the same people. I have seen a couple of waves of the same people come back. Not the older generation. My parents' generation have come home to stay. They are retirees. And superannuation is still reasonably good for Māori who know how to support themselves additionally with a bit of kai moana<sup>48</sup> and a garden and things like that. But I think there is a growing incentive for people of my generation, superannuation is just not going to be the same. There is no sense of despair in me personally, unlike my husband, for not having savings. But our kids won't let us starve. Perhaps we are living in a fool's paradise and we should be worried how we are going to live when we are retired. But there is no sense of real urgency amongst us, my contemporaries. The younger ones are planning better than we did. But I, when I had a purpose, I saved, when I didn't, I enjoyed it. So that does leave you at the whim of other forces. I am thinking of this war [during the Bush era] and the hike of petrol prices. It is likely to accrue. We'll see another wave of Māori to return to their tūrangawaewae.

[People return to] where their parents or ancestors are from, if they haven't been born on the land. They may go home to where their partner is from. For example: I know many Ngāti Porou<sup>49</sup> women who have married Northerners. And they stay on, or their children come home to where their whanau is. It is interesting: they go to where they are from, where their ancestors are from. It is unusual for Māori not to go home. But there are not many young people actually coming home at the moment. It is too boring, for a start. They go to where they have been brought up, even though they may not be from there. Somebody asked my niece the other day where she was from and she said 'Pawarenga', and the other person said, 'so you moved from Pawarenga' and she said, 'oh no, I have moved up from Whangarei'. She is only 15, but to her she is from where her mother is from.....I am not actually from Ahipara. I was born in Pawarenga, but I suppose you could say that I have got strong connections here. My grandmother on my mother's side, her parents are buried here. And all her ancestors are buried here. But when people ask me where I am from I'd say 'Pawarenga'. I wouldn't dream of saying 'Ahipara'. But my grandson may grow up saying that he is from Ahipara.

### *Interview with informant 3*

*23 April 2001 in the afternoon at her home on Far North Road, Ngātaki*

The informant had returned upon retirement to the place where her husband spent his early childhood and where several of his family still live. She herself originates from another tribal area within Muriwhenua, albeit further South, from where she had left with her family upon her fathers employment in Auckland and subsequently, in Australia. Her and her husband's return eventuated three years prior to the interview.

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<sup>48</sup> seafood

<sup>49</sup> tribal group of East Coast area north of Gisborne to Tihirau

We actually left here 1967. And migrated to Australia because my father at the time was looking for a better job. And he had...the company he was working for was moving to Australia and offered him the opportunity of going over there with them. And in Darwin they were going to put through a main road, like a highway, from Brisbane through to Darwin. But because of some tribal land that the rail was to pass through Aboriginal tribal land, there was a big trouble over that and over the years, almost 32 years...

In 1990 my husband wanted to come back here to see his father. And so (I am not from here) it was after his father passed away he wanted to come back for a holiday. So up until that time I had never come, I had never been back here [to New Zealand]. So, from 1967 until 1990 I had never come back here. And I wasn't really looking forward to coming back. But once we had come over the airport, you know, as you come in to land at the airport and I looked down and I saw all the beautiful green and the blue seas and everything like that. It was like as if all the stress of my job that I had in Australia had just lifted off me and I just started to cry. I just really started to cry. So to come back up here – we stayed in Auckland just for the one night – and we came up here because this is where my husband's family is from. My family is from Pawarenga, on the other side of Kaitaia. And in the early days we used to stay there in Pawarenga and then when my father had to go to look for work in the city we moved on to Auckland. And then from Auckland we went to Australia. So coming back here in 1990 I was just so .....[pause] homesick, once I got back here [to New Zealand]. We came back in 1991, 1992, 1993..every year up until 1998 we came back. And every year I kept saying I wanted to go home, I wanted to go home...So the time came when we came back in 1997, ah, 1996, sorry, and Auntie ... had just come out of hospital, as she had been sick. And there was no-one really at home to look after her. So one of my other aunties, who knew my father, asked us to come to see auntie .... because she and my husband's mother were first cousins. And my husband looked after his mother prior to her death, when he was only 14 years at the time. And he looked after her, washed her, pottied her and everything. So when we came back and saw how auntie was, well then that's when we decided that it is time for him to come back as well.

So, coming back here was really like going back in time for me. For him it was a bit hard because a lot of the people here treated him as a city person or an outsider. So it has taken a couple of years. Like, '98 we came back, only just now in the last couple of months, in the last 6 months or so, that people have really accepted us back into the community, and asked him to do things and be part of the marae, you know marae life and everything like that.

It's different here in that the lifestyle is different. We don't get the thousand dollars or nine hundred dollars a week that we are used to in our jobs in Sydney. But the little bit of money that we do get we don't spend all on food because there is so much food here, you know, with the garden, we have beautiful gardens outside that we plant every season. We go fishing for fish. A lot of people enjoy the kai moana here because there is still a lot of kai moana up here. The lifestyle is just so easy. It really is easy. Anybody who says that they have no food, that they have nothing to do, is just someone who is lazy<sup>50</sup>. That's what my husband says anyway. So yes...I don't know

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<sup>50</sup> The use of the term 'lazy' by a Māori returnee is noteworthy as the term is more commonly associated with a de-valuing stereotype held by non-Māori (also see interview with Nin Thomas)

what else to say, except that coming back home and doing things – getting back to the hands-on way of living, so to speak, like digging drains and that for the toilet and digging, making your gardens and things like that, it's a bit harder, but it makes you appreciate the things you have much more than just going to work, signing in, signing off, stressing out, not being able to meet a deadline or something like that. So...full-up it has been an adventure in a way, in that we had to step out and face say, well we have each other, we have the ability to be able to make something, to do something for ourselves.

And I think, I was saying to my niece this morning, we were just in Kaitia this morning, and I went to put her name and her brother's name down on the Te Aupōuri low deposit housing scheme<sup>51</sup>. Because I was saying that there is so many people coming back into the country that once the real estate industry become aware that people start to move back, housing prices are going to shoot up. Because it will be a seller's market then, people just looking to buy. I don't know if you were here last – you were saying you were here just before Christmas – if you went up North further there weren't as many houses built as there are now. There has been about maybe six or seven new houses in the last seven months. Nearly one house a month has gone up. Like my sister's house. That was only built last year. And going up further there is a few houses in Te Kao on the main road that have only just gone up in the last six months or so.

