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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS          Australian Bureau Statistics
ANF          Australia New Zealand Foundation
ANZAC        Australia New Zealand Army Corps
CFEMU        Construction Forestry Energy Mining Union
DIMIA        Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
DIMIA        Department of Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
ERP          Estimated Resident Population
MWWL         Maori Women's Welfare League
NOMW         Network Of Maori Women
NSW          New South Wales
TPK          Te Puni Kokiri
ZPD          Zone of Proximal Development
GLBT         Gay Lesbian Bi-Sexual Trans-Gender
### GLOSSARY

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Abstract

This thesis is about seeking empowerment through informed reflection. It articulates changes to Maori identity and culture when whanau leave their traditional homelands in Aotearoa and move across the Tasman Sea to live in Australia. The thesis presents a community narrative derived from autoethnographic reflections, short stories and informal conversations I gathered from youth, families and community groups during individual interviews and focus groups. These storylines help to illustrate how whanau have managed to exist as Maori in another country without their tribal system close by to support the traditional and cultural way of life. The thesis also highlights how the research methods used in this study enable culturally competent practices and it endeavors to describe the self-organizing, dynamic and emerging behaviour of our Maori community.

In undertaking this research and through writing the thesis I have chosen to follow a particular format. This is not to flaunt convention, but to find a position, my space, a Maori place amidst the conversations and storylines that articulate living in and between two worlds. In doing this I have sought to manage the research and writing process by having recourse to a conceptual design. The work is informed by Kaupapa Maori and Complexity theory. It is autoethnographic in style moving back and forth between an insider’s passionate perspective and an outsider’s impassive one (Van Maanen 1988) all the while I tell stories and engage in conversation about what I/we see and how this can help me/us to know how trans-Tasman migration has influenced a change in the way we practice our Maori ways of being and knowing. As the inquirer, my role is to be the facilitator of the emergent in which bicultural issues, scholarly insights, and the ‘new’ in the ‘old’ narrative unfolds. I then turn to my Tupuna, Matua Tekoteko who now becomes the kaitiaki or caretaker of this work. He holds it within for safekeeping.

---

4 The term whanau is the Maori word for family. The term is defined in the Maori-English dictionary as the natural and fundamental unit of society and so I use the term in this thesis to mean the individual as being part of the immediate family or the individual as being part of the extended family, which can extend into the general Maori community as a whole. The word is used identically to identify the individual or the family group. The storylines will help to delineate in which context the word is used. The word is interchangeable i.e. whanau my immediate family or whanau extended community. The position the word represents depends on the sentence or the place in which the word is being used.

5 Aotearoa is the Maori word for New Zealand. Where I am discussing the homeland from a Maori perspective I use Aotearoa. I use the Pakeha (European New Zealander) term New Zealand to refer to a non-Maori perspective of our homeland.
In the beginning…

In the beginning there was a void,
Within the void there was night.
From within the night, seeds were cultivated.
It was here that movement began - the stretching.
There, the shoots enlarged and swelled.
Then there was pure energy.
Then there was the sub-consciousness.
Then the desire to know,
Movement from darkness to light,
From conception to birth,
From the learning to knowing,
I sneeze and there is life…

I te Timatanga ko te Kore
Ko te po
Na te po
Ka puta ko te kukune
Ko te pupuke
Ko te hihiri
Ko te mahara
Ko te manako
Ka puta i te whai ao
Ki te ao marama e
Tihei mauri ora

I te Timatanga ko te Kore is a well known saying about the creation. Here it is used to highlight the birth of knowledge. This piece was taken from the NZ Ministry of Education Website http://www.educate.ece.govt.nz/learning/curriculumAndLearning/AssessmentForLearning/TeWhatuPoikekaEnglishLanguageVersion/KaupapaMaori/InterpretationOfTauparapara.aspx.
Part One - Te Matenga

My Precious Grandchild

My precious grandchild; go into the world
Your gift is your Maori heritage
You are a descendant, a learning one, from God the parentless
Your power and your strength are handed down from your ancestors.
Walk the face of the earth and let love be your friend.
When you feel sad and down, my grandchild lay down and sleep.
You will see me, your, Mum within that window of meditation.
I will be proud and I will love you.
Within those thoughts, rise above the flotsam within this world.
You know right from wrong, be strong, be courageous, humility is my gift to you.

Taku Mokopuna

Taku Mokopuna; haere kei roto i te ao
To taonga to Maoritanga
Ko koe, he uri, he pia no Io Matua te kore
Te mana, te ihi i tuku mai no Io tatau tupuna
Takahia te mata o te whenua na te aroha hei hore tuku ama hoa
E moko ka awangawanga i runga ia koe, me takato, ki te moe
Ka kite koe i ahau, ko kui i roto te matapihia mataaho hei nui te hau e kawe mea te aroha
Piki kei runga nga tawhao whao o tioa nei, mau tonu kii te tika kei te he
Kia kaha kia manawanui, Na te humarietanga te takoha tau.

Taku mokopuna is a song written for me by uncle Sarge. This waiata is about moving away from Aotearoa and my feelings of loss and longing to be home. We talked often about how I missed home, my mum and the whanau so I would dream them into my mind and thoughts. His words tell me not to feel alone in the world and to aspire to return to the land. This song is a reminder about who I am, where I come from and how I am connected in the eternal circle (see p. 23).
Chapter 1. Summary and Overview

…he kapiti hono he tatai hono…
…that which is joined together becomes an unbroken line…

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about seeking empowerment, through informed reflection. I play the part of a maieutic inquirer who brings into being new ideas that have been stored away in the minds, hearts and thoughts of others. I include my stories, experiences and knowledge. This information is then nurtured, with scholarly care to create the gift of knowing found in story. By incorporating theory and narrative in this way the thesis emerges. As a maieutic investigator, my role is to facilitate the emergent in which bicultural issues, scholarly insights, and the new in the old narrative unfolds.

The work is informed by Kaupapa Maori, ethnography, autoethnography and complexity theory. Van Maanen (1988, p.77) claims autoethnographic work moves back and forth between ‘an insider’s passionate perspective and an outsider’s dispassionate one’. All the while I tell stories, ask questions and engage in conversation about “what we know and how we know and what we see and how we can tell” as a means to gain a shared understanding about our place as Maori in this new land Australia. The thesis aims to identify the changes that occur in culture that lead to a shift in Maori identity when whanau leave their traditional homelands in Aotearoa and move across the Tasman to live in Australia.

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3 Maori in this thesis is defined using the definition from Barlow (1991, p.70) ‘as the name given to the indigenous people of New Zealand. The origin of the word is not known but it is thought that we may have referred to ourselves as Maori before the European arrived in Aotearoa’.

3 The term whanau is the Maori word for family. The word is defined in the Maori-English Dictionary as the natural and fundamental unit of Maori society. I use the term in this thesis in an interchangeable way to mean the individual as being part of the immediate family or the individual as being part of the extended family. I also use the term in the general Maori community. The storylines will help to delineate which context the word is used.

4 Aotearoa is the Maori word for New Zealand. Where I am discussing the homeland from a Maori perspective I use the term Aotearoa and when I am discussing it in a European context I use the word New Zealand.
It presents a community narrative made up from short stories and informal conversations I gathered from young people, families and community organizations during individual interviews and focus groups. The storylines then illustrate how whanau have managed to exist as Maori in another country without the aid of their whanau system to support their traditional and cultural wellbeing. The stories presented here give meaning and understanding to the realities and the learning experiences Maori encounter when they relocate across the Tasman to settle in Australia. They also highlight strategies and coping mechanisms used to bridge the cultural gaps found beyond resettlement. For most Maori the move across the Tasman offers exciting new opportunities to work, establish careers, buy homes and enjoy lifestyle changes. It is also the first step outside of the kinship system that has helped to sustain their traditional way of being for generations. Many see the move across the Tasman as a fresh start and certainly an opportunity to learn new things and gain knowledge about the wider global community and so this thesis reveals how Maori deal with integration, assimilation and enculturation as they adjust to life beyond their traditional Maori world. It highlights strategies and resources created to help whanau manage the changes they encounter. Most of the conversations shared in this study talk about how Maori move back and forth between their traditional world and mainstream Australia as they try to hold on to their traditional ways amidst the demands of everyday living in an Australian society. The discussion draws attention to the consequences if whanau favour one way over the other.

Concerns are raised about how our Maori children cope with this transitional process.

"The Despair I felt many years ago returns to the core of my being as I recollect the challenges my own children encountered when they first started school after arriving in Australia. Their start at Kura⁶ and Kohanga Reo⁷ was quickly dismissed as I recall their teacher saying ‘don’t worry they’ll settle in and be just like the other kids because children don’t like to be different so anything they were taught from their other schools will be forgotten quite quickly if its not taught here…Ititahi."⁸

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5 The blue writing is used to highlight the quotes, reflections and ideas from research participants including my own. I have added…to identify the conversation is ongoing.
6 Kura is the Maori word for school.
7 Kohanga Reo is a language nest. It is similar to a preschool in Australia.
8 Ititahi translated means wee-one. It is my childhood name and used in this thesis as a pseudonym to identify me.
I also thought about the famous poem written for a young Maori girl in 1949 by the late Sir Apirana Ngata, which has been translated below by Maori scholar Professor Ranginui Walker. It reads:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{e tipu e rea mo nga ra o to ao} \\
\text{ko to ringaringa ki nga rakau a te pakeha hei orange mo to tinana} \\
\text{ko to ngakau ki nga taonga o o tipuna hei tikitiki mo to mahunga} \\
\text{ko to wairua ki te atua nana nei nga mea katoa}
\end{align*}\]

Grow tender shoot for the days of your world,

Turn your hand to the tools of the Pakeha for the wellbeing of your body,

Turn your heart to the treasurers of your ancestors as a crown for your head,

Give your soul unto god the author of all things (Walker 2001, p.397).

The power of this poem reminds Maori, including me, about the responsibility we have to teach our children and indeed future generations about their whakapapa and it also illustrates how this knowledge has the capacity to connect them with their tribal people, their papakainga and all the treasures to be found in this world. It also encourages Maori to learn to navigate the Pakeha world. Maori scholar Professor Mason Durie made a similar observation to what Ngata had seen only this time his message extends further a field, to include the global world. Durie (2001, p.3) argued that ‘in order for Maori to acquire a secure and meaningful identity and to enjoy good health and a sense of well being, they must be able to live comfortably as Maori and as citizens of the world’.

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9 Sir Apirana Ngata was a Maori leader, politician, statesman and scholar. He was born in 1874 and is of Ngati Porou descent. For more information refer to Walker (2001) *He Tipua: The life of Sir Apirana Ngata* Penguin books, Auckland, NZ.
10 Pakeha is European.
11 Whakapapa is genealogy, genealogical connections and storylines.
12 Papakainga is land owned by whanau passed down or it can be referred to as Maori ancestral land. It means a nurturing place to return to. In this thesis it refers to land where our homestead stands.
These thoughts and well wishes from Maori leaders encourage whanau to be mindful about both the Maori and Pakeha worlds we live in today and to remember that each has an important role to play in our lives. They remind us that it is important to be grounded as Maori before we start to navigate other worlds. Whanau must therefore understand what being Maori really means if they are to be successful in their attempt to integrate into the Australian system comfortably. To understand this idea further I wanted to know what whanau thought about the term Maori and what it means for them now that they live in Australia. I also wondered whether their identity had changed because of the move. I found myself moving between the insider and outsider position and at times narrating my own story to evoke theirs. The information we share is priceless. As I visited various whanau groups it was helpful to differentiate the unique ways that each generation reacted to my query about identity and culture with responses typically different according to age and gender. Nonetheless, a point raised constantly by most Maori is that traditional education and the identity of our children is extremely important. These views shed light on how the different groups in the wider Maori community think about development and the changes required to improve this situation. Their ideas and thoughts offer valuable information about the ways we might improve on what exists today. As the conversation gathered momentum additional themes materialized moving the general discussion from a whanau perspective to the wider Maori community where questions about hapu and iwi support and involvement emerge.

Here themes including the implementation of Maori education initiatives in Australia, building a Marae or cultural centre and establishing specific organizations to help whanau with welfare, health and resettlement issues are discussed. Then there was a mood change as stories about community development began to surface and people talked about their hopes and desires about the future. I feel a slight sense of trepidation as I reflect on this change. British science fiction author Sir Arthur Clarke (cited in Laszlo 2006, p.ix-xiv) once claimed, ‘anyone who tries to write about the future should consider the failures of the past’. He also said, ‘it is just as well the real future has to be created and not just foreseen’. With these thoughts in mind my thesis travels back in time to see what others have done to make their transition to the Australian way of life a positive experience. In this context we also look at the challenges and difficulties encountered too. So as I gather threads from our past and also the present a community narrative that illustrates our migration history and the position of our Australian based whanau today unfolds.
It is my hope this thesis will guide whanau and our Maori community through some of the cultural and identity changes that occur during and beyond migration and resettlement in Australia. Lastly, this thesis identifies research methods suitable for inquiry with the Maori community. It examines culturally appropriate practices and describes the self-organizing dynamic and emerging behaviour of our whanau and Maori as a whole.

**APPROACH**

The inquiry is qualitative in nature and crosses transdisciplinary boundaries in ethnography, autoethnography, Kaupapa Maori Research\(^\text{13}\) and Complexity theory. Each approach plays an important role however, the collective effort of all working together is the strength of this methodology. Ethnography is a qualitative approach that aims to understand cultural phenomena by observing and learning about people. Denzin (1989) claims that interpretive studies can often begin with a biographically meaningful moment in a subject’s life when a specific event has transformed them. The experience becomes learning and understanding about how people live these realities on a daily basis. In many ways this is what happens to many Maori when they leave whanau and the kinship system they know well, to live in a different country.

Autoethnography is a research approach that analyzes personal experience and draws on autobiography to present its findings. Most autobiographers write about epiphanies in that they remember those special moments that have made a significant impact on their lives (Ellis, Adams, Bochner 2010). Moving beyond Aotearoa and leaving whanau behind is an important milestone for many Maori, so telling our stories as ethnographies and autoethnographies gives perspective to the migration and resettlement experiences many of us have lived. These methods enable us to tell our stories the way we experienced them. Maori academic LT Smith (1999, p.173) claims, ‘in Maori communities today there is a deep distrust and suspicion of research’. This wariness is, ‘not just of non-indigenous researchers but of the whole philosophy of the research process in general’. History reminds us the Pakenga system in Aotearoa has been largely responsible for the disempowerment of our Maori people. By revisiting our storylines Maori can validate how destructive research has been for us. When we conduct studies of any kind that involve Maori suspicion mistrust and even anomosity towards the process is often a major factor to consider.

For this reason I have drawn on the principles of Kaupapa Maori research (referred to hereafter as Kaupapa Maori) to guide and direct my study. This ensures the investigation is culturally competent, the integrity of the research community is upheld and moreover, the researcher is guided and supported throughout the study as a whole. Kaupapa Maori also provides an opportunity for us as Maori to illustrate to others how we see the world and our place in it. I anticipate it may also bridge the gap between our two very different worlds. The last component of the research approach is complexity science (referred to hereafter as complexity). Vladimir Dimitrov (2003) claims:

Society is a web of interactions and interrelationships of individuals and their natural and artificial worlds. The dynamics of this web, its self organization, evolution and transformation are in the focus of the research of social complexity. This research is centred in the rich conceptual basis of non linear science – the science of turbulence and chaos, emergence and fractals, self organization and criticality: the science of complexity. The word ‘complexity’ originates from the Latin word complexus which means totality; the science of complexity explores totality of dynamics - forces and energies - permeating the universe and connecting everything that exists in an all-embracing dynamic web (Dimitrov 2003, p.21).

The potential of complexity to help articulate how whanau reorganize themselves after settlement in Australia provides a valuable source of information about social dynamics, emerging patterns and interconnecting relationships. Kuhn (2009) postulates:

A complexity (short for complexity science or theory) perspective represents the beginnings of a new paradigm. A paradigm, in essence, describes a situation where a set of concepts, beliefs or philosophies is shared by a group of people. Under the title of ‘complexity’ can be grouped a newly emerging (if you think concepts developed over the past 50 years are new) set of concepts and basic assumptions about the nature and organisation of the world derived from studying dynamical systems in domains such as physics, mathematics, computing and biology. This identifiable set of understandings, provides a way of thinking and a way of seeing - a paradigmatic framing of our sense making (Kuhn 2009, p.19-20).
This complexity approach also lends a hand in helping Maori who have made Australia their home identify patterns that might inform our children and theirs about how to stay connected to their Maori traditions and culture in the future.