So yes, there is definitely a trend of people coming back. ..They are all people that are affiliated to the iwi up here. Not only up here. When we went down to Auckland the year before last we travelled down through Dargaville around Waipoua forest, and in 1996, when we first came, we came up that way. But when we went back down there and drive around that way in 1997 I just couldn't get over how many...there were... nine houses, one after the other. Some had been completed, and some were just starting to be built. And I was thinking, gee, people must be on the way back. And hearing how a lot of businesses have closed down, like manufacturing companies have closed down over the years and gone over to Asia. That's part of the reason why a lot of them have started to come back and build. They have gone back to the city just to keep finding other jobs, but their homes have been built here. Really for when they retire, I suppose, to come back then.

The families that have come back up here haven't [brought their children or grand children]. It's more like the older people. But my nephew and nieces that are in their 30s and 40s. These are the people who have been long-term unemployed in Auckland. And who have gotten into trouble over the years by mixing...you know, drinking and alcohol. That we had to reach out and say: look come up and try for a few months and see how...what the difference is up here. They have been able to keep their money, to buy food, to enjoy a better lifestyle up here because they can just go out fishing or get kai moana when they need to add to their cupboards. And they have said to us last

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<sup>51</sup> The Low Deposit Rural Lending Programme helps low to middle income households into Home Ownership. Applicants complete a 12 week home ownership skills course before becoming eligible for mortgage assistance from Housing New Zealand Corporation. A 3% deposit is required at the time of loan application.

<http://northland.2cu.co.nz/listings/11260-Te-Aupouri-Māori-Trust-Board---Low-Deposit-Rural>  
[Accessed 24 October 2010]

week-end that they never had so much food and less stress of paying their rent and stuff like that as they had since they been up here.

A lot of people that I know have come back home up here and back to where I live they are building...they are doing that low-deposit home loan course through the iwi from housing co-op and they are just building on family land. Putting up somewhere for them. Those who were on unemployment are doing the same thing. Because they are never gonna be able to buy their own home any other way.

And there is us, who have gone from home, gone to seek out work, where ever there may be, whether it'd be in Auckland, in the cities or overseas and come back. But, like I said, there is no way I had ever intended on coming back to start off with. Because, I suppose because my parents came back too, there is a family thing, where the head of the family moves to, usually the rest of the family migrate within a few years of each other. When we were in Australia, whenever our parents moved from one suburb to another suburb it was too far for us to travel, within the next six months you find we all moved up and around the street from each other. And with my family it's been like that because we are very close with our parents. And I am in my 50s now and I still have got both my parents. And I find I am one of those very rare and lucky people because a lot of these people didn't have their parents around at the time when their children were growing up and things like that. Like my husband's mother, well, she died when he was 14 years old. So he had to go to the city and live with a father who had moved on to another relationship. And that relationship wasn't very good for my husband. It's been like that, I suppose, because he looked to be a threat to the new stepmother. Because he was the favourite of his father. So, there is no real family bonding any more. It's very, very hard to find that up here. Even with his auntie's own family. If that was MY mother, it doesn't matter where I was, if there was no-one here to look after her I would have been home on the first plane back here and stay with her until whatever, and just re-arrange MY life, because I have a whole lifetime ahead of me. Her boys are only in their 30s, not even in their 40s yet. And someone, one of them should have done something about looking to re-arranging – or to taking her to live with them.

My parents have moved to.. they are up the road. And my sister...my sisters are moving back in May and June from Australia. One came over last year and through the company she works for over there she has been able to get a transfer back over. And another one of my sisters is taking early redundancy. Well, she is just waiting for early redundancy. That's the whole thing about Australia: Australia really has been good to our family in that we worked hard and it has paid us and rewarded us. Because of that hard work. You don't have superannuation over here like they have over there. And I think, Winston Peters was trying to get it up off the ground over here, and it really is a good thing. It really is, because you are putting away for your future and the company you work for, by you being loyal to that company, is putting in to help you for your future as well. So when it does come time in your 50s to retire you are not just given a week's pay and a shake of the hand and said 'good-bye' for a 50 years worth of work or a 30 years worth of work that you have done for that company. You take away a really good superannuation that helps you settle down and do what you want to do.

My parents came back first...When we moved... I actually came here to visit before they came home. But when we moved, they moved first. And my father moved because of religious – he is a minister in our church – and for many years they have

been asking him to come back to work amongst his own people here. And being, I suppose, being a young person, there is a time when you don't want to leave your children and mokopunas and go off on your own. But there comes a time where all his children were old enough to be able to look after themselves... we are mostly girls in our family. There are eight girls and one boy. So that's why my Dad and us are very close.

[I didn't come back for 32 years] because I was enjoying myself over there so much. You know, there is an abundance of work, an abundance of opportunities. You could be whatever you wanted to be. If you wanted to be a cleaning lady one day you could go and get a cleaning job. If you wanted to be a manager or a big company director next thing you could go and do that provided you had the skill. And I had the skill to be able to do all of that. Because I went from Otahuhu College [Auckland] here to Westfield freezing company first and I was in administration there when I went from school straight – my careers teacher got me a job at Westfield. It's not there any more, it's gone. But that's where I got my grounding in administration. And my personality is a very outgoing personality and so I went towards sales and marketing. I love sales, I love a challenge. And to me there are challenges around sales and marketing. Because if you can sell anything to...if you can sell an Egli<sup>52</sup> to an Alaskan person then you are made. And I learned through the hard way. I learned through men. I was taught by men who went door-knocking to get to where they were. Not be afraid to front up and put your product...as long as you believe in your product that your are selling, and you have the confidence in your ability to sell ... So I have gone from packing batteries, soldering cans, to running a business and running our own gym, starting up a gym. Yes, I have done heaps and heaps and heaps of stuff. ...and I used to get top prize for salesmanship every month until I left and they all gave me a big party because they were happy I was leaving.