Regrettably half way through this study I encountered bullying from a member of our Maori community and this raised fresh ethical concerns so I was forced to alter my research approach. I felt restrained. I was silenced. Then after considerable thought I decided to highlight this unpleasant experience as a very important learning experience for our Maori people, because in reality this destructive behavior occurs often. I wanted to share this experience to highlight the negative effects of this behavior. I drew on autoethnography so I could. And I did.

In autoethnography readers and audiences alike are invited to share in the emotional experience and in that process, consider how we as a community can move beyond the disparaging behaviour and create more constructive initiatives to move forward in a positive way that benefits our children and of course our people as a whole. Anthropologist Michael Jackson (1989, p18) claims that, ‘by telling stories, auto ethnographers invite readers to embark on a collaborative journey that moves between individual experience and social roles, relationships and structures’. This change in method also opened a new window, only this time it was into my own world. While each approach plays a fundamental part of the research process in its own right, it is the capacity of these autonomous parts working together as a unit that maintains the authenticity of this thesis overall.

PARAMETERS

Esteemed weaver Erenora Puketapu-Hetet (1989) taught the following philosophy:

We have a phrase - I nga ra o mua - which refers to the past. But the word ‘mua’ also means ‘in front of you’. The Maori have a different time concept, which means we cannot separate ourselves from our ancestors or the generations in front of us. Our past is our future and is also our present, like an eternal circle (Puketapu-Hetet 1989, p.5).
This everlasting circle comes to life in the thesis as it shifts back and forth in time blurring the margins and extending the boundaries in the process. Furthermore, as narratives are brought to the forefront valuable information found hidden in old storylines and conversation are discovered. It is therefore necessary to manage this information in a specialized way and so I draw on the metaphor of the ‘holographic negative’ a term coined by social scientist Earl Babbie (2005) to articulate how one might manage large amounts of information in a cohesive way. This holographic metaphor offers a lens from where one can view and examine how each component whether big, small, old or new, is linked. It also elucidates the working relationship between each part. The approach is effective too when managing large amounts of data or trying to navigate broad parameters in time and space. For example Babbie (2005) claims that we must always capture the big picture, as an over-riding image in our minds, even when we are working with the smaller components. He describes this concept further in the following explanation:

If we were to take a photograph of you and me, we would be able to make a print from the negative and we would both be in the picture. If we were to cut the negative in half and make a print from one of the pieces, only one of us would show up in the new photograph. A holographic negative on the other hand if cut in half and a print is made from one of the pieces, the resulting print would show the whole picture. If you were to cut it again, it would still show the whole picture but the image will be faint (Babbie 2005, p.1).

Recourse to this hologram image draws our attention to complexity and its role in articulating the theoretical explanation underpinning this methodology. Within this perspective comparisons can be made between a hologram and the complexity concept, fractality. Briefly fractality refers to a continuation of cycles within cycles (Braden 2009). The key point to consider here is that both of these concepts enable a non-linear approach to understanding social phenomena. This process is aided by drawing on the metaphors used in complexity. Throughout this thesis metaphors, similes and comparative descriptions are often used. This writing device can be helpful, but carries an inherent risk. It is therefore important to note that the helpfulness of these tools lies in the freedom to be propositional. This risk raises the concern about how far a reader is willing to make an interpretation and to stretch their understanding.
The framework also offers a context from where one might explore some of the ambiguities of uncertainty, the subjective in human behaviour and the management of evolving phenomena. These concepts are explored at length in chapters to come.

**SOURCES**

Paulo Freire (1970) once said:

> If it is in speaking their word that people, by naming the world, transform it, dialogue imposes itself as the way by which they achieve significance as human beings. Dialogue is thus an existential necessity. And since dialogue is the encounter in which the united reflection and action of the dialoguers are addressed to the world, which is to be transformed and humanized, this dialogue cannot be reduced to the act of one person’s “depositing” ideas in another, nor can it become a simple exchange of ideas to be “consumed” by the discussants…Because dialogue is an encounter among women and men who name the world, it must not be a situation where some name on behalf of others. It is an act of creation; it must not serve as a crafty instrument for domination of one person by another. The domination implicit in dialogue is that of the world by the dialoguers; it is conquest of the world for the liberation of humankind (Freire 1970, p.69-70).

This thesis embraces the words of Freire and sources its main data from the voices of the people, myself included. In 2004 I conducted a feasibility study on the potential of conducting Maori research here in Australia. At this time very little had been written about Maori migration to Australia and the relocation experiences were still embedded in the tacit conversations shared between whanau and the Maori community. As a welfare worker in Sydney, formal research seemed a likely strategy to address some of the cross-cultural problems that emerged as families worked to adapt to living in Australia post resettlement. Many of the challenges they faced were similar to those my own family encountered during our resettlement here in this land. I wanted to capture these stories and give voice to the peoples realities as they have unfolded in the hope that by sharing these experiences with each other and perhaps leaders in various places we could find ways to improve or change the problems to help other families.
The stories and conversations shared in this thesis come from within the New South Wales Maori community who as a migrant group has existed in the margins of mainstream Australia for many years. I visited participants in their homes, at coffee shops, at community gatherings and in organizational meetings and forums. Participants were aged 18 through to 85 years old. I facilitated three large focus groups and from these forums, scheduled two smaller meetings with three and four participants. I conducted individual interviews too. I incorporated autoethnography into my methodology, as my own migration narrative is part of our communal story.

At the same time I was in the field I began to look for existing research work and literature written by Maori or from within an Australian context but there was very little. I did on the other hand come across an early study by Paul Bergin (1994) who examined Maori culture and the influence of sports on the community offered useful insights. The community spoke highly of Paul and his research efforts. I also found interesting information in newspaper reports, academic articles, and government documents. And then I located old stories in the Sydney archives. The missionaries, government officials of the day and early settlers to Australia and Aotearoa wrote comprehensive records about the early meetings between Maori and Pakeha. They describe the relationships and travel patterns Maori made between Aotearoa and Australia in the early days. Still there were limitations finding rigor in the data written from within an Australian context and so this position made the stories and conversations shared by the people themselves a major information source for this study. I made several trips across the Tasman to gather specific reference material, both written and verbal, most of which was found in private collections. These trips were extremely important for making connections with places and families associated to some of the people whose stories are retold in this thesis. My discoveries were interesting, delightful and at times enchanting. They were also challenging.

In the last decade New Zealand, like other countries around the world, has been largely affected by the global recession with increasing unemployment forcing many families including Maori to travel across the Tasman to Australia in search of work. This exodus has been a large loss to the homeland, but more importantly, it has raised the awareness for politicians and Maori leaders alike about their voting power. So, in response,
a report on Maori in Australia was commissioned by the Department of Maori Development (Te Puni Kokiri\textsuperscript{14}) to ascertain migration and resettlement trends. In 2005 the report titled \textit{Nga Maori i Te Ao Moemoea}\textsuperscript{15} - Maori in Australia authored by senior policy officer Dr. Paul Hamer presents a comprehensive review of trans-Tasman Maori migration. The report provides an important source of information for this thesis.

**STRUCTURE**

There is a favorite Maori proverb that reads: \textit{he kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro} - to see a face is to stir the memory which reminds Maori that when we come together our people weep, cry and embrace because in reconnection emotions are stirred as we recall our relationships with each other. These emotions deepen as we remember loved ones who have died and the grief and love exchanged by whanau in times gone by is remembered. Maori also have symbols that have the potential to evoke these same feelings, such as the Tekoteko.\textsuperscript{16} Inspired by the saying \textit{he kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro} and heartened by the suggestion from LT Smith (1999, p.28) that, ‘Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes’.

A special wooden man, the Tekoteko houses the thesis and serves as the kaitiaki\textsuperscript{17} or caretaker of this mahi or work. Maori symbols play an important role in managing and transferring traditional knowledge as anthropologist and esteemed Maori scholar Hirini Moko Mead (1969, p.201) points out, ‘that by a process of symbolic transformation an organizing concept such as Maoritanga\textsuperscript{18} tends to be operationalized into increasingly concrete terms. Material culture is one of the major means used to accomplish this end’. Thus through the engagement with traditional symbols Maori are able to engage, reconnect and more importantly reassert their sense of self within a cultural context.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[14] Te Puni Kokiri (TPK) the Ministry of Maori of Development.
\item[15] Nga Maori i Te Ao Moemoea Maori translated reads living in the land of the dreamtime people (Australia).
\item[16] Tekoteko is a wooden carved human-like figure representing an ancestor. He is also a symbol of safety as his main role is to keep the whare tupuna safe. In Maori tradition a story about someone’s life is seen as tapu or sacred so for this reason I have embelshed the thesis into the body of the tekoteko to keep these stories and the people who shared them safe (metaphorically speaking). I use the term tekoteko I also use the terms matua tekoteko; which means this ancestor is my uncle. The term matua refers to uncle or elderly male elder which illustrates’ the interexchangeable identity of this tupuna or symbol i.e. I refer to him as matua tekoteko to acknowledge his genealogical link to me. In the role as a tekoteko he is symbolic of an important Maori icon. There is a further explanation in Chapter 1.
\item[17] Kaitiaki is a caretaker or keeper of something.
\item[18] Maoritanga is traditions and ideals of Maori people in a collective context.
\end{footnotes}
Let us now turn to the written composition of the thesis. The main text juxtaposes the body of the Tekoteko creating interconnecting trajectories that run parallel, cross over and at times meet at various points in the thesis. This brings the carved man whom I shall refer to from here on as Matua Tekoteko alive. Matua Tekoteko opens this thesis with a whaikorero\textsuperscript{19} or traditional Maori speech in which he reveals his whakapapa links to me and then explains his role in this study. As a central figure in Maoridom this Tekoteko is a visual moiré to Maori of the ancestors and the storylines that connect families across the generations. Matua Tekoteko also evokes expressions of communication, knowledge, control, and safety and he stands for the security, protection, and wellbeing of the tribe. This role extends to the protection of my thesis. Maori believe people’s stories are sacred and must be protected and so I have embedded this whole thesis into the body of Matua Tekoteko to safeguard the storylines and to maintain the wellbeing of the people from where these narratives have come.

Structurally there are three focus points on the body of Matua Tekoteko, which are consistent with the three written sections of the thesis. Part one is called Te Matenga\textsuperscript{20} or the head of, which this summary is a part. Part two is Te Puku\textsuperscript{21} meaning the stomach and part three is He Waewae\textsuperscript{22} or the feet. The head or Matenga introduces the philosophical and theoretical reasoning behind the creation of this work. In this section I explain why adopting my particular research approach is valuable when working with the nonlinear dynamics such as those that transpire and emerge from within the research community. For example being open to engaging emerging stories in face-to-face meetings with Maori I may meet spontaneously in my day-to-day life or during community gatherings.

In part two, Te Puku is the main thesis of this work. I refer to it as the ‘guts’ of the thesis since it is located in Te Puku or the stomach of Matua Tekoteko. The largest of the three parts, this segment holds a significant amount of information including fieldwork data in the stories and conversations gathered from individuals, groups, and the archives. Here I unpack layer upon layer of information and data, drawing out themes and attractors in the process. The third and final part is the conclusion, which is located at He Waewae or in the feet of Matua Tekoteko. At this

\textsuperscript{19} Whaikorero means to speak, orate, oratory.  
\textsuperscript{20} Te Matenga is the head.  
\textsuperscript{21} Te Puku is the stomach.  
\textsuperscript{22} He waewae are the feet.
Juncture I draw readers’ attention to the function of feet and their ability to bear the full weight of a body. Feet also signify mobility and so metaphorically they are symbolic of the pathways forthcoming generations might walk. In this segment I present the research findings, discuss the analysis, share my reflections and hypothesize a number of important recommendations.

At the introduction of the three sections there are accompanying symbols, which have been strategically placed to stimulate a specific idea or thought. Each symbol is accompanied by an explanation about its purpose and the association it has to the thesis. My intention is that the reader would then meditate upon this before proceeding to read the chapter. Raymond Firth’s (1973) symbolic distinction provides a useful theoretical perspective in how one might view these signs. Firth (1973, p.76) suggests, ‘a symbol is a device for enabling us to make abstractions but with some end in view – a symbol he argues has instrumental value’. With this understanding in mind my main objective from here on is to make sure the thesis fits perfectly into the body of Matua Tekoteko and so in order to achieve this goal the proportion of each body part also serves as a visual indicator for each segment of the written thesis. The question might be asked why create such a level of elaboration? This work embraces Kaupapa Maori and within that tradition the richness of elaboration is standard and similar to that which has come to characterize traditional thesis presentation. The result is the work seeks to strike a balance between the authority and influence of such major traditions.

NOTES ON PROCEDURE
To engage this thesis is to embark on a journey of reflection and learning. It is about understanding how to comprehend the ambiguities found in different cultures and knowledge systems. For some the cross-cultural experience is inspiring and educational, but for others it can sometimes be confusing and overwhelming. For those new to Maori culture the overload of information, exposure to new cultural ways and the difficult task of comprehending the subjective nature of Maori knowledge and tradition can often be an exhausting experience; physically, mentally and spiritually. As a consequence support is vital to ensure the journey is made with confidence and understanding. I therefore offer a number of simple tools to help navigate some of the unfamiliar terrain in Maori tradition, culture and philosophy. These devices also assist readers to follow emerging storylines. There is a belief in our Maori world that knowledge must always be sought after and the process of gaining it is as important as what is
found. Like our stories from old, seeking knowledge is a search that requires a great deal of effort and diligence. I suggest this idea is considered seriously as the journey into our space continues.

As a starting point I propose that one bears in mind two central themes. The first is what I call visible perception. I use a visual system to allow one to assimilate information and establish picture stories, which will help towards building an overall portrait about trans-Tasman Maori migration in Australia. The presentation includes utilizing a variety of genres including pictures, photos, poems, songs and cultural artworks. The text is written with specific colours that are symbolically important to Maori. They create a cultural ambience or atmosphere of place through our eyes. Every Maori word is written in the colour red to represent Te Whi a o,\(^{23}\) which is symbolic of blood and our connection to Papatuanuku,\(^{24}\) our earth mother who gives life to all living things. In the colour red our Maori language comes alive to emphasis a particular point of importance. The colour black in the main text of the thesis symbolizes Te Kore\(^ {25}\) the realm of potential being, which reminds us about the darkness from where the earth and all that dwells thereon emerged. We too emerged from the darkness and the night. The white backdrop in the paper on which these writings are printed is significant of Te Ao Marama,\(^ {26}\) the realm of being and light that represents the physical world, purity, harmony, enlightenment and balance. Finally, I use blue ink to draw attention to specific ideas, thoughts and propositions shared by the participants who made a contribution to this thesis. This includes my own storylines. Blue is my favorite colour because it prompts me to look to Ranginui\(^ {27}\) our sky father in the same light as Papatuanuku our earth mother.

A final note on the written context of this document refers to the way I cite Maori people whose ideas or knowledge I have used in the thesis. For example, when I draw upon a specific person’s thought, or I quote his or her words every effort is made to acknowledge along side his or her name, his or her position or the status they hold in the community. I do this only when the person is first introduced.

\(^{23}\) Te Whi a o refers to the colour of blood, which signifies the realm of coming into being. It symbolizes the female element.
\(^{24}\) Papatuanuku is mother earth.
\(^{25}\) Te Kore is likened to chaos, void, nothingness, unlimited potential for being. Refer to Barlow (1991) for further information.
\(^{26}\) Te Ao Marama is the world of light. The light comes out of the darkness or void.
\(^{27}\) Ranginui is the term to describe our great sky father.
Beyond that, I will then refer to the person by his or her given name, for example LT Smith. When I am quoting or acknowledging a point of reference made by an elder from my area or whom I have Whakapapa connections I introduce him or her using the persons full name. Thereafter I call him uncle or Matua and if the person is a woman I refer to her as aunty or Whaea. If, however, the person is a Maori elder from another tribal area I refer to the person by his or her full name, for example, Ranginui Walker or John Rangiha. This seemingly small act is highly significant in our Maori world because it serves our people in a number of ways. Primarily it recognizes a person’s expertise and often this is confirmed by the position or role they hold in the community; that is, leader or specialist of Maori lore, genealogy, healing, arts, politics and so on. It is also a sign of respect. The other issue relates to Maori etiquette. To identify oneself and share family genealogy in a public forum is a very important part of Maori tradition, as it is a way of making connections to people and their storylines. Introducing oneself, however, must be done with special care to ensure this address is not carried out in a boastful way as the following metaphor remind us “kaore te kumara e whaakii ana tana reka,” which translated, means “the sweet potato does not say how sweet it is” meaning one should not be too forthright about his or her status or achievements because this could be seen as conceited and immodest.