[After coming back and in light of more people returning] the problems here are drainage. And health: hospital services and doctors. To me the most important thing here is health. Education is fine, so long as the teachers that they put into it are teachers who are able to cope with the children that they have. But with infrastructure, yeah, I put it this way. Health first, then roads, 'cos there is a lot of roads up here that have not been sealed since I was a kid, you now, and I come back up here, like Te Hāpua and Pawarenga and places like that. And I have been down, South of Auckland to Hastings and Napier and they have all the little side streets going off to Wopwop and they are all sealed. Why are they all sealed when ours aren't up here?

And drainage. When I say drainage, I mean like put toilet systems in. Because that creates the health system. You can dig a hole anywhere you want to for a toilet or for a sceptical, there doesn't seem to be any planning. It's Māori land, it's your Māori land so you basically go and do whatever you want, but you are not allowed to do this and you are not allowed to do that and you are not allowed to do that.

Well, that's it: health, roads and drainage. To me those are the three most important. Because the environment being up here is not too bad. All of us up here are very protective about our native fauna and all that kind of stuff. But the buses, the tourist buses that go up along ninety mile beach and Rarawa beach, they drive down onto the

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<sup>52</sup> Swiss and Austrian name for a popular European fresh-water fish (*Perca fluviatilis*)

sand and it's really eroding the sandbanks and that all. And along the ninety mile beach we have gone up there and picked kai moana, which is shell fish, and when we, we don't use.. we use our hands to dig, because we have to get a permit first, and we only do it whenever our children come back and they have a feed before they go back to Australia, so we are up there and the shell fish we get up there, they are all cracked. They just look as if something had squashed it. And it's because, my husband thinks, it's because of the buses driving up and down. And the fuel, I mean, it's gotta be leakage of oil and stuff coming out of these buses somehow. And they are not locally operated, most of them come from Auckland or Paihia. To give their customers a thrill go right along the water line and splash the water all up on the buses and everything.

There is probably a lot of rambling on, but....

It's just good to be able to come back and to be able to get a few seeds and stick them in and watch them grow. I don't even know if they are growing yet. You know, I have always been a city person. But within the first seven months of coming home I sold all my suits. Just took them all down. The three and four hundred dollar suits that I bought for work, I sold them for 45 and 60 dollars. Because to me they didn't mean anything any more. And my Mum went 'are you crazy?' I said, 'Mum, where would I wear them to?' All I am wearing now is old daggy jeans and pants and tops and T-shirts and when I go to church, I got three dresses for church. [Pointing at the shelves] My husband made this. I haven't finished staining them yet for my computer. It's really, really good when you make these things yourselves.

[I have kept the computer] because I wanted to keep my mind busy and I just go...I do a lot of work for the church. I do – I started up the local branch for the Māori Women's Welfare League<sup>53</sup> here in Ngātaki Waiora (the local marae). They used to have one many years ago and it went into recess. So when I started it I added on the Marae name as well, Ngātaki Waiora. So they could know the difference between just Ngātaki and the new branch now. So I stared that up. I have got – I had 18 members when I started it last year. Now I have got 23. And we do a lot of work in the community. Promoting immunisation, promoting healthy lifestyles, having health cooking demonstrations, things like that. Yeah, and the church: I am the treasurer and an elder of our local church. What else do I do? Helping my nieces and nephews to understand the economics of having a good life and the life they have got now is not worth anything. But not by demanding or the authoritative way. Just by giving them examples and saying like 'smoking is one of the hardest things to get rid of'. So I give them a ten dollar note each. 'How many packets of cigarettes do you smoke a day?' 'Three, auntie.' 'Okay, give me thirty dollars. This is thirty dollars.' I roll them all up, stick them into their mouths and I light it up for you'. 'O no, auntie, that's my ten

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<sup>53</sup> The League's official aims are *"To promote fellowship and understanding between Māori and European women and to cooperate with other women's organizations, Departments of State, and local bodies for the furtherance of these objects."* The formation of the League was a milestone in Māori culture. Through the organisation, women were able to represent themselves in the New Zealand government for the first time. Formed in 1951 in Wellington, following the mass movement of Māori from rural to urban New Zealand, the league's original goal was to preserve Māori culture through their native arts and crafts while also promoting fellowship and cooperation among various women's organisations. Additional information on: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C4%81ori\\_Women's\\_Welfare\\_League](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C4%81ori_Women's_Welfare_League) [Accessed 24 October 2010]

dollars'. I said, 'yeah, I now, but you like smoking it don't you?' 'Yes, but not my ten-dollar note, that's my money'. I said, 'excuse me, these three dollar bills represent what you burn every day in your mouth for what? You add that up for seven days a week. That's 210 dollars a week out of your benefit. Or somebody's benefit. That you are spending on cigarettes'. They have never been brought up in a way to understand what it is to save or what it is to have nice things. It's just a matter of survival for them. So that we are back I have got them on a low deposit home loan course and doing self-confidence courses for themselves as well.

See, I am just grateful about my positive attitude. It doesn't matter even when I am down or out I always look at the positive side of things. And that rubs off to others. And the way I give an example is, I have an empty glass and put it in front of them and I ask 'tell me what you see'. And they say 'it's just an empty glass'. And I say, 'that empty glass can hold fresh water that you can take and drink while you slow down and think about things. So it's an empty glass, but it's an empty glass full of fresh air which you need to breathe deeply and it helps to settle down and just contemplate the positives and the negatives'. One of my sales managers who taught me the art of salesmanship he taught me that because he said, 'you are going to get days where people are going to put you down because you are a woman in a man's world. So I have kept this with me all the time.

*Notes about a conversation with informant 4, 23 April 2001 afternoon at his home on Far North Road, Ngātaki*

The informant is the previous informant's husband. As the interviews were conducted parallel, no taped version exists of his interview, but only notes and some direct quotes were taken.

The informant is 63 years old at the time of the interview and of Ngāti Kurī descent. He returned to Ngāti Kurī tribal land to build his own house in the place where he had been born and raised during his early childhood up to his late teens. After the death of his mother he had moved to Auckland to live with his father and stepmother for a few years before heading to Australia for better job opportunities. He had worked with the Commonwealth government before getting a job as a security police sergeant. In 1990 he returned to New Zealand for family reasons and from then on for holiday reasons on an annual basis. While the wish for a permanent return surfaced during that time, his wife did not initially wish to return due to a lack of professional opportunities. However, when the need arose for the care of an elderly family member during the late 1990s, plans for a permanent return became more concrete and when the parents of the informant's wife also returned to New Zealand upon community obligations, both decided to return in 1998, three years prior to the interview.