There is a metaphor that gives another perspective. It says, “e hara toku toa, he taki tahi, he toa taki tini”, which simply says, “my success should not be bestowed on me alone, for it is the achievement of the collective”. This suggests the acknowledgement of a group is important and the individual who stands to speak should always keep in mind he or she belong’s to a collective. Again, individuals in the group must be alert to the opportunity to support a person who contributes to the benefit of the collective, suggesting again both the tribe and the individual receives, acknowledgement and recognition. The deliberate crossing of cultural writing traditions is an explanatory and exploratory device, which is used throughout the thesis, and so in terms of non-Maori quotes I follow western tradition when data or information is shared by using the persons last name.

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28 Whaea is the term for aunty.
The second theme involves the process of examining the thoughts and ideas of others against one's own accepted knowledge. Again and again *whanau* are reminded by our *Kaumatua* and *Kuia* that it can sometimes take a lifetime to fully understand *Maori* culture and tradition so it is imperative to keep in mind that *Maori* education takes time. At this point I ask readers to cast their thoughts back to the hologram metaphor and to reflect on the big picture as the over-riding image even as we go about collecting the smaller parts. There is a need to pay attention to the association between the individual and the group and the small idea against the big picture. This requires an understanding of the ongoing shift between the - “I, me and my and the - we, us and our”. For example, it is necessary to consider the interchangeable relationship between my role as the individual person and the position I hold in the *Maori* community, which is articulated in the following way: “the, me I am and the, me I must become is the same”.

These words acknowledge the different roles I play in this thesis including my sense of self as a *Maori* woman who was raised by grandparents on traditional lands in *Aotearoa*; it recognizes my role as a mother and grandmother who now lives in Australia and is part of the trans-Tasman *Maori* community. In this persona I use the name *Ititahi* to identify the, “me I am”. In the same light “the, me I must become” differentiates the other role I play which is a *Maori* woman who is also a western trained scholar working daily to adapt and succeed as a member of the wider Australian community. In this role I use my *Pakeha* name Roseanna. It is important to note the ongoing interchange that occurs between the individual and the group, the immediate family and the *Hapu* or extended family and so on. Still the person who takes on these multiple roles is “me”. This way of thinking applies to the way I use the term *whanau*, which according to the *Ngata English-Maori Dictionary* (1993) means family. The full definition explains the word as being the natural and fundamental unit of society, so the word *whanau* may describe a person or people who are not directly related to each other or a specific family, but are an integral part of the larger *Maori* community. This requires the reader to be consciously aware of the ongoing interchange that occurs between the individual and the collective group shared in the storylines, which can often shift back and forth between the immediate family unit and the extended community system.

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29 *Kaumatua* is a male elder.
30 *Kuia* is a female elder.
31 *Ititahi* is the word for wee-one which is a pet name I was given by my grandmother when I was a baby.
32 *Hapu* is a sub tribe.
To explore the issue of language a step further, I bring to this thesis the assumption that non-Maori will also read this thesis and so I walk a thin line about what I present in terms of communicating to both Maori and European. I therefore use Te Reo Maori or the Maori language in places where I think it is better placed than English to explain a particular point or concept. At specific times I also use Maori and English together where I think it is necessary to build on a particular explanation. Please note that I do not include macrons on the Maori words for two very important reasons. I wanted to reflect the lack of Maori learning resources in Australia and hoped this work may prompt conversation and discussion about these realities in a constructive way. There is a chance I will be admonished for not including these macrons, but it is a challenge I invite if it influences a change for the better. To give readers support and guidance I provide a footnote to translate, explain and offer links to further references about Maori words or terms. A glossary located in the front of the thesis gives additional assistance with language and definitions. Conversation prompts are another device to assist readers.

These may include a metaphor, short story, poem, song or picture that is deliberately and strategically placed to stimulate and enhance thought, reflection and dialogue. Maori academic LT Smith argues that:

> Research can provide systemic ways of understanding our own predicaments, of answering our own questions, and of helping us as communities to solve our problems and develop ourselves. Engaging in a discussion about research as an indigenous issue has been about finding a voice, or a way of voicing concerns, fears, desires, aspirations needs and questions as they relate to research (LT Smith 1999, p.193).

I suggest research is also about sharing knowledge with our whanau and bridging the gaps that exist between Maori and non-Maori. Besides as more Maori move into the global arena it is essential to engage in conversation and dialogue about how we might pass on traditional knowledge to new generations, who may live beyond the boundaries of our homelands. These thoughts and ideas are the foundation on which this thesis emerges.

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33 Te Reo Maori refers to the Maori language.
He Kakano Ahau34 - This is who I am

He kakano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiatea
And I will never be lost I am a seed,
Born of greatness descended from a line of chiefs,
He kakano ahau

Ki hea ra au e hitekiteki
Ana ka mau tonu i ahau oku tikanga
Toku reo toku oho oho toku reo toku mapihi
Maurea toku whakai marihi
My language is my strength, an ornament of grace

Ka tu ana ahau ka uhia au e oku tupuna
My pride I will show that you may know who I am,
I am a warrior, a survivor
E morehu ahau
Ki hea ra au e hitekiteki
Ana ka mau tonu i ahau oku tikanga
Toku reo toku oho oho
Toku reo toku mapihi maurea
Toku whakai marihi
My language is my strength, an ornament of grace

34 He kakano ahau refers to “This is who I am.”
Chapter 2. The Eternal Circle - Setting the Scene

...i nga ra o mua...

...our past is our future and is also our present, like an eternal circle...

MAORI IDENTITY AND CULTURE

The song he kakano ahau\(^1\) presented in the introduction to this chapter outlines perfectly why there is a need to recognise Maori identity and culture in today’s ever-changing world. This waiata\(^2\) also stands as a reminder to our people to be mindful of the importance of maintaining their ancestral lines as these nourish their sense of self and being as a Maori. The late Erenora Puketapu-Hetet (1989) once said, ‘i nga ra o mua’\(^3\) which refers to the past. The word ‘mua’ she claims also means in front of you. Maori have a time concept, which reminds us that we cannot separate ourselves from our ancestors who came before us, or the generations in front of us. Our past is our future and it is also our present just like an eternal circle. I suspect our kuia is meaning “the eternal circle” is a metaphor to describe life as circular because our old people or elders believe we come from a special place before we are born and in death we return back there. The circle symbolises the continuation of existence both in life and death as an ongoing process. Maori recognize that to connect to this timeless orb, it is necessary to know the ancient storylines inherited from the ancestors. This includes the knowledge of our genealogical storylines which connect us to the stars, gods, mortal man and the canoes that transported our people from the old world to Aotearoa. Consequently, for those born and raised on their tribal lands with Maori culture and tradition practiced all around them, these connections are relatively simple to make. For example, each time Maori come together, genealogical

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\(^1\) He kakano ahau refers to ‘this is who I am’.

\(^2\) Waiata is a song.

\(^3\) I nga ra o mua refers to looking to the future. This term also recognizes the past.
storylines are shared to rekindle connections to each other and to strengthen relationships to ancestors who have passed on, families living in the present and even grandchildren who are yet to be born. This system has served Maori well however, as more whanau move away from their traditional homelands and venture out into the international arena, many are at a loss as to how they might manage without this cultural arrangement close at hand.

I came to this land to give my children a better life. Now they are materially rich, but I fear I have severed them from the very thread that nurtures and sustains their sense of being…I wanted to make amends and so I set out to create a new thread that would provide a connecting point for their children. This thesis connects my mokopuna\(^4\) to the eternal circle...Ititahi.

Firmly located in an Australian context and written from within the urban metropolis of New South Wales this thesis illustrates how Maori adapt to living under a new system in a foreign land. In addition it provides a platform for Maori voices to emerge and to share amongst ourselves our experiences, dreams, challenges and fears about this new life in Australia. It informs people beyond our Maori world about how we live in this new land and the cultural changes that occur to our sense of self as we forge new pathways. Bateson (1979) taught, to stand back and learn from others by watching how reality operates naturally. He coined the phrase the ‘pattern that connects’, which embraces the idea that all living creatures are interconnected in some way and that these relationships are useful in helping us to see the patterns and stories that describe how everything and everyone is interrelated. Bateson was also well known for answering a question by using metaphors to tell a story. Maori philosophy is built upon these same principles, for our people must share stories in order to connect with each other and to develop and strengthen these links, which extend beyond the immediate family and into the wider Maori community. This is how we exist. Furthermore our stories clarify our sense of place in the world reminding each of us, who we are and how we connect to a large kinship group that we call whanau, hapu and iwi.\(^5\)

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\(^4\) Mokopuna is a grandchild.
\(^5\) Iwi is a tribe.
The makeup of Maori society is central to these three kinship groups, which begins with the whanau or family unit and extends to the hapu or the extended family. These hapu or extended family groups collectively make up the iwi or tribe, which is often defined by ancestral boundaries. Barlow (1991) claims that paramount chiefs who commanded the canoes, which were to have arrived from the homeland in Hawaiiki, drew the first tribal boundaries. Each canoe group settled in territorial areas throughout the country, which in turn became tribal entities for their whanau and hapu. This tribal system is the very heart of our Maori world.

LOOKING FOR PATTERNS THAT CONNECT

In our Maori society a person’s sense of belonging is often established and maintained through his or her ability to connect to a whanau and then to link him or herself genealogically to ancient ancestors. This information is usually shared in story form when whanau congregate in formal gatherings or when they engage in spontaneous conversation. Looking for similarities, common relatives and stories that have a specific location attached to them help to enable links, or patterns as Bateson (1979) calls them, which in turn connect us. He also claims it is by telling a story that the capacity to clarify and substantiate these links can be made. The Maori proverb above conveys a keepsake from the past, a promise that as one embraces the knowledge embedded in the stories passed down from ancestors they will come to know who they are, where they come from and where they are going. Ranginui Walker (1987) claimed that identity was derived from membership within the whanau, hapu, and iwi, which he suggests are the principal and secondary social units of Maori society. The whanau in the traditional sense was often large and this made relocation to towns and cities problematic. Walker (1987) noted the whanau system worked well for Maori; however, as more families moved to the cities in search of work, the nuclear family replaced the old system bringing to the forefront a new urban story in which Maori was the main player. The nuclear family as a domestic arrangement was far more suited to the industrial make up of the urban sprawl and so the extended family was often broken down.

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6 Hawaiiki is often referred to as our first home, which to some Maori can mean the pre-existence or spirit world.
Within this new system city-born and raised Maori children often grew up with little or no sense of their ancestral identity. Walker (1987) argues:

The guiding hand of the elders is lost. The new generation of city-born Maori grow up to be monolingual with little or no sense of their identity as Maoris. Few know the traditions of their tribe and even their canoe… these urban Maori children grow up with no answers to the three basic philosophical questions all humans must face: Who am I? What am I? Where am I going? In this respect their parents and their education system have failed them. When family life breaks down, there are no elders or surrogate parents to cushion children from the trauma of deprivation. If both parents are forced to work there are often no elders at home to meet the children and care for them. They spill out on the cities to become street kids and to search for an identity in gangs (Walker 1987, p.154-155).

Contact with their culture is soon lost and in time they are unable to connect back to the land and their tribal roots. This can create serious identity problems in the future. This urban tale resonates by and large with the obstacles Maori face when they migrate across the Tasman to live in Australia. Sydney, like cities in Aotearoa, is large making it difficult for the whanau and hapu system to function like it did in the homeland. What is more, our people have to contend with the societal norms of Australia, which expects New Zealanders including Maori, to assimilate and live according to the Australian way of life.

This transition and the move across international borders therefore prompts new challenges as our people try to navigate not only a new country with a different social system, but cultural repositioning that requires them to maneuver their way around another indigenous nation’s land. The stories in this thesis reveal how whanau have managed to make this journey.
A TRANS-TASMAN ALLIANCE

History can teach us a great deal about the way we live in the world today.

When I arrived in Australia I searched for a connection to someone or somewhere. I longed to be with whanau and I thought about home a lot. I missed the whenua. I also pondered the stories I had heard the old people share on the marae and around the dinner table. Stories about a Pakeha missionary called Samuel Marsden who had come to Aotearoa with our tupuna Ruatara. I was intrigued by this somewhat peculiar friendship. I wanted to know more and so I searched history books and the archives…Ititahi.

In his book History of New Zealand the late Michael King (2003) claims that Maori were skilled seamen who often became crew on board many European ships in the first decade of the nineteenth century. He suggests Herman Melville’s tattooed harpooner Queeque in Moby Dick was probably a Maori crew member who worked on the ship Lucy Ann. King thinks it may have been either Matara or Ruatara from the north of New Zealand. Our tribal storylines indicate Ruatara as being the likely person as family orators tell stories that refer to him as a great whaler who travelled the sea on famous ships. It was also during these trips abroad that Ruatara became acquainted with Samuel Marsden who on occasion invited him to stay at his home in Parramatta.

The friendship between Marsden and Ruatara grew and before long an alliance with various Rangatira in the North of Aotearoa developed into a relationship that would eventually change our Maori world forever. This association opened the door for Pakeha from New South Wales and England to migrate to live in New Zealand.

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7 Tupuna Ruatara is our ancestor called Ruatara who was a whaler.
8 Matara is our ancestor who was a whaler.
9 Rangatira refers to a Chief.
It also created a pathway for Maori to travel back and forth across the Tasman or to stay in Sydney where they sought adventure and new economic opportunities.

Ruatara travelled across to Sydney on many occasions and he often stayed in Parramatta for long periods of time. I thought about how he managed this relocation to Sydney and I wondered if his relationship with these Pakeha people and their way of life had any influence on him and his Maori way of being. I searched his story for clues… Ititahi.

Times have changed considerably since the whaling ships and early settlement years, yet this pathway across the Tasman to Australia remains a vibrant source of opportunity and adventure for Maori even today. This thesis revisits the trail and uncovers storylines, landmarks and knowledge that has now become an integral part of our trans-Tasman Maori history. This information will also remind our Maori children who were born and raised in Australia about the whakapapa they have inherited from across the sea in our homeland Aotearoa. The following landmarks highlight too how the alliance between people and indeed the two countries has continued to develop progress and change over time.

THE AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND ARMY CORP ANZAC CONNECTION

In 1995 the Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) released a fact sheet (No.17) about New Zealanders in Australia and the history of trans-Tasman migration between New Zealand and Australia. This document highlights the 1973 landmark decision to make our travel-free arrangement official, giving citizens from both countries the formal consent to enter either New Zealand or Australia to visit, labour, or remain indefinitely. It also formalized the old pathway that for many New Zealanders, including Maori, had opened the door to work, buy homes, establish marital or partnered relationships, have children and raise families in Australia (Department Immigration Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs DIMIA 1995). Today the remnants of these ventures are found in the Maori families who can still be found in various locations throughout Australia, and so as I embarked on this study I wondered about their resettlement experiences and how they managed the transition from one culture to another.
I wanted to know what enculturation and assimilation meant for them back then and what these terms mean for Maori now. This thesis shares their ideas, thoughts and stories. In 1978 the Australian Prime Minister the honourable Malcolm Fraser and New Zealand deputy Prime Minister the honourable Brian Talboys established the Australia New Zealand Foundation to review and evaluate our trans-Tasman partnership.

This saw the launch of a report in 1980 titled *The ANZAC Connection* which highlights a number of key issues including fluctuating migration patterns, the maintenance of strong economic and trade relations and a shared joint defence and security system. In addition, governments on both sides of the Tasman have continued to negotiate political cooperation on policy making decisions affecting their people in either country (Australia New Zealand Foundation ANF 1980), (DIMIA 1995). Consequently in Australia, New Zealanders have always been treated as though they were internal citizens rather than international migrants, and in New Zealand the same occurs for Australians. Furthermore, while our trans-Tasman alliance has been relatively straightforward, a number of key policy changes in the early 1990s incited major changes to migration legislation creating all sorts of issues for Australian bound migrants from New Zealand. This affected many New Zealanders including Maori.