The initial settling phase was described as a struggle. From a professional point he had to content himself with seasonal jobs, menial work, and other opportunities such as driving the school bus at the time of the interview. But the bigger challenge for him was that the locals were reluctant to welcome him back into the community. A vacuum between his departure and his return appeared to have severed close links between him and members of his extended family. During this vacuum, created by little or no contact, differential developments and experiences led to different views and attitudes. For example, one challenge was for the informant to accept rural

residents' 'lack of initiative and interest in new ideas', as well as their attitude towards work:

'It was sad to come back – all the land was bare where there were gardens before. But the young ones don't want to work, they rather pick up the dole. They are lazy. People need to be educated and there is an urgent need for innovation and outside ideas'.

*Notes about informants 5, 6 and 7, the returnee host family during field trips*

Information about and quotes by family members, including the housewife (informant 5), her husband (informant 6), and their youngest daughter (informant 7), were gathered in note form on an ad hoc basis during stays with them, either in and around the house or during excursions;

*Informant 5*

The informant had moved to Auckland from the Hokianga during her early childhood. After her marriage she raised five children of her own plus one fostered child. As soon as family obligations allowed for it, she worked as home help at a charitable institution.

Her wish to 'return' had 'always been there' and was further consolidated by frequent visits to the place where her husband had been raised, for holidays. During these temporary returns her and her husband made known to locals their intentions of returning. The opportunity of buying a house on family land arose just after the informant's husband was made redundant. Their decision to return was never regretted and the place soon became the family focus for her grown-up children to return to, to spend their holidays or to send the grandchildren to either temporarily during school holidays, or long-term in the case of one pre-schooler and one suffering from asthma.

The loss of a regular income is partially offset by the informant taking on seasonal or temporary jobs such as picking flowers and by making use of natural resources such as gathering seafood. To cover everyday necessities she grows her own vegetables, keeps a cow, a pig and some chickens. Her own produce allows her to make frequent use of a local barter system with other community members, for example, by swapping home help and home-grown vegetables for fish or a wild pig.

She doesn't miss her house on its quarter acre section in Auckland which they left to one of their children. For the same price they now own a house on a three acre section up North, where she is able to enjoy a lifestyle that suits her better. Her favourite past time is walking on the beach during storms. The local social life also appeals to her: once a month she attends Bingo night at a community hall which is located about ten kilometres further north, where mostly Māori middle aged women play until the early morning hours. The event is not only important to maintain traditions such as chanting karakias<sup>54</sup> at the beginning of every session, and from the social aspect of networking and exchanging information, but also for the money raised which is used for the local kōhanga reo, the marae and other community services.

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<sup>54</sup> incantation, prayer, grace, blessing, service, church service, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation - chants recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures



Overall, her intentions of providing a family focus and anchor for her children, grandchildren and friends with space to accommodate them, have worked out well:

'I just wanted a place for people to be at home. When I saw [my sister in law] in Auckland when she was so sick, I took her home [to the place where they had returned, and where the sister in law had been raised] for one week and she said she never had such a good holiday. And it was good to be able to do something for her before she died'.

The place also allows her to retain and honour traditions:

'And the lady who owned the place before, she came round and had a look at my garden, and she said that it was just like in her times, tidy. And fancy her saying that, she had a beautiful garden and twelve kids, and we don't like...I don't like to change things the way they are or were. And fancy that, the only thing that she wanted to do in her time was to extend the lounge, which is also what we want to do. It gets a bit cluttered when all the whānau come to visit. You want to sit in the lounge and talk'.

'And the house where they [the neighbours] live was the place of an uncle of [her husband]. And they have kept it basically the same. We like to keep things the way they are'.

#### *Informant 6*

The informant is the previous informant's husband. He was born in Te Hāpua, but arrived in Ngātaki during his early childhood with his family and other members of the Ngāti Kurī tribe from Te Hāpua (see previous chapter on 'context'). From there he moved on to Auckland with his family during his teens when the old settlement in Ngātaki was virtually abandoned as part of the massive Māori urban migration during the 50s.

The informant's father found employment with the Auckland Power Board, and after finishing school the informant himself worked for the same company. He gradually worked himself up to a supervisor's position, enabling him and his wife to build a house and raise six children. While living in Auckland, he remained in regular contact with family and community members back in Ngātaki and to participate in family and communal affairs.

After 35 years of working for the Auckland power board, the informant was laid off as part of the economic restructuring during the 1990s. This event coincided with the death of his brother and his sister, consolidating his desire to leave Auckland and to return to where his family was from and where family members lived. The return move eventuated in 1996 when a house on family land became vacant.

Upon the family's return to the place where the informant had spent his early childhood, he had to content himself with occasional employment as, for example, farm hand, builder, fruit picker, and other temporary occupations that were advertised through the grapevine in the Pub. After six months of living on the dole the informant managed to find more permanent employment as truck driver of logging trucks.

The family now lives close to where some of the informant's ancestors are buried and on the same street as two of his cousins. At the time of the researcher's visit, their youngest daughter (see below) lived with them after she had got into trouble in the city. Also living with them was one of their pre-school grandchildren while his parents were fully employed in Auckland.

Despite the close links with the community during his absence the informant encountered jealousy because he is more skilled and qualified than most local residents, and because he had enough financial means from his redundancy package to pay for a family home.

The initial sense of guilt for leaving their grown up children in Auckland was soon squashed:

You know, we knew we'd done the right thing [to come up North] when the kids and friends started to come back: [Our second son] came and brought his partner: he lives 10 km south of the house and just had new baby. [The oldest son] came and brought his partner from Auckland.

The latter was persuaded by his mother to leave Auckland and to come up North when he underwent a difficult time following his divorce. He stayed and, together with his new partner who followed him from Auckland, lives in a house not far from his parents'. To support himself he works in the oyster industry and does seasonal jobs such as picking avocados.