In 1994 the Australian government made a number of policy changes that had a major affect on New Zealanders migrating to this country. These changes now required all non-citizens residing lawfully in Australia to hold a visa, which meant an arrival stamp from customs in a valid New Zealand passport, was now necessary when reentering this country. In the past New Zealanders had the freedom to come and go between the homeland and Australia. A close review of these policy developments revealed a number of influencing factors including an increasing proportion of New Zealand citizens migrating to Australia being of third-country\(^\text{10}\) origin. These third-country movements were perceived as a possible way for international travelers to bypass Australian immigration requirements, which these people may not have met without their New Zealand citizenship. This was illustrated in 1997–98 when permanent arrivals to Australia of New Zealand citizens outstripped those of people of New Zealand birth by 4,700. This difference grew to 9,700 in 1999–2000 and spiked at 17,100 in 2000–01, in part due to the early warning of the impending social security changes. The figure dropped back to 6,000 in 2001–02.

\(^{10}\)Third-country origin refers to people who had initially migrated to NZ, but then migrated to Australia after gaining NZ citizenship.
Changes to New Zealand passports since 2005 have meant that country of birth information has had to be imputed and is not strictly comparable with data prior to the change. Then between 2005–06 and 2009–10 the difference in the number of New Zealand citizens and New Zealand born people coming to Australia on a permanent basis rose from 4,800 to 6,400 (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs DIMIA 1996).

A recent report titled *Social Trends September 2010: New Zealanders in Australia*, published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, estimated that the number of New Zealand born people living in Australia increased by 89% over the last two decades, from 280,200 in 1989 to 529,200 in 2009. The report claims that the annual growth in the number of New Zealand born people living in Australia averaged 13,100 between 1989 to 2009. However, from year to year there have been variations in annual growth, with increases exceeding 25,000 on four occasions (1989, 2001, 2008 and 2009), and negative growth in 1991 (-860). This decrease coincided with the early 1990s recession within Australia, which may have discouraged some New Zealand born people from coming to Australia, and prompted others to return home. Between 1989 and 2009, the proportion of New Zealand born people in Australia’s estimated resident population (ERP) increased from 1.7% to 2.4%. In that period New Zealand was the second largest single country contributor to Australia’s overseas-born population (the United Kingdom is the largest contributor at 5.4% of ERP).

In the same report a *Labour Force Survey 2009-10* showed that NZ-born males aged 15–64 years had a higher rate of labour force participation (90%) compared with the overall Australian male population (83%). They were also more likely to be employed full time (76% New Zealanders compared with 66% Australian respectively). NZ-born females aged 15–64 years also had a higher rate of labour force participation compared with the overall Australian female population (75% and 70% respectively), and a higher rate of full-time employment (44% compared with 36% respectively). Construction and manufacturing were the most common industries of employment among working 15–64 year old NZ-born males (21% and 13% respectively).

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11 Estimated resident population (ERP) is the official measure of the population of Australia. It is based on the concept of usual residence. For the purpose of ERP, a person is regarded as a usual resident if they have been (or are expected to be) residing in Australia for a period of 12 months or more. As such, it refers to all people, regardless of nationality, citizenship or legal status, who usually live in Australia, with the exception of foreign diplomatic personnel and their families.
Of those in construction, just under half were technicians or trade workers (46%), and a further 28% were labourers. Being a technician or trade worker was also the most common occupation of those in manufacturing (29%), whereas being a machinery operator or driver (20%), manager (19%), or labourer (18%) were equally popular jobs. Health care and social assistance was a common industry of employment among NZ-born female workers aged 15–64 years (16%). Around two in five of those working in the health care and social assistance industry were professionals (37%), whereas around one in three were community and personal service workers (32%) and around one in five (19%) were in clerical or administrative positions. Retail trade was also a common industry of employment for NZ-born females (13%). Around half of these NZ-born female retail workers were in sales (53%) whereas a further 18% were in managerial positions (Australian Bureau Statistics 2010).

MAORI IN AUSTRALIA

Bedford et al. (2004) argued that despite the population movement between New Zealand and Australia not a lot is known about the resettlement process in Australia. Bedford claimed this also applies to Maori, and in light of the ongoing exit from New Zealand to Australia a comprehensive assessment of Maori migration in an Australian context is critical if one wishes to understand contemporary Maori population dynamics (Bedford et al. 2004). Maori politicians responded to this proposition from migration specialists and in 2005 commissioned a research study into Maori migration to Australia. In 2007 the Department of Maori Development released a report titled Nga Maori i te Ao Moemoea: Maori in Australia which provided a comprehensive review of Maori migration to Australia. The author of the report Dr. Paul Hamer claimed that in 2001 there were an estimated 100,000 Maori in Australia although this number was likely to translate into a figure of between 115,000 and 125,000 by 2007. This report also highlights international movement trends, employment, economic forecasts and cultural issues (Hamer 2007). All the same, beyond this formal data, there are the raw and uncensored conversations that occur from day to day which have the potential to move us into deep and meaningful thought and conversation about the decision Maori have made to leave whanau, Aotearoa and our sense of place. There are also the consequences and these emerge as the stories in this thesis unfold. Ellis and Flaherty (1992, p.80) claim, ‘subjectivity is situated such that the voices in our heads and the feelings in our bodies are linked to political, cultural and historical contexts. They maintain that telling a personal story becomes a social process for making lived experience understandable and meaningful’.
The following piece of writing by an Australian based Maori writer and academic, Rachel Buchanan, illustrates the power of personal story as she describes what living in Australia is like for a Maori. In her article titled Ngati Skippy she writes:

…I’m also of Maori descent (Te ati awa, Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui). I’m one of those people who leave their homeland and discover their roots…I am also an immigrant cliché. I think about New Zealand a lot. I miss it. I yearn for it. Sometimes I feel so lonely over here. It’s unbearable. I miss the rain and I miss the mountain. I even miss a decent wind. But I’m also grateful to Australia for my education, for my professional life, for my freedom, for the home and family and friends I have made here. It’s silly but when I’m in New Zealand, I miss Australia - Te Ao Moemoea, the land of the dreaming, this beautiful nation that is still happy to welcome us treacherous Kiwis, us phantom Aussies…. we are one of Australia’s biggest, fastest growing migrant communities, yet we are rarely described as such. We blend in…(Buchanan 2010).

Buchanan’s (2010) sentiments are an example of how many Maori feel about their place in Australia. It describes how some continuously strive to straddle two very different worlds. Sometimes they do it well and sometimes they do not. For those who can blend into the Australian landscape and live happily as phantom Aussies, life is fairly straightforward and relatively trouble-free. But for Maori who may not fit into the conventional Australian typecast or who come with strong cultural and family ties back to whenua and whanau in Aotearoa, the quest to settle into this new land can be somewhat difficult and even complicated. This raises a number of important questions about how Maori manage the resettlement process, particularly in terms of race relations and cultural longevity. Furthermore it invites conversation and debate about management strategies and the future of tradition and culture for Maori. This discussion is particularly crucial if we are to consider the wellbeing and future of our Maori children who are raised or born in Australia. Often when Maori families make the decision to migrate to another country, the children have very little to do with the final decision to leave.

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12 Rachel Buchanan is the author of the article of Ngati Skippy. To source this article in full go to http://www.griffithreview.com/component/content/article/251-essay/974.html.
13 Whenua is the land.
Many of these tamariki\textsuperscript{14} are reassured by their parents that moving overseas is really for their benefit, and more importantly the opportunities abroad will ensure the whanau as a whole have a good future. Unfortunately many of these adults are oblivious to the sorrow and sense of loss their children experience when leaving loved ones behind, especially grandparents and other extended family members. Then after the thrill and excitement of moving to the ‘big city’ subsides and the reality of dislocation from whanau, whenua and culture sets in, the family must face the added challenge of having to readapt to a foreign country with a new social, political and cultural system. I believe that these tamariki must have the opportunity to connect to their Maori heritage; it is indeed their birthright.

Traditionally, whanau have always been at the heart of Maori existence. It is where we go to when we need to rekindle our links to our families, to rest our minds body and spirit and to retreat from the external world to renew our sense of self and connection. We have a Maori saying hoki atu ki to maunga ki purea ai i nga hau o tawhirimatea, which reminds us to return to our family and traditional lands to be inspired by the gentle winds of home. This simply means that to return to your kin and the land is to reconnect, reinvigorate and renew one’s sense of self and place in the family, tribe and the world. As I contemplate this counsel I am reminded of the process involved in maintaining this connection and I wonder if our new life here in Australia will affect the way we engage the home people and our place in the eternal circle. Perhaps Maori living in this country may need to establish an alternative system to compensate or replace the old one, especially now that we live beyond our traditional homelands. Or maybe by simply understanding and embracing this evolutionary process that our elders speak about, we stand to gain valuable insight and knowledge about our place as humans from a universal perspective. Regardless of which picture we choose for our whanau, or ourselves, it is imperative to be aware of the future we are creating for

\textsuperscript{14}Tamariki is children.
our children and theirs as we continue to readjust ourselves to this new abode and indeed the global community. It is vital that we examine what others have done to manage and to appraise their experiences to gain a better understanding of the ‘ins and outs’ of resettlement. This thesis presents our stories.

SYMBOLS TO INSPIRE – FOLLOWING THE THREADS

In 1987 Erenora Puketapu-Hetet illustrated how patterns in metaphors and storytelling can be a powerful medium for communicating information when she created the korowai kakahu\textsuperscript{15} Tu Tangata\textsuperscript{16} a non-verbal statement in the form of a triangular shape korowai or cloak. This beautiful work of art was created to demonstrate to the New Zealand government that the strength of the Maori people at the community level was a powerful force when united. This example of solidarity emerged as Maori weavers across the nation gathered to assert their disapproval at new policy decisions which stopped them from accessing feathers and other natural resources from their lands. Erenora recalls Tu Tangata was born from a dream that those at the flax-roots\textsuperscript{17} would again control their own destiny in the arts (Puketapu-Hetet 1987).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Photo 7. Trans-Tasman Maori Kakahu}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{15} Korowai kakahu is a traditional Maori cloak.
\textsuperscript{16} Tu Tangata means to stand up or make a stand about something important. It is often used to describe human rights.
\textsuperscript{17} The word ‘flax roots’ is a weaver’s impression for the general term the grassroots. It refers to the community level.
Not only did this korowai convey messages of self-determination to governments, but for many Maori including me, it showed how our traditions in the arts can be a powerful catalyst for change. In addition the visual aesthetics of this beautiful korowai is a reminder about the power of Maori art and its ability to convey valuable messages and to house important information. Like Erenora I wanted to make a statement only this time it was to our own people. With the expertise of our Australian based Kuia we too have embraced the art of raranga\(^{18}\) to share our trans-Tasman Maori stories.

Our beautiful kakahu\(^{19}\) or cloak presents our migration stories which in time will become our children’s genealogies and indeed the link to their Maoritanga. Hirini Moko Mead (1969, p.214) said, ‘Maori costume helps to display before the people social values which are guides to action. One such value is that of Maoritanga itself which holds the Maori way of life to be worth while’. Creating a kakahu requires careful planning, weaving expertise and a willingness to follow one’s ngakau\(^{20}\) as the work and the kaupapa\(^{21}\) underpinning this task is not always simple or straight forward. In our NSW Maori community there are a number of specialists who have weaving skills, but one who touched my heart was Aunty Te Ruinga Haeata. She had made a special kakahu for Te Wairuatapu to place on the tupapaku\(^{22}\) when they were held in state as they made their journey home to Hawaiiki.\(^{23}\) I knew she had the people’s interests in mind so I asked her if she would make a kakahu as part of this research study, only this time it was to acknowledge our place in this land and to celebrate the achievements of our people here in Australia. Knowing this kakahu was to be woven by her meant it would be full of love and therefore each time someone wore it aroha\(^{24}\) would resonate inward to the wearer and outward for the people. Making the cloak proved to be as intricate as the patterns that would soon emerge. The making of this taonga\(^{25}\) took on its own trajectory. We talked, proposed ideas, incorporated old ways with new and decided to go with the flow and see what happens. I knew that like the

\(^{18}\) Raranga is weaving.

\(^{19}\) Kakahu: meaning a form of clothing. Our kuia calls this mahi raranga the kakahu so from here we shall referred to it as such. Some Maori weavers may call a woven cloak a korowai. For more information refer to Traditional Maori Clothing (Mead 1969).

\(^{20}\) Ngakau refers to the heart.

\(^{21}\) Kaupapa is usually referred to as the purpose or ideology behind something.

\(^{22}\) Tupapaku is a deceased body.

\(^{23}\) Hawaiiki in this context refers to the spirit world.

\(^{24}\) Aroha is used here to mean unconditional love.

\(^{25}\) Taonga is a prized possession or a gift of great importance.
thesis this kakahu would emerge in due time. We met regularly to progress our ideas step-by-step. Then every so often we would stop take a step out of the space and look at what we could see. I felt so blessed to be with Aunty. True to tikanga she decided we must approach the local Aboriginal women to ask for permission to use the turtles from the story they had gifted to our Maori kaumatua and Kuia. Aunty Te Ruinga like uncle Sarge knew it was important to seek permission, engage in conversation and perhaps be guided by these women.

We wanted to tell them how important it was for our people especially our children to have the stories about trans-Tasman migration between our two countries. We wanted to explain that the kakahu would contain this history and we were excited about creating this taonga. They understood us and gave us their blessing. From here on the process became a work in progress. Aunty often said to me “the kakahu makes itself” and we are just a part of that process. She was right. It did.
Titiro Ano - I Seek to Show it All...

I Seek to Show it All

I cannot resolve which part of the whole
I shall relinquish,
For I seek to show it all
I’m red and white and black
And I’m purple green
And yellow too
I was once on my own but
Now I’m knotted and entangled with many,

Some times I will follow red or white and black,
and even purple and green and yellow too
Deep within this matted weave
Relinquish any part, I will not
disconnect any thread I cannot
I cannot resolve which part of the whole
for I intend to show it all...
I cannot resolve which part of the whole I shall relinquish - Ititahi.

Photo 11. Maori Symbols taken from the trans-Tasman Kakahu (Photo behind the writing).
The First Thread…
Like the construction of our kakahu or cloak, this thesis is built upon the same principles. There is an extensive planning process, old traditions are incorporated with new ideas and were necessary adjustments and alterations are made to accommodate for living in Australia. The thesis like our kakahu has many threads and takes its shape and form as they multiply, merge, cross over or on occasion split to create new fibres. Each thread is then woven together to form themes that represent time, place, people and space. They are then placed together to create a unique and beautiful tapestry of story and conversation about trans-Tasman Maori Migration. There are many threads however, I have highlighted four main strands that play a fundamental role in how the methodology in this thesis unfolds. The first thread represents the relationships fostered between the various individuals whanau and organizations who have helped to create this thesis. It also reflects the friendships and alliances established between non-Maori people. There is an interesting discussion about how research has disadvantaged our people and the implications this has had on my fieldwork, and indeed the experiences I encountered in the community. The ability to readapt to these challenges particularly when Maori are sceptical, mistrusting and at times very negative about conducting research in general are fundamental learning points in this section of the thesis. I talk about the strategies I incorporated, the philosophical reasons behind these techniques and the implications they had on my research overall. I explain the difficulties encountered when navigating two very different philosophical systems which in turn helped to enable a number of useful strategies about building bridges and developing practical solutions for working effectively between the two worlds.

The Second Thread…
The second thread contains the storylines that describe the experiences Maori have encountered after leaving Aotearoa and moving across the Tasman to live in Australia. In this thread there are many stories; some are recent and others go back three and four decades. I also include a narrative from the earliest part of the nineteenth century. Despite the different timelines each story offers valuable insights about how Maori re-established themselves in Australia. These stories share valuable information about identity and the practices Maori engage to maintain culture during and beyond this resettlement process.
I also wondered about my own journey across the Tasman and the impact our relocation to Australia had on my whanau family as a whole. Two decades on and I now have a grandchild who was born in Sydney and has an Australian mother with genealogical links to Italy and Poland. My mokopuna\textsuperscript{26} learns how to sing waiata\textsuperscript{27} and we teach him Maori words. He is named after his great grandfather Te Uru Kura,\textsuperscript{28} which simply means the pathway to knowledge. This name also connects him to his tupuna\textsuperscript{29} or ancestors. Our story is woven into this thread and as I ponder my grandson’s future I wonder about his Maori roots and whether they will matter to him in twenty or thirty years’ time. Sadly though it is the cultural deficit my own children experienced, having grown up in Australia, that weighs heavily on my mind and so this thesis is a small attempt to make a change for their children and future generations who may seek to engage with the legacies left to them from their ancestors. It is also offered as a taonga\textsuperscript{30} or gift of knowledge that may replicate, link or provide a sense of connection for those who seek to establish their own associations.

\textbf{The Third Thread…}

The third thread contains my data collection and analysis. This is where we examine key variables and review themes, which have emerged out of the data sets. I am reminded that:

\begin{quote}
Analysis occurs in a cyclical continuous process that goes through data reduction, data organization and interpretation. This process is long and diverse, covering the time of actual face-to-face contact with the respondent(s) as well as the time between sessions. Analysis and collection of data occur simultaneously (Sarantakos 1993, p.300).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{26} Mokopuna is grandchild/ren.
\textsuperscript{27} Waiata means song/sing.
\textsuperscript{28} Te Uru Kura is my grandson’s name. He is named after his great grandfather (Te Uru Kura Tearea Arere Tolomona).
\textsuperscript{29} Tupuna is an ancestor.
\textsuperscript{30} Taonga is a gift.
In this thread we return to the literature to review some of the key arguments that have guided this research process and enabled many of the themes and variables, that help us to explain apparent patterns, form theoretical propositions and describe our picture story. We alert our readers to the differences, similarities deviations and also the norms. An important aspect of field research analysis is:

Examining your own thoughts and feelings- is a natural and crucial process for understanding what you observe. Because you will have been observing social life close up in all its details you should be able to put yourself into the place of those you are studying – George Herbert Mead called this ‘taking the role of the other’ – and ask yourself how you would have felt and behaved (Babbie 2005, p.297).

This is exactly what occurs in this thesis and so in the analysis we explore the insider outsider position, which describes and explains this interchange between being the “other” and me.

The Fourth Thread…

There is a fourth thread, which I refer to as my \textit{wairua}\textsuperscript{31} or spiritual link. This is an unusual strand because it does not have a physical existence however, it is an integral part of the weaving process in that it interlinks with all of the other fibres. It determines how well the research goes and is my constant companion throughout the study. Barlow (1991) reminds us our traditional customs of old are valuable and are as relevant today as they were in times gone by and not only must they be understood accurately, but they should be used with wisdom and care. In this context \textit{wairua} or spirituality is therefore an essential component in our \textit{Maori} world. It is also one of the most difficult characteristics of our tradition to understand or even explain and so for many of us learning about traditional ways is a work in progress. Be that as it may, \textit{Maori} experts in spiritual knowledge, including Barlow, are always on hand to offer insight and understanding about these special ways of knowing that we refer to as \textit{taonga} or sacred gifts of knowledge given to us from \textit{Iho Matua}\textsuperscript{32} the god of all things. Barlow (1991, p.152) claims that ‘\textit{Maori} believe all things have a spirit as well as a physical body; the earth, animals, birds, fish and even mankind has a spirit’…the spiritual and physical are joined together as one

\textsuperscript{31} Wairua is spirit.
\textsuperscript{32} Iho Matua is the first parent and god of all things.
by what we call the mauri.  

“This mauri is a special power, which makes it possible for everything to move in accordance with the conditions and limits of its existence. While a person cannot control his or her own mauri, it is possible for someone to establish a mauri for something he or she have created’ (Barlow 1991, p.82), including this thesis. Whakaaro Rua has a mauri, in that it draws on the spirit of our ancestors, which helps to keep this work and everyone connected to it safe. As the project is nurtured in a positive way and fulfils the wishes, desires and hopes of our people who will use it for noble purposes, the mauri is a promise of prosperity and success from the ancestors.

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33 Mauri is the special power described usually as the spirit of something.
34 Whakaaro Rua is referred to here as two ways of being, seeing and knowing. It is also the name of this thesis suggesting two ways of thinking about the world we live in as trans-Tasman Maori.
Chapter 3. Method and Approach

…I seek to show it all…
…I am red and white and black and I am purple and green and yellow too…

WEAVING A WAY FORWARD
To understand the research methods in this thesis one must first consider some of the underlying issues on which the approach has been established. This includes the colonial history and politics that foreshadows research for many indigenous people. Maori like other first nation groups around the world have long been the researched by non-indigenous scholars who sought to look at the world and understand it through our eyes. Some made important discoveries and saw the benefits of learning from our ways, but others believed we needed to see the same as them and set out to change our view to fit theirs. This created an ongoing tension, which LT Smith (1999, p.1) describes as ‘inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism’. Smith also points out that:

The first encounters with European were ones in which indigenous people were observed as research objects…therefore the master narrative has been one established from European accounts, while Maori interpretations remained as oral stories. The difficulty with trying to extract specific reactions to ‘research’ is that for the most part, Maori people involved did not know in the sense that we would now expect them to know, that they were being researched (LT Smith 1999, p.81).

This lead to reports written about our people by non-indigenous researchers whose work was often prone to speculation, guesswork and sometimes falsification.
Margaret Mead’s (1928) research on Samoan adolescence in the *Coming of Age* is perhaps the greatest example of how observations can be misguided or misinterpreted. In her research, Mead claimed incest and casual sex was common and a natural process amongst teenage girls in the Samoan community. These propositions were soon found to be inaccurate and as a consequence, this piece of research became a classic reminder about the misconceptions that can occur when non-indigenous researchers are not culturally informed. Another example is David Ausubel’s (1961) book *Maori Youth*, which has similar misconceptions in that he identifies Maori children as handicapped and retarded because of their inability to engage and understand the English language. The simple reality was that Te Reo was their first language and therefore learning a second, in this case English, was indeed a difficult process as is for any learner. Time after time the research pictures captured by non-indigenous practitioners were often flawed, but as LT Smith (1999, p.82) writes ‘the actual experience the writers had and their encounters with “real life savages” continually fed the imagination of people back home’. The exotic surroundings and these researchers lack of inside knowledge about the people and their culture influenced what they saw and therefore came to believe about us, as indigenous people. While times have changed and so has research, the stigma of imperialism remains.

The caution then is that we must always look back to ensure we do not make the same mistakes now or in the future and by acknowledging these realities we can move forward in a positive way. Conducting research in conjunction with Maori rather than studying them is another step in the right direction because it recognises the importance of people as participants and beneficiaries in their own right. In much the same way that LT Smith (1999, p.28) argues ‘indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes’. I wanted to foster the same empowering spirit to inform, inspire and uplift our Maori people living here in Sydney. Both of these views enable self-determination and favour a positive outcome for Maori people as a whole. The interesting twist, however, is that in Aotearoa this would be a relatively straightforward process, but in Australia our status as migrants makes this simple task difficult. The chance to speak to an audience has not been available to us until now. Establishing a new conversation based on our position, here in this land requires the courage to break down barriers and create a new pathway.
This means a collective effort from Maori, as a whole is necessary. In different forums our leaders have spoken about working together to accomplish the development outcomes we desire for our people here in Australia and while this is perhaps our best strategy in moving forward, the reality is clear, a united effort has been very difficult to achieve. Freire (1970) describes this collective effort as the revolutionary action of groups to assert themselves in their quest for change. He claims:

The revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people for the leaders, but by both acting together in unshakeable solidarity. This solidarity is born only when the leaders witness to it by their humble, loving, and courageous encounter with the people (Freire 1970, p.110).

Presenting our Maori peoples views, hopes and aspirations about our place in Australia now and in the years to come is an important community development strategy. Research has the potential to enable the change we seek, so how I engage Maori gather and analyse data and report findings is critical. This thesis is a small part of that collective or unified effort to empower our Maori people living in Australia now and in the future.

**QUALITATIVE RESEARCH**

This thesis is qualitative in nature and is located within an interpretative research paradigm. Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p.8-9) argue, ‘qualitative research is a set of interpretive activities and privileges no single methodological practice over another…it has no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own…and many theoretical paradigms claim to use it…from constructivist to cultural studies, feminism…and ethnic models of study’. They postulate the following definition, which is borrowed from Nelson (1992, p.2) and paraphrased below:

Qualitative research is an interdisciplinary, trans-disciplinary and sometimes counter-disciplinary field. It crosscuts the humanities and the social and physical sciences. Qualitative research is many things at the same time. It is multi-paradigmatic in focus. Its practitioners are sensitive to the value of the multi-method approach. They are committed to the naturalistic perspective and to the interpretive understanding
of human experience. At the same time, the field is inherently political and shaped by ethical and political positions. Qualitative research embraces two tensions at the same time. On the one hand, it is drawn to a broad, interpretive, post-experiential, postmodern, feminist and critical sensibility. On the other hand it is drawn to a more narrowly defined positivist, post positivist humanistic and naturalistic conceptions of human experience and its analysis. Further these tensions can be combined in the same project bringing both postmodern and naturalistic, or both critical and humanistic, perspectives to bear (Denzin and Lincoln 2008, p.10).

This definition raises a number of important points including the view that ‘qualitative research is many things at the same time’ (Denzin and Lincoln 2008, p.10), inviting innovation and creativity and providing the ideal backdrop for autoethnography, Kaupapa Maori research and complexity to frame this thesis. Individually, each approach is a valuable research tool, however the collective effort of all the individual parts working together enables the ongoing shift between the traditional Maori world and the mainstream academy in which I am both an academic and a researcher. Understanding how all the different parts work can be a challenge and so an overview about the interrelationship between theory and method offered by Denzin (1989) is a useful guide. He explains the interrelationship between theory and method in the following way:

Theory is interpretation, giving order and insight to what is or can be observed. Methodology represents the principle ways in which sociologists act… it is through their methods that they make their research public and reproducible by others…As the sociologist moves from theories to the selection of methods, the mergence of that vague process called research activity can be seen (Denzin 1989, p.4).

ETHNOGRAPHY

Ethnography is a qualitative research method employed to observe and understand people and their culture. Often traced back to early anthropology, ethnography has been used to interpret and present what Van Maanen (1988, p.xiv) calls ‘the intricate ways of individuals and groups understand, accommodate and resist a presumably shared order’. Conducting ethnographies requires a range of approaches, which according to Geertz (1973, p37) ‘all proceed in terms of a single and overall intellectual strategy’. Furthermore in order to adjust to the changes we find in
society means a close review of how we engage people today is critical and as Van Maanen (1988, p.73) points out ‘ethnographic writing is anything but a straightforward or unproblematic task’. This means we must not only be open to change but we must be prepared to incorporate new ways of thinking about how we research might conduct research in an ever-changing social and political world. In light of ethnography in our social climate today, Denzin postulates that:

An interpretive ethnography for the next century is one that is simultaneously minimal, existential, autoethnographic, vulnerable, performative, and critical. This ethnography seeks to ground the self in a sense of the sacred, to dialogically connect the ethical, respectful self to nature and the worldly environment…viewing culture as a complex process of improvisation, it seeks to understand how people enact and construct meaning in their daily lives. It celebrates autoethnography, mysteries, myth and folklore. This is a return to narrative as a political act…it asks how power is exercised in concrete human relationships (Denzin 1989, p.510).

Denzin (1999) challenges us to be open to a wider field when we conduct our ethnographies, which can sometimes mean pushing boundaries, creating new connections and trying different things as we seek to understand social life and the realities people live daily. Geertz (1973, p.37) claims that ‘to locate a man amid the body of his customs have taken several directions and adopted diverse tactics’, which at best requires an understanding of the interconnected relationship between all of the numerous parts in ethnographic research. These concepts can be found as the layers are stripped back, which Geertz (1973, p.37) refers to ‘as peeling away layer after layer’ to reveal various forms of information and data. In this thesis the layered approach is used to illustrate different parts of the thesis including the stories shared in different genres about the trans-Tasman Maori migration experience. As these stories are studied the patterns, trends and experiences shared by Maori will help to articulate the relocation and resettlement process.

Van Maanen (1988, p.13) claims ‘the trick to writing ethnography is to effectively display the culture of a group by carrying out intensive and sometimes intimate fieldwork’, thus enabling the exchange of stories, conversation and the raw, and sometimes unrefined, emotions found in lived
experience. In this thesis there are times when the research becomes blurred as human behaviour and social dynamics clash. To manage this process I incorporate autoethnography into the mix and reposition myself to ensure the realities shared, observed and proposed continue to unfold including data that might make people experience an array of emotions.

Telling stories back to our Maori leaders and communities that people are challenged and development is stifled when gender age class and power politics occurs was like finding an alliance to what bell hooks (1989) called talking back. hooks' reminds us that, ‘moving from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonized, the exploited and those who stand and struggle side by side a gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible’, (1989, p.9). Most times to maintain the stratus quo in our Maori world and keep our whanau, particularly our children from being ostracized or treated poorly, is to keep quiet and be silent. Silence can stop progress. In the stillness of thought the conversations within continue.

AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

When researchers write, perform or speak autoethnographies they seek to present ‘thick descriptions’ (Geertz 1973) of personal and interpersonal experience (Ellis et al. 2010). Autoethnography as a research approach aims to describe and analyze personal experience and as Ellis et al. (2010) suggests:

Autoethnography is a blurred genre . . . a response to the call . . . it is setting a scene, telling a story, weaving intricate connections between life and art . . . making a text present . . . refusing categorization . . . believing that words matter and writing toward the moment when the point of creating autoethnographic texts is to change the world (Ellis, Adams and Ward 2010, p.765).

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1 I have not used capitals when writing the name “bell hooks” to maintain her preferred style.
Ellis (1992, p.4) also asserts ‘the voices in our heads and the feelings in our bodies are linked to political, cultural and historical contexts’, which are important characteristics that form the way we interact in our social communities. In our Maori world emotion in the way we speak, sing, chant, dance and act is an important part of how we tell our stories, how we share our ideas and how we feel about each other. What is more, as emotion is shared between people, our connection to each other is strengthened confirming our existence as whanau, hapu and iwi or kin. This also means that each time our storylines are shared one with another we experience an emotional charge in renewing our connection and validating what it means to be and act Maori.

When the communication is negative silence becomes a reality and in that quiet space the story is put to rest. Autoethnography then, in the observations we make, the stories we share, propositions tendered and the practices we follow is indeed a very important part of how this thesis unfolds. Bochner (cited in Ellis and Flaherty 1992, p.5) suggests that: ‘an interpretive story lives, willingly with plurality, embracing the power of language to make new and different things possible. It focuses on how we talk about the world and tries to deal with it. It recounts improvisations, changes, contradictions, ambiguities and vulnerabilities’. The stories we engage uncover many of these concepts described by Bochner (Ellis et al. 1992). It is the tacit knowledge found in the day-to-day conversations about migration and resettlement are evoked and then shared amongst ourselves in group discussions, informal conversation and in those more formal type interviews.

In gathering this data and information I move in and out of the community going between an inside position as an active member of the research community to an outsider as the professional research practitioner conducting this study from an objective perspective. Herein my role is a unique one because as an insider I am able to come and go freely observing, participating and engaging in conversation about trans-Tasman Maori migration in an organic or natural way. I am also privileged to have inside information about the community because of my own journey to Australia. Key principles in ethnography are therefore fundamental in guiding how I observe, examine and reflect on the human behaviour, organizational management and cultural traditions now practiced by Maori living in Australia.
KAUPAPA MAORI RESEARCH – ‘KAKAHU ATAAHUA’

The past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages and social practices – all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope, (LT Smith 1999, p.4).

Kaupapa Maori is one of the corner stones of my methodology. When Linda Smith launched her book Decolonizing Methodologies in 1999 many in our Maori world rejoiced because her work gave us the courage to step out of the shadows and into the mainstream sector with the confidence needed to take on some of the difficult social problems in our community. It gave us research tools, strategies and an academic framework to generate practical solutions applicable to us as Maori. More importantly this valuable resource has been the vehicle through which Kaupapa Maori research has emerged to aid Maori researchers in pursuing the changes our communities need and indeed deserve.

According to Bishop:

Kaupapa Maori is a discourse of proactive theory and practice that emerged from within the wider revitalization of Maori urbanization communities that developed in New Zealand following the rapid Maori urbanization in the 1950s and 1960s…by the late 1980s had developed as a political consciousness among Maori people that promoted the revitalization of Maori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices as a philosophical and productive educational stance and resistance to the hegemony of the dominant discourse (Bishop cited in Denzin, Lincoln and LT Smith 2008, p.439).