#### *Informant 7*

The informant is the youngest daughter of the host couple (informant 5 and 6). She came [from Auckland] with her parents when she was 18. At the time of the interview she had been living 'up North' for seven years, mostly with her parents. She returned to the closest town, Whangarei, for a temporary stay, but, after getting 'into trouble' she returned to her parents' place. Currently, she was signed up for a computer course, while working in the oyster industry. She 'never' wants to go back [to Auckland] because of the lifestyle: 'Who needs money, one only spends it'.

For a social activity, she regularly goes out drinking, 'because that's what we do here'. Although it was not easy to leave Auckland at 18 after finishing school, she now prefers to be up North 'because in Auckland you need so much money to do anything. Not up here, you meet family here'.

Meeting family is part of living and doing 'the right thing', referring to a traditional Māori lifestyle and the maintenance of transmitted traditions and ways of doing things. The attitude of 'keeping things the way they are' has caused some friction with another returnee from Auckland, an elderly lady living nearby. The friction arose over the way in which a grave should face, with the elderly lady insisting on a different direction of this particular grave as all other graves at the urupā.<sup>55</sup>

#### *Interview with informant 8*

*23 April 2001 at the primary school on Far North Road, Ngātaki*

The informant is a professional Māori woman who returned to her tribal land in Muriwhenua in her 40s. The interview took place at the local school where the informant acted as a relief teacher.

Ngāti Kurī = the older brother, tuākana; Te Aupōuri = the other/younger brother, tēina. They [Te Aupōuri] can tātai<sup>56</sup> into us. That doesn't make them landowners. I

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<sup>55</sup> burial ground, cemetery, graveyard

<sup>56</sup> recite genealogies

can tātai into Tūwharetoa, but that doesn't make me a landowner. And so we need to take our younger brother back and say: look you did wrong, or whatever happened to you that the bad feeling is here. You have to put it right because there is still that feeling of bad back there. It needs to be put right. It is open-wounded. It needs to be put straight. And so we don't want anybody to hurt Te Aupōuri. As I say, they only know us, and we only know them. And so, we don't want anybody to have them, other than us. That's our kid brother, kid sister, you know, that sort of thing<sup>57</sup>.

But what they can't do is be involved in land transactions. Now we asked...whether that'd be the case, and that's what this kaumātua meeting is all about on Saturday. ..it's not an argument, it's a misunderstanding there. It's just where we are ill-informed: Te Aupōuri chiefs signed the Treaty [of Waitangi], not Ngāti Kurī. And from that the government called us Aupōuri, the land, the Aupōuri peninsula. And all the forestry and all the resource came under that banner.

...But we can't run off, because we are ahi kā<sup>58</sup>. So we are stuck here getting devastated and suffering as you watch trucks, forestry out of here, every day. I am on state Highway 1, I see everything that leaves the forest, it makes me sick. Kai moana<sup>59</sup>, forestry, beef, stock, cattle, produce, vegetables, people, labour – our labour is going. Once our labour went we got exploited, devastated. Totally. [Now labour] is coming back. There is a werowero<sup>60</sup> out at the moment. There is a challenge out. To the rangatahi<sup>61</sup> o Ngāti Kurī, to the young people: come home! Don't worry where you stay, just camp with our aunties, just bring your kids up, everybody just camp up, live right. Because we can. We went camping last week and the kids were saying: auntie, what are we taking? – Just your sleeping bag and a knife. What? – Is she out of her tree or something? – No, babe you have to learn to live like that when we were taught like this. Survival. It's so incredibly wealthy.

Give me a pen! This is our rohe<sup>62</sup> [draws a map]. Hukatere there, Maunga Tohorā there, Mount Camel there. That's about 12, 15 km delineating. That makes our rohe the biggest resource, other than Ngāi Tahu<sup>63</sup> in the country. We are the second biggest tribe. The problem is, everybody in the Muriwhenua (incorporated tribe of Muriwhenua) knows that. We know we are very rich. We were born with silver spoons in our mouths, all of us kids knew that. Why? Because we knew we could walk down there [the beach] and get ourselves a feed. Just grab a knife and anything that did not bite us first we ate. But we are prevented doing that because we have to have permits. We are tangata whenua<sup>64</sup>. Any money made from this land is run

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<sup>57</sup> The informant refers to local efforts of the assertion of the Ngāti Kurī tribe (see chapter 'context') and details her view of tribal connections that were hotly debated at the time of the interview. During the time leading up to the later mentioned kaumātua meeting, Ngāti Kurī had undergone a period of tribal 're-adjustment' starting with the early 1980s to end decades of invisibility after a number of historical events that led to the subsumance of the Ngāti Kurī tribe by the Te Aupōuri tribe (for a detailed historical account of the Ngāti Kurī tribe and its re-emergence see Rata, 2000, p. 155). The assertion of the Ngāti Kurī tribe at the time was significant in relation to the indigenisation paradigm used for assigning property status to tribal lands

<sup>58</sup> burning fires of occupation - title to land through occupation by a group, generally over a long period of time

<sup>59</sup> sea food

<sup>60</sup> challenge

<sup>61</sup> younger generation, youth

<sup>62</sup> district, area, territory

<sup>63</sup> tribal group of much of the South Island

<sup>64</sup> local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land

through the Ngāti Kurī Trust Board. We, the tribe, will take out the person's tax levy. Everything goes through the Trust Board. Not to control it, but just so that we can maintain our buildings in our rohe properly. Now, all the tangata whenua know that. They know exactly how that system works because it's been handed down through the chiefs. So there is the chiefs – rangatira, kaumātua<sup>65</sup>, down to taumata kaumātua, which is our Trust board, down to the tangata whenua. Well, down to or across to or whatever. Or you could do it this way...the ever-increasing circles: start with the kaumātua, then taumata kaumātua, then tangata whenua,...they have the biggest amount of the pie.