Cram, Pihama and Walker (2002, p.32-33) claim that ‘at one time Kaupapa Maori was an intervention strategy to ensure the survival of our Maori knowledge and language, and to address the educational crisis Maori had experienced across generations’. They recognize the ongoing commitment

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2 Kakahu Ataahua is a beautiful cloak.
of GH Smith, to build and develop Kaupapa Maori and they acknowledge ‘his motivation to add the word theory as a way to develop a counter-hegemonic practice and an understanding of the cultural constraints exemplified in the debate around critical questions as to what counts as theory’ (Cram et al 2002). This is an important issue to bear in mind because the question as to whether Kaupapa Maori is a theory or not still remains a subject for rigorous debate.

Nonetheless as we look back and evaluate Kaupapa Maori, it is not difficult to see how it has advanced under the guidance of scholastic pioneers such as (Bishop 1994, 2008; Cram 2002; Irwin 1994; Nepe 1991; Pihama 1993, 2002; GH Smith 1990, 1992; LT Smith 1995, 1999; Walker 1974, 1990) and many others who have worked diligently to build and strengthen this approach to aid community development and self-determination in indigenous communities globally.

**Being Maori and Acting Maori**

GH Smith (1997) claims that Kaupapa Maori is related to being Maori and this enables us as practitioners and participants to take part in research using our own sensibilities. This validates our sense of being as Maori by legitimizing our ways, knowledge, language and customs. Kaupapa Maori is therefore an important vehicle in which we can gain autonomy and authority over our own cultural wellbeing. GH Smith’s statement introduces some of the main research topics covered in this thesis, which is designed to prompt thought, discussion and reflection about typical questions, concerns, strategies, procedures, political factors and cultural protocols. Unpacking these topics and being able to observe the research conversation will assist readers understand some of the finer points involved in conducting Maori research. Let us also think about this concept of ‘being Maori and acting Maori’ (GH Smith 1997) and reflect on what it might mean today.

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3 Graham Smith has worked with Linda Smith on Kaupapa Maori and therefore I may refer to them either independently or simultaneously in the same paragraph. To avoid confusion I use their initials before the last name i.e. LT Smith or GH Smith.
Ranginui Walker (1987) has written at length about Maori identity. In the introduction of his book *Nga Tan Tohetobe - Years of Anger* he claims that:

Since the coming of the Pakeha to New Zealand in the nineteenth century, millions of words have been written about Maori people by Pakeha authors in books, magazines and newspapers. The result has been a variegated mishmash of romanticism, mythmaking, fact and fiction with liberal lashings of stereotyping, denigration and the distortion of history (Walker 1987, p.11).

Walker shares his own experiences and in a witty and sometimes comical commentary he describes being Maori as belonging to a large kinship group in which loyalty to the clan is fundamental. He claims the principal values and philosophies of this family system were established around what was beneficial for the group as a whole and that each person worked towards a positive outcome for the collective. The group shares a connection to a place or location, which is essential in supporting a person’s sense of belonging to a family and a place which in turn sustains their well being as Maori. Nonetheless, even amid Walker’s jovial banter about being Maori and our place in this large family unit, it is the tension and often bitterness found written between the lines that illustrates how our sense of being as Maori was distorted and changed by the influences of colonization and indeed the lack of regard for the Treaty of Waitangi4 by Pakeha. In this event our Maori way of life was soon replaced by western culture and in time our Maori language, culture and way of being was reduced in importance, our lands were confiscated and we as a people were relegated to the margins (Walker 1987).

The remnants of these tensions are still evident today, and while significant changes have been made over the years a major turning point for Maori came in the 1980s when the drive to restore our language, culture and the rights to our lands occurred. The motivation to regain our own place and position as Maori soon became the impetus for working towards self-determination and the right to be Maori and to act Maori according to our own dictates. This set a new precedent for change which saw many of our people return to our Maori ways (Bishop 2008; GH Smith 1997; Walker 1987, 1990).

4 Treaty of Waitangi refers to the treaty between Maori and Pakeha.
Kaupapa Maori emerged within this context as the empowering force to think and act upon the idea that we are capable - that we desire - and that we will function according to what is in the best interests for us as Maori.

This corresponds closely with what GH Smith (2003, p.2) called the real revolution for Maori which he claims was a shift in mindset ‘from waiting for things to be done for them, to doing things for themselves; a shift away from an emphasis on reactive politics to being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive incentive’. This transformation, he maintains, ‘has led to a reawakening of the Maori imagination that had been stifled and diminished by the different aspects of colonization’ (p.2). Today the resurgence in Maori ways of knowing, being and doing has brought significant improvements in various parts of our community where research has been the catalyst for change. Maori are now conducting research from a Kaupapa Maori approach in land confiscations, health improvement, law making, human rights, language, anthropology, science and many other areas where progress has been necessary.

Still, in spite of considerable gains for Maori, the watermarks left on our psyche from the colonial practices of the past are a constant reminder that research in a Maori context, even by our own, must be conducted with great sensitivity and care. This gives rise to the importance of developing a well-planned research strategy to which, LT Smith (1999, p.190) says ‘getting the approach right is the first and major issue and the second is employing the most appropriate methods and people’.

As the researcher this means taking the time to assess the community, identify gatekeepers and reflect on what strategies and techniques are best suited to enable the research study and engage the stakeholders respectfully, ethically and methodically. The importance of this proposition to “get it right” requires one to establish sensible boundaries, to ensure scholarship and reliability is maintained. From a Maori perspective “getting it right” can also be an important reminder about one’s place and position in the community, the internal community politics and the implications for the insider and their immediate or extended whanau should problems, rivalries or challenges occur. Looking for allies or potential rivals, creating effective partnerships and building a strong support system with key people including Kaumatua and Kuia is imperative.
Kathie Irwin claims that:

\textbf{Kaupapa Maori} as research which is culturally safe, which involves the ‘the mentorship of elders, which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research and which is undertaken by a Maori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Maori} (cited in LT Smith 1999, p.184).

Bishop (1998, p.203) suggests the \textit{whanau} is an important means of support and claims that \textit{whanaunga}\textsuperscript{5} relationships are an important part of one’s research strategy. He claims what non-Maori refer to, ‘as management or control mechanisms are traditionally constituted in a \textit{whanau} as \textit{taonga tuku iho}\textsuperscript{6} literally meaning those treasures passed down to us from ancestors, those customs that tell us how to behave’ (p.203).

The \textit{whanau} support system is an extremely important research strategy because it not only supports the practitioner, but it can also act as a medium between the research and the researcher. In some cases Bishop (1998, p.204) claims that ‘research will not proceed if \textit{Kaumatua} guidance is not present’. These issues are critical and must be sorted prior to the investigation starting, to ensure the practitioner is well prepared before they go into the field. It also contributes to a sound research strategy overall. This has a close association to what LT Smith (1999, p.190) claims is ‘getting the approach right and employing the most appropriate methods and people’. Building ones resources base and negotiating who is appropriate requires patience and the ability to engage and work effectively with different individuals and groups who will not only provide vital information, but also offer an assortment of resources. This includes advocacy and support for the investigator who positions him or herself as an inside researcher.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Whanaunga} refers to kinship relatives.

\textsuperscript{6} \textit{Taonga tuku iho} refers to the sacred gifts from the ancestors. These can be both physical and non-physical i.e. spiritual stories and knowledge or \textit{korowai}, this thesis.
INSIDER-OUTSIDER RESEARCH

Polanyi (1958, p.49) once said, ‘that science is a set of formulae, which has bearing on experience…in accrediting this bearing we must rely to varying degrees on our powers of personal knowing’. Polanyi referred to this as tacit knowledge, which he claims is that information and data we all acquire through experience and personal learning which usually occurs during that day-to-day conversation discussion and interaction with others. The way we engage and work with the participants in this study can determine how we acquire this tacit knowledge and this has an important bearing on how our research unfolds. The insider role is very important in these respects. It is important to remember that moving to an objective position also means that by stepping out of the picture and back from the activities we can see the evolving dynamics as they emerge. LT Smith (1999, p.137) claims that, ‘most research methodologies assume that the researcher is an outsider able to observe without being implicated in the scene’. She calls our attention to positivism and notions of objectivity and neutrality. The need to remain objective and taking a neutral position can be difficult, when emotional connections and loyalty to the whanau is also a fundamental aspect of any research study. The insider and outsider position also raises interesting questions about the validity and indeed the usefulness of this technique and regardless of which way we lean there are compelling arguments for and against on both sides.

To understand the inside and outside position I draw on the following definition from Merton (1972) who claims the insider is an individual who possesses a priori intimate knowledge of a group and its members. In a comprehensive description of the insider and outsider ideology he suggests that this concept was historically built around the idea that Western knowledge was privileged only to certain white men and any other who explored knowledge was a part of an outsider group touching to some extent on the contribution this made to imperialism. Merton (1972) asserts that people from a specific group can have a better knowledge of the organization than someone who does not belong to the group thus making them outsiders. He explains and postulates this proposition in the following way, ‘as a matter of social epistemology, only black historians can truly understand black history, only black ethnologist can understand black culture, only black sociologists can understand the social life of blacks and so on’ (p.13). This he argues must then mean that if only blacks can understand blacks then only whites can understand whites. On the outsider position he argues that because they have not been socialized in the group nor have they engaged in the experiences therein they cannot have an
intuitive and sensitive knowledge that alone makes empathic understanding possible. Moreover, the important thing to consider here is that Merton not only articulates the difference between these two positions simply and effectively, but he also makes the point that both the insider and outsider role is important. Both are needed to provide an overall analysis (Merton 1972). With this understanding of the insider and outsider position in mind let us now turn to an indigenous perspective. LT Smith (1999, p.137) argues that, 'Indigenous research approaches problematize the insider model because there are multiple ways of both being an insider-outsider in indigenous contexts'. This suggestion is an important one for Maori practitioners because many belong to the communities they study and this automatically locates them as insiders. In this insider position they face all sorts of internal issues. Some are valuable and can be extremely helpful for both the researcher and the study while others can be confronting, difficult and even disparaging. Still, knowing how to navigate the internal system, having the appropriate support therein, and understanding how to conduct one’s self culturally, can often determine the success or failure of one’s research as a whole. In the same light researching one’s own community can also be risky business particularly when a practitioner raises issues that might be sensitive or perhaps challenging for some in the community. There are many indications to suggest that being an insider-outsider research practitioner can cause discomfort, especially if negative aspects of one’s own cultural group are then revealed (Hamdan 2009).

This discomfort can lead to all sorts of problems and the way the practitioner moves between these two positions can often determine how successful the study will be. Since most indigenous research is often motivated by the need to implement some form of community development or social change many researchers head into these roles with determination and commitment. This recognizes once again the existing knowledge of the inside practitioner who often returns intuitively to his or her own ways of knowing to where he or she is able to reflect and ask themselves “what is it that I know and how is it that I know.” Answering these questions can lead to a review of one’s sense of self and motivate new ways of thinking, questioning and understanding the research subject and the other participants. The boundaries can often become blurred and so the practitioner may have to reconsider his or her place or perhaps renegotiate his or her position in an attempt to keep a balance. This suggests the practitioner must have a sound strategy to ensure the research is credible and valid, but he or she must also be capable of moving between the two positions effectively, which requires skill and technique. An important point to consider too is the need to be spontaneous.
LT Smith (1999, p.137) argues that, ‘the critical issue with insider research is the constant need for reflexivity’. This requires a critical review of all research practices, relationships made, the depth and richness of the data and the final analysis. *Kaupapa Maori* then serves as a valuable resource to help guide and facilitate insider and outsider research but the need for strong communication skills and a good understanding about the community and how its internal systems work is critical. Maori practitioners must also be able to reflective so they are capable of telling and retelling our stories in a way that helps us to feel secure and yet be critical enough to examine our own actions and those of others in a way that increases our understanding of ourselves and the practices we apply.

Maori researchers who work within their own communities have the potential to enable changes from the inside out as long as they have a sound strategy in place and they have established a strong support network of people who are committed to supporting the project or initiative in the long-term. The insider practitioner is often required to have skills and be connected or have access links to key people. This means building relations with gatekeepers and community is essential because:

Negotiating access to a community or a home can also be daunting for indigenous researchers. Formal approaches can require several meetings in which the whole ugly history of research on indigenous peoples is reiterated, followed by open and frank discussions of the merit and desirability of a project intersected by other unrelated debates and commentaries, and a conclusion which is highly ambivalent or inconclusive, meaning that the process has to be repeated again (LT Smith 1999, p.136).

For even the most enthused researcher this is taxing and can even cause the researcher to deviate or go off track, which endorses the need to build support structures to ensure these issues are managed effectively. One such support system posed by Bishop (1998) is what he refers to as engaging the *whanau* within the discursive practice as a means to create an effective support structure, which can assist both the research project and the practitioner. He also claims this relational partnership is an important part of *Kaupapa Maori*. 
The strength in Kaupapa Maori and its capacity to provide a strong theoretical foundation for this thesis places my research study in good stead. The act of reflection as an informative process conjures up this underlying sense of trepidation as I consider how this notion ‘being Maori and acting Maori’ (GH Smith 1997) unfolds when we no longer live in the traditional domain and have migrated to live in another indigenous peoples land.

In reflection I ponder…

My research is about Maori, conducted with Maori and by a Maori. The challenge is that I am located in a non-Maori institution and surrounded by non-Maori scholars. Suddenly being Maori and acting Maori is not such a straightforward process any more…Ititahi.

With these thoughts in mind it will be vital to see how well Kaupapa Maori can adapt to some of the new challenges found in trans-Tasman Maori migration. Perhaps the real test lies in seeing how well it works with other approaches, particularly if we consider that my approach is as an indigenous woman and foreigner to Australia who is working from within a western academic system.

Anticipating the potential that Kaupapa Maori with other research methods may well help us to improve conditions for Maori living in Australia is an exciting possibility and indeed an opportunity for building bridges between different worlds.

IN VIEW OF UNCERTAINTY

Understanding how groups organize themselves is becoming increasingly important, as populations around the world struggle to adapt to the uncertainties of our times. Almost fifty years ago futurist Alvin Toffler (1970) made a number of assertions about the accelerated pace of our world and how this change would affect the human species.
Toffler claimed that:

So long as society is relatively stable and unchanging, the problems it presents to men tend o be routine and predictable. Organizations in such an environment can be relatively permanent. But when change is accelerated, more and more novel first time problems arise, and traditional forms of organization prove inadequate to the new conditions. They can no longer cope (Toffler 1970, p.129).

The point of concern for this futuristic analyst is that the more rapidly our environment changes the shorter the life span will be for many organizations (Toffler 1970) including perhaps even our own Maori system. This forecast should be of concern for Maori knowing that as a people our survival depends largely on the success of the group as a whole. In addition, as more whanau leave their homelands to venture into the global arena the likely-hood of our tribal systems remaining in tact beyond migration could well be in serious decline and so we must take stock of what has occurred during trans-Tasman Maori migration to the whanau, hapu and iwi. It is also critical to have skilled leaders with foresight to deal with the challenges that come with the scattering of kinship groups, global recessions, the degradation of our environment and poverty. This also means that effective strategies designed to support and guide whanau, hapu and iwi through the vulnerabilities that do emerge in times of uncertainty are formulated and implemented to help our people adapt to the changes.

In an attempt to gain a better understanding of uncertainty in today’s social climate Molloy argues that:

A vital step in forming a deeper understanding of uncertainty is to broaden our awareness of reality. When we form a deeper understanding of uncertainty and appreciate the vital role that it plays in our lives we not only increase our capacity to cope with it but we also learn to use uncertainty as a stimulus for performance, development and enjoyment (Molloy 2004, p.1).
To embrace uncertainty in this thesis means to explore, identify and engage in discussion about the realities, the challenges and the potentialities Maori face beyond migration and resettlement in Australia. We risk the loss of culture and identity as our whanau adapt to living in Australia without the cultural and traditional systems we had in Aotearoa. This has all sorts of implications in both the short and long term. The answers are embedded in our stories and conversations. The task is to look for the patterns and symbols fixed in these relocation narratives that will help to explain what has occurred during this change, how we might learn from it and what may transpire for our Maori people in the future. Complexity science has the potential to help us understand and perhaps be more informed about how we can manage ourselves through the uncertainties we face as members of the global community. In doing perhaps our trans-Tasman Maori community may have the means to embrace the changes we must make to live in the twenty first century as Maori and as global citizens of the world.
Thoughts On A Sufi Proverb - by Hone Tuwhare

A long time ago I was an atom.
A one-ness in two, superbly put together.