Where does [a public figure of the tribe] fit in? In general with everything we are saying. But the problem with these guys is that they have private agendas. And so I can't speak to that because...[at the time] he was quite young and a go and getter, wasn't he [being involved in land sales]...But as long as I see Dad as my chief, and incidentally he is a kaumātua, as long as my loyalty is there how can the service provider (the NZ government) expect me to have two laws going? Dad doesn't actually mind that I smoke dope. He is not crazy about it because it's breaking a pākehā law, but he doesn't care personally. That's good enough for me. What I say now, I am 45 now, I say to my kids: do what you like, just don't hurt anybody. It's the same. I hear my mother saying that, my father. Do what you like. Just don't hurt anybody or anything...When we were an Island state, we were Polynesian, we were Pacific. And when you talk about fights and all these blimmin tribes having fights and all that sort of thing. That's overrated. You had to get into grown-up clothes in person before you took someone out, and they all ended up with a sore head anyway. There wasn't a high mortality rate. They just had a headache. Just got banged on the head with a wooden club. Uh, banged my head there, and he was out for about two weeks, but he was back on deck. The death rate was not very high until the guns came. We had skirmishes, border skirmishes. Just listening to .. all the old people, you know, uncle .... I lived with, through the bush here. He was 96 when he died, that fella. He knew stuff. I used to feed his chooks and chop his wood and stuff.

[After I went away] I was told to come home and now...because I was here. I was here until I was 12 years old. Brought up here, lived and breathed the place. Moved from Hauhora. That was our playground as children. Had no problem with that. And then went away to boarding school, went to Queen Victoria College in Parnell. And went on to business college and to university and tech and childcare study, everything. Just joined the Army. Did officers courses. Did courses in leadership and all that. Always feeling I was preparing to come back here. And when the wero came out I was good and ready. It was a long time coming. And I didn't hear it a few times when it did come. I personally wasn't ready. And I don't know whether that was to the detriment of the question asked in the first place or not. But I take this one now. What everybody else thinks as well. So it's not a big story, you know. It's just as basic as anybody else's story that left and came back again. But so relieved to be home. ..I should have come home about ten years ago. Because my father has had so much to do with his tribe. I just don't know any different. I don't know the difference. There was no law in the land other than our kaumātua. To the extent that when you were running in and out of the marae as rangatahi<sup>66</sup> na, you are not allowed to do that, you know. We knew that the boss was the old people. Because an auntie I didn't even

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<sup>65</sup> elder

<sup>66</sup> younger generation, youth

know, I mean, I knew what she looked like, but she was allowed to whack me, and nobody said she wasn't. So she must be the boss. How you, as little children, when you tutū<sup>67</sup> around the marae, and they deal to you, and your father doesn't stick up for you...here we go, because he was young then. And so, that's how we were brought up. It didn't hurt, it wasn't even sore. I think we ran by just so they could whack us. That sort of thing that you do.

And so, but the changes that have taken place: when I was up here last, when I was living up here, we lost one of our children. My second oldest child. He is buried in Hauhora cemetery. But at the time Dad and I were on this board down here. Dad put me on as a secretary for that short time, and that's when we got that land for the cemetery. That's when that approval came through. ...the memories have been part of a what do you call it...consecrational service...very strong.

Even the land has a home feeling for us, for its resource and its people. Even the land will come back. Naturally. And we won't move from there to there without our kaumātua. We can't help our loyalty. Against all odds. And being ahi kā up here isn't fun. You accept for the rest of your life that you are gonna be very poor. You accept it. That's aroha<sup>68</sup> that does that. Nothing else would do it. Anything else you try to justify that, that's too stupid. But if you do it out of love for your families. You can see it but you can't qualify that on any statistics.

*Interview with informant 9*

*at her office on 22nd January 2003*

The informant is an academic and professional who left her place of origin in Muriwhenua during her teens and never returned to stay. For personal as well as professional reasons she returns regularly to various places in Muriwhenua, frequently to undertake research on behalf of her tribe.

Māoris have become urbanised. That ideal 'the homeland is calling them' is really a romantic view. Having said that, I have a homeland that I like visiting. If you asked me to go back I'd say, no thank you. It's not.. it's really dull in comparison, no opportunities and the sort. Maybe grandma is there and all that sort of thing. But grandma probably would like to come to Auckland, too, and she'd probably never want to go back home.

I try to think of some of my relatives, I think most of them stayed here [in Auckland]. I just believe that the economic situation is really one of the foremost considerations. A lot of people turn up their noses wanting to go back – I am departing from my case, where I come from. I haven't been there for years. I go back to [a small settlement] occasionally, which is in Whangaroa. I don't think there are many returnees there. I don't know anyone, but I wouldn't, I just visit. I think that basically they go home but they come back again. That their homes are here, but they like to visit and like to show an interest in what is their homeland.

I go back because some of the Māori I like. You always refer back to your birthplace. It's not even my birthplace, really, Ahipara is my birthplace. But I rarely go to

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<sup>67</sup> to be stirred up, insubordinate, mischievous, disobedient, mutinous, rebellious, recalcitrant, riotous, seditious, undisciplined

<sup>68</sup> affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy

Ahipara, because my tupuna roots are not in Ahipara. That's where I was born. But my tupuna roots are in [a small settlement] which is in Whangaroa. Because that's where my grandparents and the ones before lived. And so I had this romantic notion that that's where I belong. It's not a romantic notion, it is true that this is where my Māori grandparents came from and that takes me home occasionally. I represent them on court claims, land claims and that sort of thing. But I am too far diverted from that time.

But I'd say that returnees' decisions would be mostly based on economics. And the lifestyle is pretty slow and I don't think that people deliberately choose that. I don't think that there is any romantic attachment to land per se. Rural attachment to family would be stronger than land. That's how I feel about that. If I went back it would be because of family.

I suppose there is something special about Māori relationship to land. But I personally don't feel that, because I left home ages ago. I came to stay at St. Mary's college when I was sixteen. I have never gone back to live there again. And I found out that they came in droves. Joan Metge was quite right, and that was for economic reasons. If you offered me to go back and there wasn't a local township that offered me all the services that the city does, I guess, I wouldn't go. Nobody really wants to step back into the dark ages. Māori in particular.

The homeland of their tupuna, that's important. I still identify myself as coming from [a small settlement], although I have never ever lived there. That's where granni lived.

**Appendix 11**  
**INFORMATION LETTER**

**Maori return migration and place identity**

Dear participant,

My name is Ulrike Andres. I am a student at 'The University of Auckland' enrolled for a PhD Degree in the Department of Geography. I am conducting this research for the purpose of my thesis on motives of Maori to return to their homelands. This interest may be a result of my current personal dilemma of juggling a life in Aotearoa with ties to my home, which is Austria. As I started to investigate how others deal with this I came across the phenomenon of Maori return migration, a phenomenon which has been observed for the last three censuses and which is therefore well documented, but not yet investigated in depth. A qualitative investigation will provide information which can be a foundation for regional policy making and community development.