Full of potential, I was close to my essence.
I died as an atom and progressed to another form.
I became a stone just off the melt.
I was cooling off.
I died as a stone and became a water plant.
As a plant, I learned to trap and eat meat.
I died as a plant and became a fish.
As a fish I grew wings flying low over the heaving waters.

Then I aspired to circle high above greening turret-lands.

When I died as a plant, another branch of me I liked grew legs.
And crawled out of the sea – on all fives.
Or was it sixes or sevens?
No matter, I had arms, legs, and two hands with which I learned
To pick up stones, sharpen a stick.
That other flying branch of me tried to pick out my eyes.
They mocked me for not choosing a flying career.
I ignored the jibes, ducking out of sight to avoid danger.
I learned to throw stones.
And soon, with a developed accuracy
I could bring down my tormentors.

I ate them feathers and all,
Only learning later to save the feathers to
Adorn myself.

I progressed from a plant, and became animal.
I died as an animal and became man.
Now . . . never did I grow less by dying,
You understand?
I want to become stone again,
But not the kind that is as cold,
As the forever night – the unlit side of the moon
For a stone is as good a shape or form as any other.
Compact and smoothened
To become a million whispering grains of sand
Just crumbling quietly away to whatever ancestral dust
And all in good time, too, precisely
And with a resigned elegan.
COMPLEXITY SCIENCE

The social and cultural sciences have gone through a number of significant changes in the last century. Urry (2005, p.1) claims that, ‘we as a society have experienced a whole array of incursions over the past few decades. These have included Marxism in the 1960s and 1970s, linguistics and postmodernism in the 1980s and the body, performative and global culture in the 1990s’. The newest twist he suggests ‘is the complexity turn’ (p.1), and like most new disciplines it is still evolving. Driven by the desire to understand how people and systems adapt in times of change and uncertainty many scholars have embraced complexity science through their work in technology, science, biology, physics, health ecology, and the social sciences (Capra 2005; Laszlo 2006; Urry 2005). Physicist Fritjof Capra (2005, p.33) has written at length about complexity and its usefulness. He claims that, ‘through the scholastic tradition of systems theory…a new understanding of life has come to the forefront, which he and many of his colleagues refer to as the new sciences’ (p.33).

Moreover, Capra postulates that:

Systemic thinking means thinking in terms of relationships, patterns, processes and context. Over the past 25 years, this scientific tradition was raised to a new level with the development of complexity theory. Technically known as nonlinear dynamics, complexity theory is a new mathematical language and a new set of concepts for describing and modeling complex nonlinear systems. Complexity theory now offers the exciting possibility of developing a unified view of life by integrating life’s biological, cognitive and social dimensions (Capra 2005, p.33).

The notion that patterns and processes are relational resonates closely with what Maturana and Varela (1992, p.3-10) refer to as ‘autopoiesis, which is a concept they use to demonstrate how biological entities through the organization of their internal components, self-produce the structures that define them as living beings’. These active systems according to Capra (2005, p.34) ‘make up the essential nature of life in the realm of plants, animals and microorganisms, which are always creating and recreating their own networks within. These systems are always self-generating, replacing their parts and transforming and reconstructing over and over’ (p.34).
This self-generating system bears a close resemblance to how humans behave in groups and organizational settings, thus giving rise to the significance of complexity in the study of organizations. The study of organizations has been largely focused on improving the way commercial business and industry operates, but more importantly what it has illustrated over the years is that organizations across the board can also learn how to be more effective as groups if they embrace some of the theories and methods that have emerged from within this paradigm. This is especially relevant for the social groups or organizations we belong to, including my own Maori world. The complexity paradigm is useful in understanding how best to improve the systems we belong to and participate in. Kuhn (2009, p.1) argues that, ‘complexity habits of thought, metaphors and concepts can be used to create new understandings and approaches to organisational structure, processes, issues and practices’.

She also claims that:

Looking through a complexity lens we see organizations as comprising a number of interacting self-organising, dynamic and emergent entities not least of which are people. It can only be expected, then, that organizations must also exist as self-organising, dynamic and emerging entities. Given that organizations continuously interact with other people and organizations and that these interactions are mutually influencing, it is soon clear that organisations manifest their emergence within a complex milieu (Kuhn 2009, p.11).

This can only mean that both the organization and the people in these systems coexist and operate in relatively the same way. Having the means to articulate the activities of a community group in a meaningful way so that the people in the organization can understand how best to work together to improve its operations is very important. Organizational and complexity theorists agree that communication and the way members of an organization interact can often determine how well a system operates. They also argue that effective communication can be a valuable strategy in maintaining existing systems, identifying where improvement opportunities lie and more importantly when and where change is necessary. Kuhn and Woog (2006, p.9) contend that when ‘engaging with a group of people in coherent conversation it is possible to examine the dynamics involved in the emergence of different points of view’ and in research this strategy is particularly useful when facilitating group discussion.
In this thesis collective conversation and dialogue provides a framework for Maori to share their knowledge about migration and resettlement in Australia. It provides a vehicle to discuss this research process and how it can be improved in the future. In addition, given that Maori are generally an oral people, dialogue in storytelling, conversation and other spoken means is a critical method of articulating the issues and concerns of our community. It is thus the most effective way to gain an understanding about how people have managed their migration and resettlement over the years. These conversations provide the space for participants to create and build their stories around the similarities or differences shared by others. This is an important because in oral communication building stories collectively can enable productive and rich data to emerge. These storylines are connecting points for participants to establish a common relationship with others who have made the journey across the sea and are trying to understand how this migration experience relates to them and their families now and in the future. Conversations in all their forms are a vital part of this thesis, because they provide the foundation from where our community narrative emerges.

Complexity in a Maori Sense

Maori is complexity

Maori tell stories in order to understand stories - complexity does too…

Maori is infinite - complexity is too…

Maori can adapt and accommodate - complexity can too…

Maori is complex, and complexity is too… Ititahi.

Photo 12. Maori Fractals by Moeawa
A Complexity Toolbox

Complexity offers a number of useful tools to help researchers wanting to capture the self-organizing, dynamic and emerging movements of an organization or community. They play a fundamental role in helping to: 1. Describe and name the non-linear, evolving, and emerging dynamics of the trans-Tasman Maori community as they encounter and engage in change; 2. Predict and describe the dynamics of self-organisation, adaptive systems and potentiality during and beyond these shifts; 3. Provide a contemporary language to give voice and life to our traditional ways of knowing in our modern world. Complexity provides a simple yet sophisticated means to explain the research study by drawing on a series of metaphors, which I identify as my complexity tools. These offer the epistemological language necessary to enliven our Maori ways of knowing and can be found in fractals, attractors, self-organisation, dynamism, emergence, phase space, and phrase space.

Self-Organization

According to Dimitrov (2003, p.31) ‘Complex interactive dynamics give birth to forces of self-organization arising spontaneously from seemingly disordered conditions’. He offers the vortex and the vorticity as a visual metaphor to help us understand and grasp this notion. Kuhn (2009, p.26) suggests if we consider living systems and how they work we can learn a great deal about social dynamics. She points to the way fish swim in schools and their ability to move naturally amongst each other adapting to others in the cluster as they move. With this example in mind she asserts that, ‘our capacity to change form (metamorphose) while continuing to be ourselves is self-organisation in action’ (p.26). Like all complexity concepts they interlink one with another and so in self-organization we begin to see emergence.

Who would have thought that I would leave our Papakainga? In 1990 our whanau migrated to Sydney. We moved to Penrith and back then there were very few Maori people around. We met our first Maori person at the local market who with a big smile called out to us Kiaora! We exchanged info and learned she was from Tainui and had been in Australia for a very long time. She was happy to see us and we were delighted to see her.

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7 Papakainga is a form of housing on multiple-owned Maori or ancestral land. Papakainga is a nurturing place to return to.
8 Tainui is the name of a Waikato tribe.
Twenty years later this Maori woman has become aunty to our children and nanny to our mokopuna and I am the same to hers. Our need to share being Maori with our families became the attractor for what is now our whanau nui⁹ this is self-organization in its simplest form…Ititahi.

Dynamism

To explain the notion of dynamism, I draw on the definition provided by Kuhn (2009) who writes:

Complexity considers dynamism to be an essential characteristic of life. To be dynamic is to be adaptive, to have energy, to instigate, to respond and react. The descriptor dynamic refers to the continuous movement of all entities as they adapt, respond to and influence others and the environment (social and physical) within which they exist…both dynamism and self-organisation emphasise that context and circumstances change for all, and that all ‘things’ (people, environments, organisations and so on) are in continuous flux (Kuhn 2009, p.29).

Following on from the storyline used earlier to illustrate self-organization, the narrative below describes how dynamism soon emerges as the natural adaptability between people occurs.

Who would have thought that me, a Ngapuhi¹⁰ woman from the North of New Zealand would become a part of this Tanui whanau from the Waikato and this wonderful woman who we have grown to respect and love from Tainui would become an integral part of our Ngapuhi whanau. The years have come and gone and so have the challenges found in adapting to this new relational bond in the differences and changes that have taken us beyond our tribal boundaries and into another relational dimension.

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⁹ Whanau nui means big family and refers to extended family in this instance.
¹⁰ Ngapuhi is a tribe located in the Northern part of Aotearoa.
Still, regardless of where we venture in the experiences we encounter, the definitive moment is always that vibrancy we feel, each time we connect as a people and endorse in word and action, what it means to be Maori...Ititahi.

**Emergence**

Our understanding of reality grows from within...our ability to sense emergent phenomena lays in the development of our consciousness (Dimitrov 2003, p.131-132).

When we consider that self-reflection helps us to understand the experiences we have and the learning gained in this process, it is no surprise then, that for us to determine our individual progress we must be able to analyze the emerging patterns that flow on from our actions. Our analysis in what we see and understand can then help us to determine whether we need to make a change. This description explains emergence in its most simple form; however, in order to understand this concept on another level we can examine what scholars from different disciplines have done to gain a deeper understanding of its potential on a grand scale. For example organizational theorists have used emergence to explain how global-level structures arise from interactive small local-level processes. This stems from the need to describe and explain how organizations change. Frieze and Wheatley (2008) claim that in all living systems, change happens through emergence. They argue that large scale changes that have great impact do not originate in plans or strategies from on high, instead they begin as small, local actions. This can be seen by looking at small groups of people who come together as a collective to create improve or change something they feel is important to them. Often these small groups soon establish links to others and in time they become an important part of a global network. Kuhn (2009) postulates three important points about emergence.

The first refers the capacity of complex entities to exhibit unexpected behaviour often not previously seen. Second, emergence carries the idea that micro-phenomena gives rise to macro-phenomena, and third emergence relates to the role of humans co-constructing the phenomena of which they are apart.
Today as I reflect on the relationship between our two families there are a number of fundamental aspects that have come from this connection. First, we now consider ourselves as whanau foremost and our tribal affiliations are incorporated therein. I now understand what it means to be a global citizen and still remain true to my sense of being as a Maori. Gaining knowledge of this kind is far beyond what I could have ever imagined from our new life in Australia. The ultimate benefit, however, is knowing, that our children will walk in this global world with confidence as they move between many cultural worlds. Yes! who would have thought…Ititahi.

Complexity offers a number of concepts to assist in understanding self-organization, dynamism and emergence.

**Attractors**

The attractor has its roots in mathematics, physics and science and is often referred to as the motivator behind the way we move towards a dynamic system (Gleick 1987). Briggs and Peat offer the following explanation:

When scientists say that a system has an attractor, they mean that if they plot the system’s change or behaviour in mathematical space the plot shows that the system is repeating a pattern. The system is attracted to that pattern of behaviour. If they perturb the system by knocking it away from the behaviour, it tends to return to it fairly quickly (Briggs and Peat 1999, p.64).
They also describe a strange-attractor, which they suggest is different because it shows a system that is unpredictable and non-mechanical. In this context an attractor is an organizing force that guides behavior and can be understood as energies to motivate just like the sun is an attractor for our solar system (Kuhn 2009). Dimitrov turns our attention to attractors of life dynamics and argues:

Various kinds of desires propel our lifelong activities. In the civilized societies people’s desires are usually directed towards achievements or acquisition of power (in material or other kinds of expression), freedom (to think, express and act) and knowledge as well as towards experience of pleasures love, and longevity (Dimitrov 2003, p.38).

In organizational studies attractors are useful because they help us to develop an understanding about what influences change, where fundamental focus points are and how people behave in systems.

**Fractals**

Dimitrov (2003, p.28) contends, ‘reducing does not simplify when applied to human dynamics: interactions are important and interactions mean integrity and inseparability’. Most complexity concepts overlap and merge. Fractals do just that in that they can be seen in emergence, self-organization and they can even be attractors. Like attractors, fractals have a history founded on discovery only this time it was mathematician Benoit Mandelbrot who coined this term as a means to explain patterns repeating themselves in different ways and on multiples scales or dimensions. Originally established to address mathematical problems, fractals are now widely used in complexity to describe and illustrate human behavior. Briggs and Peat (1999, p.100) suggest that fractals ‘is the name given by scientists to the patterns of chaos that we see in many natural forms such as the crack in a rock ledge left by an earthquake frost heave the dendritic web of a river system and the once only shape of a single snowflake’. Another way of illustrating a fractal is by reflecting on the ponga\(^1\) or silver fern tree and all of its different parts.

\(^1\)Ponga is the Maori term for the plant silver fern or *Cyathea dealbata.*
Take the koru\textsuperscript{12} or the young unfurling fronds of the ponga and look at how each unfolds into a new branch with all of its different parts in the leaves, stems veins and so on. If we then think about how all of these different parts make up this branch look, feel and visually appear different, yet each part is a fundamental component of the branch, which then together create the tree. For Maori the ponga and koru are very important symbols as they describe our whanau hapu and iwi system metaphorically, suggesting that fractality has been with us for a very long time. Now if we break down each fractal component further we can see that every part has a story of its own which links to both the smallest micro-part and the biggest macro-part.

This system is an important concept in complexity because as Kuhn points out:

Fractality is helpful in understanding organisational processes and potentialities as they can show how smaller groups can fit into larger groups and so on. Fractals can also be useful in articulating human behavior in attitudes, feelings and the impact of decision-making on individuals in an organisational system (Kuhn 2009, p.70).

This makes fractality extremely valuable in helping to articulate the self-organizing, dynamic and emerging behaviors of our Maori community. In this context fractals are used to explain the different layers of information, including the stories shared by participants. They explain my place and position in the different roles I hold in this research project as a whole, for example I am the individual in the practitioner or researcher (me), a member of a small group or organization in my immediate family (whanau), a member of a larger group in the extended Maori community (hapu or sub-tribe), and the larger tribal unit (iwi). Then as we gather our different tribes together we acknowledge the Maori nation as a whole and we can continue on.

\textsuperscript{12} Koru is the young frond of a ponga tree. In a Maori context it represents emergence or ongoing life.
Phase Space - Phrase Space

Fractality articulates my sense of being as a Maori showing the different levels found in the layers of information we each bring to a space including the organizations in which we belong and the different roles that we play in these groups. The concept of phase space – phrase space is helpful in articulating these layers of information. Kuhn offers a comprehensive overview suggesting that:

"Phase space is, in essence, an imaginary multidimensional space, a mathematical construct in which numbers are turned into pictures, where we can ‘see’ the movement of a complex dynamic entity over time. Phase space describes the space comprising all the possible states of a complex entity. Thus in a phase space we can see plotted regions of stability and instability and we can also trace the entity entire evolution (Kuhn 2009, p.48)."

Phase space is useful here because it provides a designated space for the narratives in this thesis to emerge within their own context. This is particularly important for Maori because our concept of time and space is somewhat the same as this phase space notion. To understand how phase space is used here consider a group of stories from the 1800s, another from the 1950s and another in 2007. Each group is an autonomous entity set in a specific time and space, yet each of these groups is interconnected and as a collective they create by and large a big picture story that will tell us about trans-Tasman Maori migration across several generations. Phrase space works in tandem with phase space in that it gives voice to these storylines. Kuhn (2009, p.48) claims that, ‘playing on the word ‘phrase,’ phrase space is used to describe the way our ideas and, consequently, our ways of living are mediated through language’. The stories that our ancestors impart can help us to understand our own stories today as we reflect and ponder the shared experiences and discoveries.