You are invited to participate in my research and I would appreciate any assistance you can offer me. I would like to hear from you what your reasons were for returning, where you returned to and where from and any other information you would like to add that is associated with this move. As I am interested in your story it is you who decides how much time you would like to allocate to this undertaking. With your consent, your story may be audiotaped to help me remember precious information you are providing me. However, although it will be necessary to know something about your background, your name will not be used, your participation is anonymous and your story will be treated absolutely confidential. Any information that allows another person to identify you will be omitted. Also, up until 3 weeks after your interview you may withdraw from this research without stating any reason. If you have any queries or wish to know more please phone me at any of the numbers given below or write to me at:

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The University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019  
Auckland. Tel. Work: 09-3737 599 ext. 8637. Home: 09-361 2452

Alternatively, for any concerns about this research, you may contact Dr. Cleve Barlow  
513 Westcoast Road  
Glen Eden  
Auckland 7, Tel: 09-818 7489

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this study possible.

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For any queries regarding ethical concerns please contact:  
The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Subjects Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland,  
Research Office - Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland. Tel. 373-7999 extn  
7830

**APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE on**  
**..... for a period of ..... years, from ..../..../.... Reference ...../.....**

## Te Hokianga: Te Hekenga, Te Ū-kaipo Tuakiri

Tena koe,

Ko Ulrike Andres tōku ingoa. He tauira tākutatanga, he tohu kairangi whakauru ahau i Te Mātai Matawhenua kei Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau. Ko te tino whaingā kaupapa o te whakapae rangahau, ko te kaupapa whakahau o ngā tangata Māori, e kiia nei tā rātou wawata hekenga ki tō rātou kainga whenua, ara, ki tō rātou kainga tūrangawaewae rānei. Anei te kiinga, 'he arīa mō te mātauranga Ū-kaipo'.

Ko tēnei painga pea ka raruraru te ngākau kōnatunatu e pa ana ki ā ahau te noho tony ahau i Aotearoa, te hokinga atu rānei ahau ki tāku kainga i Ateria. Māku e tiro tiro ana i tēnei tāke pea ki ētahi tngata kua mahia e rātou ki tēnei tāke, ā, ka whakaūkia e ahau he hautupua tauhou, ko Te Ū-kaipo, ara, ko te hekenga nui ki tā ratou whānau kainga.

He maha ngā tangata Māori me ngā wahine māori rānei kua hekenga mai rātou ki tā ratou kainga, kua kaerenga noho tonu ki tā rātou turangawaewae. Kua kitea te ahuatanga nei o te ūkeipo, he hautupua tauhou, e ahau i roto i te kautenui (census) o ngā tangata katoa tērā tekau mā rima tau, engari, kaore anō ia kua tiro tiro the hōhonutanga o tāua ahuatanga o Te Ū-kaipo. He tiro tirohanga kounga, e mahia kaupapa ana e ia ngā rongo hei te tupunga take nga kaupapa Maori ā-rohe, ngā whānau whānui rānei, hapū anō hoki.

He pōhiri tēnei ki a koe, hei whakauru mai ki ngā mahi o taku kaupapa rangahau. He mihi tēnei, mehemea ka taea e koe, te āwhina mai i ahau e hiahia ana ahau ki te rongo: No hea koe, ki hea rānei koe tau take hekenga, me ētahi atu take māku mō āua rangahau hekenga. Mehemea ka taea koe te awhina mai i ahau; heoi anō, e kore rawa tō ingoa i puta i roto i tāku rangahau whakapae, heoi anō kei a koe tēnā.

Tēnā rawa atu koe, i a koe e huri mai nei ki te āwhina i ahau, kia ū ai tēnei rangahautanga. Mehemea he pātaitai au, he aha rānei, waea mai ki tāku kainga, ki te waea kei runga ake nei. Mehemea he mea tuhi, tonoa mai āua tuhi kōrero ki te wāhi kua tāngia ki raro nei:

Te Tari Ulrike Andres  
Matai Matawhenua  
Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau  
Pēke Tuku Reta 92019  
Ākarana  
Waea Mahi: 09-3737 599 peka 8637. Kainga: 09-361 2452

Anō waea mai ki a Dr. Cleve Barlow  
513 Westcoast Road  
Glen Eden  
Ākarana 7 (Waea: 09-818 7489).

Tōku Kaitirotiro: Tākuta Hong Key Yoon  
Te Tari Matai Matawhenua  
Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau  
Pēke Tuku Reta 92019  
ĀkaranaWaea. 373-7999 peka 8466

Tō te Tari Kaihautū ko: Te Pouako Ahurei  
Te Tari Richard Le Heron  
Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau  
Pēke Tuku Reta 92019  
ĀkaranaWaea. 373-7999 peka 8453

Tonoa ki te tangata kua whakaingoatia ki raro nei, mehemea he pātaitai āu:

Te Heamana  
Komiti Manaaki Tāngata Tauira o Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau  
Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau  
Te Tari Rangahau  
Te Tari o te Upoko Tuarua  
Pēke Tuku Reta 92019  
Ākarana Waea. 373-7999 peka 7830

**HE TIKANGA KUA WHAKAMANAHIA E TE KOMITI MANAAKI TĀNGATA TAUIRA O TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TĀMAKI MAKĀURAU i te rā ..... mo ngā tau ....., mai .... / ..... / .....**



**THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD  
FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS**

Title: **Māori return migration and place identity**

Researcher: Ulrike Andres  
Department of Geography  
The University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019  
Auckland. Tel. Work: 09-3737 599 ext. 8637. Home: 09-361 2452

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered.

I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information traceable to me at any time up to three weeks after the interview without giving a reason.

- I agree to take part in this research.  
 I agree/do not agree that the interview will be audio/video taped

Signed:

Name:  
(please print clearly)

Date:

**APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE**  
**on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2001 for a period of 3 years, from 21<sup>st</sup> February 2001**  
**Reference 2001/011**

**KA PURITIA TĒNEI PEPA WHAKAAE -A-TUHI MO NGĀ TAU E ONO**

Te Karangatanga o te Kaupapa Rangahau: **Te Hokianga: Te Hekenga, Te Ū-kaipo Tuakiri**

Te Kairangahau: Ulrike Andres

Matai Matawhenua

Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau

Pēke Tuku Reta 92019

Ākarana

Waea Mahi: 09-3737 599 peka 8637. Kainga: 09-361 2452

Kua homaihia he whakamāramatanga mo tēnei kaupapa rangahau, a, kei te mārama rawa atu ahau. Kua whai wāhau hei whiuwhiu pātai me te rongo hoki i ngā whakaututanga. E mārama nei ahau kei a au anō te tikanga ki te puta ki waho, ki te tango hoki i aku kōrero. Mo ngā kōrero nei, kei te mārama ahau e kore e mōhiohia i ahu mai i ahau, ahakoa haere ai te wā. Kei te mōhio ahau, kaore he kōrero whakamārama māku mo tēnei. [tuhia te rā tutuki ai te kaupapa]

[Ka āhei te kairangahau te hurihuri nga kupu, ki ngā mea e whakaaro ana ia, e tika ana]

\*[Ī ētahi wā ka hiahia te kairangahau te āta whakahua te rā, tētahi tino take rānei, o tana kaupapa rangahau. Kua tuhia ngā kupu kōrerorero o te whakatauiratanga nei, kia mārama ai, kei ngā tāngata tauira tonu te mana, hei whakaputa i a rātou, me a rātou whakaaro kōrerorero hoki i te kaupapa nei. Mehemea he nui rawa te hurihanga o ngā kupu kōrerorero a te kairangahau, mā te Komiti tēnei e whakaaetia. Tirohia te wāhanga 8.1 o Ngā Kōrero Arataki]

[ētahi atu takotoranga hei whakaaetanga]

E whakaae ana ahau ki te whakauru mai ki tēnei kaupapa rangahau.

[ko tēnei rānei, ' Kei te whakaae ahau kia whai wāhi taku tamaiti, tamaiti whāngai rānei a e torunga wiki muri uiuitanga hei whakauru mai ki tēnei kaupapa rangahau']

Tuhia tō mokotā:

Tō Ingoa:

(Kia mārama te tuhi, kia ora)

Te Rā:

**HE TIKANGA KUA WHAKAMANAHIA E TE KOMITI MANAAKI TĀNGATA TAUIRA O TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TĀMAKI MAKĀURAU i te rā ..... mo ngā tau ....., mai .... /...../**

(Whakakā tēnei wāhanga i muri i te rirotinga o te whakaaetanga mai i UAHSEC a, i mua hoki i te hoatutanga ki ngā tāngata tauira kua whakaritea )**TĀPIRITANGA 2**

## Appendix 12

### STATISTICAL GLOSSARY

(Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2006)

#### *Māori*

Māori are counted in two ways in the census: through ethnicity and through descent. Māori ethnicity and Māori descent are different concepts – the former refers to cultural affiliation, while the latter is about ancestry. In 2006, there were 565,329 people who identified with the Māori ethnic group, and 643,977 people who were of Māori descent.

#### *Ethnic concept*

The ethnic concept used in these projections is the ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Ethnicity is self-perceived. For example, people may identify with the Māori ethnicity even though they may not be descended from a Māori ancestor. Conversely, people may choose to not identify with the Māori ethnicity even though they are descended from a Māori ancestor. Ethnicity does not equate to a birthplace description.

#### *Internal migration*

The movement of people within the boundaries of a nation or region.

#### *Māori ethnic group*

People who identify with Māori ethnicity with or without other ethnicities.

#### *Migration*

The movement of people from one area to another. When the movement is between countries it is called international or external migration; when it is within a country it is called internal migration.

#### *Regional council area (region)*

The Local Government Commission established regional councils in 1989. Regional council areas cover every territorial authority in New Zealand with the exception of the Chatham Islands Territory. The geographical boundaries of regions conform as far as possible to one or more water catchments. In determining regions, consideration was also given to regional communities of interest, natural resource management, land use planning, and environmental matters.

There are 16 regions in New Zealand. Twelve of these regions are administered by regional councils while the Gisborne, Tasman, Nelson and Marlborough Regions are

administered by their respective district or city councils. The boundaries of territorial authorities are generally the same as regional council boundaries, although there are eight instances where territorial boundaries straddle regional boundaries.

### *Rural area*

The rural areas of New Zealand are those not defined as urban. They include:

Rural centres – centres with populations of 300 to 999 in a reasonably compact area which service their surrounding rural areas.

Rural and other areas – Area units where they are not included in main, secondary or minor urban areas, and inlets, islands, inland waters, and oceanic waters that are outside urban areas. The population on shipboard is excluded from the urban-rural classification.

### *Territorial authority*

The smallest local government entities, created by the local government reorganisation that took effect on 1 November 1989. Based on 2006 boundaries, there are 16 cities, 56 districts and one territory. Banks Peninsula District became part of Christchurch City on 6 March 2006.

Territorial authority boundaries are defined by aggregations of area units. When defining the boundaries of territorial authorities, the Local Government Commission placed considerable weight on the 'community of interest'.

### *Urban area*

Non-administrative areas with urban characteristics and a high to moderate concentration of population. The classification of urban areas was revised for the 1991 Census of Population and Dwellings into three parts – main, secondary and minor urban areas:

Main urban areas – centres with populations of 30,000 or more. There are currently 16 main urban areas (12 in the North Island and four in the South). Auckland, Wellington, Hamilton, Napier-Hastings are further subdivided into zones.

Secondary urban areas – centres with populations between 10,000 and 29,999. There are currently 14 secondary urban areas.

Minor urban areas – centres with populations of 1,000 or more not already classified as urban (that is, not falling within a main or secondary urban area). There are currently 99 minor urban areas and, together with the above two categories, they constitute the urban population of New Zealand.

Urban areas are currently defined on the basis of the 1996 census usually resident population count. As a result, Greymouth is still classified as a secondary urban area, even though the 2001 census usually resident population count, and the estimated resident populations at 30 June 2001–2005, fall below 10,000.

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