Phase space and phrase space are crucial in helping to describe, articulate and narrate our trans-Tasman Maori storylines across different generations. The ability to scope our community across generations is valuable in terms of future development and progress.
Moreover, as we follow the different patterns found in the storylines shared by our Maori people and we draw on complexity to help explain the potentialities therein, we will be well informed and therefore better prepared for the challenges we encounter and the unexpected changes that might occur now or in the future. There is an old Maori saying, “ko te kai rapu ko ia te kite”, which in translation reads, “he who seeks will find”. My wise uncle Sarge would always say “if your heart is set on finding something very important and all the things you need to do to help you find it have been done, then your tupuna will guide you along the way”. With these thoughts in mind the search for stories begins here.
In My Puku

In my puku
Twisting and turning
Wrapping
Around and around
Intestine
Heart
Tightly holding
You
Me
Us
In life
The pain
Loss
Fear
Sadness
Joy
And dreams
Twisting and turning
Wrapping
Around and around

In My Puku...Ititahi.
The People - He Tangata...

He aha te mea nui it te ao

Hutia te rito o te harakeke
Kei hea te komako e ko
Ki mai ki ahau
He aha te mea nui i te ao
Maku e ki atu
He tangata he tangata he tangata

What is the most important thing in the world?

If the center shoot of the flax is pulled out,
The flax will die,
Leaving no place for the bellbird to sing.
Although these conversation factors are important
If I was to ask
What is one of the most important things of the world?
I will answer,
It is that person, that person that person
That is, it is each and every person (Erenora Puketapu-Hetet 1989, p.vi).
Chapter 4. Gathering Stories in the Field

THE METAPHOR TELLS US HOW

The *whakatauki*¹ at the beginning of this chapter is a celebrated proverb in our *Maori* world and so I have included it here to stimulate thought and reflection about the importance of people as I head into the field. Furthermore, this proverb and the symbolism it provokes, juxtaposes the traditional custom of weaving with the stories and conversations shared by the people. Like most proverbs there are countless teachings embedded within this proverb however, my goal here is to draw on two specific ideas to help set the scene for my fieldwork practice. The first makes reference to the notion, “what is the greatest thing?” I reply, “it is that person, that person, that person”, which prompts readers to be attentive to the idea that the individual person and their contribution as both an independent, and as a member of a collective group, is one in the same. This is an interchangeable role that works both ways - thus the saying “without each and every person we would simply not exist as a people”.

In this example the proverb is reminding us about the significance of every person and the importance of acknowledging their sense of self as they contribute and participate in this study. In the wider *Maori* circle this saying is also known to read, “it is the people, the people, the people”, which again highlights the significance of the person, and the collective group.

¹ *Whakatauki* is a proverb.
The second theme refers to an applied process and is explained by unpacking the proverb in the following way. Most Maori weavers draw on this *whakatauki* to teach the fundamentals of their craft, which begins with the recognition that numerous protocols should be considered well before the weaving begins, and, they must continue on long after the process ends. The proverb is insightful and illustrates the importance of one thing depending on another for survival. For example the bellbird depends on the flax bush to survive for shelter and food. In turn the continuation of the flax bush to grow is also determined by the bird taking the seeds from place-to-place. This proverb is also a metaphor that reminds Maori like the plant must be carefully managed so too must our *whanau hapu* and *iwi* systems as we are all interconnected. It also highlights the significance of Bateson’s (1979, p.11) notion ‘the metapattern - the pattern of all patterns’, which reminds us that everything is connected and just like the bellbird needs the flax bush to survive, humans need other people to live a meaningful life. The words, “if the centre shoots of the flax is pulled out, the bush will die”, draws our attention to important environmental issues. Flax grows in a fan-like formation, with the young shoots rising up from the centre of the plant. These shoots are called the *rito*. On either side of the *rito* are outer leaves, which are referred to by many Northern Maori tribes as the *Matua* or parent leaves. In other tribal areas they are called *awhi rito*, which means to embrace the inner shoots.

The crucial point to note here is that the *rito* and *Matua* or leaves that grow either side of these inner shoots must never be cut, to ensure the life cycle of the plant is sustained (*Puketapu-Hetet* 1989). This also means that a deeper understanding about nature and how the seasons influence the time of harvest, the way the flax is gathered and the techniques used to cut the leaves informs traditional guidelines to ensure the longevity of the plant. Prayer is also offered to our *Tupuna Tane Mahuta*, god of the forest and *Haumia*, god of the fern root wild fruits and herbs, to thank them for this valuable resource.

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2 *Rito* is the inner shoots of the flax bush.
3 *Awhi rito* is to embrace the inner shoots.
4 *Tupuna Tane Mahuta* is our ancestor the god of the forest.
5 *Haumia* is our ancestor the god of the fern root.
This confirms our relationship to the flax bush, bellbird, forest, and so on until we come to our ancient Tupuna Papatuanuku and Ranginui and I ho Matua the god of all things. Thus it validates our place in the eternal circle. The weaver’s physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing must be considered too, as we take into account what is required to weave our korowai.

In some Maori whanau hapu and iwi groups it was customary that women were to refrain from weaving if they were menstruating or ill. It was believed that during this time a woman’s concentration span was limited, that she could tire easily and even be irritable. Taking the necessary time away from weaving to fully recover and heal was necessary. However, once this phase had passed and her body, mind and spirit came back into balance she could then return to her weaving (Puketapu-Hetet, 1989). Today our lives are very different and the customs our Tupuna practiced in the past have in many instances been readapted to suit our modern world. Nonetheless, the philosophies underlying these ancient ideologies remain intact as they are revisited and practiced when we come together to conduct tribal business or engage in some form of cultural activity. In the case of Maori living in Australia there are new challenges that require careful adjustments, some of which I will highlight and continue to emphasize throughout the thesis. Returning again to the whakatauki to conclude this brief analysis I ponder the words, “if the flax dies, there is no place for the bellbird to sing”. The statement prompts us to be respectful, responsible and accountable when we are drawing on our natural resources, to always remember to think beyond ourselves and recognize the importance of others, including an obligation to respect our whanau and the kinship system to which we belong. The sight of the bellbird sitting on the flax bush singing serves as a reminder that if we nurture the rito and Matua the flax will grow strong and continue to provide for our people in the future. This example can also help us to understand that we must do the same for our children and those supporting them so that our mokopuna will be able to stand proud and contented as Maori wherever they are or live in the world. With these thoughts in mind my journey of discovery and learning continues.

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6 Tupuna Papatuanuku is our ancestor mother earth.
7 Tupuna Ranginui is our ancestor sky father.
8 I ho Matua is the god of all things.
THE PEOPLE - HE TANGATA

There is an old saying that I remember hearing time and time again from my own Kaumatua and Kuia. They would often say, ‘you will never be alone, your Tupuna is always with you…if you need help all you have to do is ask.’ They also said, ‘if the mahi is good someone will come and if it’s meant to be, the work will get done…Ititahi.

Sometimes we do not quite know why some things work the way they do, but one thing is for sure what we do know is that in some funny way it was meant to happen just the way it did. My fieldwork started long before this project was even conceptualised in my mind and while this explanation has an important place in the conclusion of this thesis it is essential to point out at this stage that key people have come and gone over a lengthy period contributing to a process that has already been in progress for a very long time. My aim then is to remind readers to consider this study as a minor part of something greater and to keep in sight the juxtaposition at work here in the smaller picture being laid to bear against the bigger one. As I think about how interconnected our Maori world is, it seems hard to imagine how one might even begin to separate this system into smaller parts. Nevertheless, in order to understand how migration to Australia has affected our people, my fieldwork looks at a subset group, which is made up of Maori who have migrated from New Zealand and are now living in New South Wales, Australia. This subset or sample population covers a wide cross section of the community, including participants from families, the women’s network, construction workers, churches and sports, language and cultural dance groups. Moreover, whereas most people were contacted through these organizations some people also approached me independently.

However, the engagement occurred, people were happy to share thoughts and ideas about their migration experiences or refer me to others who they thought would be helpful. Many of these meetings took me from individuals to family and organizational groups and before long to hapu and iwi in Sydney, Newcastle, Central Coast, the Blue Mountains and the far South Coast. They also took me back across the Tasman to Aotearoa.
RESEARCH SUPPORT GROUP - WHANAU TAUTOKO

My fieldwork practice emerged in two parts. The first stage involved creating a strong support system, to help guide my work practice and offer personal support when necessary. To do this a series of information meetings and a number of interviews were held to determine who was suited for this advisory role. The process took some time but in the end a Kaumatua, Kuia, Aboriginal advisor, a respected Maori leader from Sydney and my academic supervisor made up the cultural advisory panel. My husband was also nominated by the Kaumatua to officiate on his behalf when necessary. Over time the research support group members changed as Kaumatua passed on and some Kuia became too frail to participate. They stay with us in spirit and their contribution remains a cherished legacy of love to all the mokopuna born and raised in Australia.

SAMPLE POPULATION - HE TANGATA

The next stage involved selecting specific people or events linked to trans-Tasman Maori migration. This required an extensive search of numerous archives and libraries in Australia and New Zealand and it meant having meetings and conducting interviews with genealogy experts and historians. The past is important in this context because it links our storylines to the present and the future, so my goal was to look for early examples where Maori had crossed the Tasman and travelled between New Zealand and Australia. From these accounts the activities surrounding the travel or migration activities were analysed to determine which stories would then be highlighted. A timeline outlining key milestones soon emerged providing a simple yet informative description of first Maori contact with Australian officials, progressive relations between people in the two countries.

As we move beyond the historical records uncovered from the archives and the oral genealogies shared by the keepers of our traditional stories my fieldwork plans took me into the heart of the New South Wales Maori community, to where more stories and conversations emerged. This sample group is made up of Maori families and individuals who had migrated to Australia and are now living in NSW. The ages of participants are not identified specifically by numbers, but are grouped into three specific clusters with an approximate age range.
The first group is identified as *Kaumatua* and *Kuia*, which refers to people over 60. Adults 40-60 years old make up the second group and the final cluster are young adults from 18 through to 40 years old. To ensure gender balance both men and women were interviewed. Having worked in the community my inside knowledge and existing network links made access to gatekeepers and contact people relatively simple. This opened the door to leaders, elders and various families. Some participants self referred after finding out about the project and so allowances were made to ensure that individuals who wanted to be involved independent of a group had an opportunity to present their stories too. A number of people in Aotearoa were also contacted to clarify and confirm storylines and endorse genealogical links. Many of these home people were also given the opportunity to comment on this study and they were asked to consider its importance to our hapu and iwi in Aotearoa. These conversations, questions and propositions form many of the stories woven into this thesis.

**PLAN THE WORK AND WORK THE PLAN**

Deep in thought my mind revisits the questions that provoked this research study…

What stories will our trans-Tasman Maori children inherit to give them a sense of who they are, where they come from and where they are going? Will their genealogical ties to their Maori identity and culture be important for them, now that they live in Australia?

There is a cheeky saying in our Maori world that reads, “tell me the real story Hori”9 which simply means to share one’s raw and uncensored version of a particular account, issue or thought. It is also inviting a person or people to trust that you will value their korero10 by using it with respect and accountability for the greater good of our people, particularly the children and mokopuna. As an insider knowing that these underlying and often unspoken principles exist and are accessible with the right approach, is valuable as it improves the chances of gaining a deeper understanding of the issues at hand. Moreover, it provides the opportunity for whanau to offer solutions. Consequently, if the engagement is right and participants feel the space is safe to share, the data they provide will add a rich and insightful perspective to this thesis.

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9 Hori to some is a derogatory word for Maori, which is often used by Maori directed to Maori in a cheeky way.
10 Korero means to speak or talk. It can also mean speech conversation and discussion.
In hindsight, however, it is also important to point out that intuition and advanced people skills are necessary to guide this type of encounter as the chances of participants choosing not to engage at this level is also possible. This means that the ability to understand which way participants are likely to lean and more importantly how one might facilitate the process either way is extremely valuable in helping to determine what kind of data is likely to emerge.

Stepping back and renegotiating a return to the outsider position to review the data and reflect on the information gathered provides an opportunity to grasp the learning experience and to determine the next move before regathering one’s self to return to the field to do it all again. In this continuous move between the juxtapositions the engagement with the people occurred and so once contact with the community was made, specific people to interview evolved.

It also appeared that many participants wanted to be interviewed with a friend, whanau or in groups. In summary the data was gathered from -

1. Analysing historical documents and videos
2. Conducting interviews and focus groups
3. Drawing on my own reflections
4. Listening to stories shared by elders at meetings and community gatherings

Narrative is one of the oldest forms of communication, which for people across many cultures has been an important source of entertainment, education, connectedness and cultural preservation. Narratives have also been used to teach morals and values between people, generations and cultures. Psychologist Jerome Bruner (1990 p.55) said ‘when we want to bring an account of something into the domain of negotiated meanings, we say of it ironically that it was a good story.’ Stories he claims are especially visible instruments for social negotiation, and their status even when hawked as true is forever positioned between the real and the imaginary.
Bruner claims that the perpetual revisionism of historians, the emergence of docudramas, the literary of faction and the simple pillow talk of parents trying to make revised sense of their children’s doings bear testimony to a shadowy epistemology of the story (Bruner 1990). A simple but perhaps profound definition of narrative and storytelling is the one provided by anthropologist Gregory Bateson who claims that a story must be told from within the context that everything is connected. He claims stories are built into his very being, connecting him to family, extended family, community and so on. Bateson also acknowledges his connection to all living things drawing on a systems theory approach to help clarify that position. In a tribute to Bateson, Fritjof Capra wrote:

Gregory Bateson championed a new way of thinking, which is extremely relevant to our time - thinking in terms of relationships, connections, patterns and context. As we replace the Newtonian metaphor of the world as a machine, with the metaphor of the network and as complexity becomes a principle focus in science, the kind of systemic thinking that Bateson advocated is becoming crucial…

Bateson’s style of presentation was an essential and intrinsic part of his teaching. His central message was that relationships are the essence of the living world, and that we need a language of relationships to understand and describe it. One of the best ways to do so, in his view, is by telling stories. Stories are the royal road to the study of relationships he would say. What is important in a story, what is true in it, is not the plot, the things or the people in a story but the relationships between them (Capra 2010).

Bateson’s ideology aligns with many indigenous knowledge systems including our Maori creation story and the Aboriginal dreamtime. Nyoongar elder and academic Rosemary van den Berg claims that her culture is an oral one which for thousands of years has been passed down from generation to generation. Story telling she asserts reinforced ideological beliefs in the dreamtime, teaching about the rainbow serpent and most importantly connecting Aboriginal people to the environment and their kin (Van den Berg n.d).
Maori scholar LT Smith (1999) suggests in research our stories are extremely important as each account is powerful and whether it is old or new it contributes to the collective narrative in which every indigenous person has a place. Meaningful relations between Maori and Aboriginal people is a work in progress and as we adjust ourselves to learn what is expected of us as visitors to this land we strengthen our ties to each other every time we share this knowledge. For many Maori it has been our own Maori protocols that have helped us to maintain a respectful place in this land by acknowledging them and recognizing their kaitiaki role or caretaker position. Over the years, however, this relationship between our two nations has matured and in early 2003 at a meeting in Mount Druitt this friendship was acknowledged when a beautiful dreamtime story was gifted to our Kuia and Kaumatua from Aboriginal elders aunty Gloria¹¹ and uncle Wes.¹²

This story opens the next chapter of the thesis. In this section I present the storylines gathered from in the field. There is my own story. It connects to the others and in this space I am also the storyteller of the thesis. There is a story about a great Maori whaler called Ruatara, which speaks of relationships. Then there are the conversations and stories shared by the Maori community. All these narratives are woven together to create a picture story that aims to explain how Maori identity and culture changes when we migrate to live in Australia.

¹¹ Aunty Gloria Matthews is an esteemed Aboriginal elder who lives in Mount Druitt. She is a storyteller and has been an advocate for her people for many years. Aunty Gloria holds position on many boards as an Aboriginal advisor.

¹² Uncle Wes Marne is a Biduginbul man who has lived 40 years on the lands of the Darug people in Mount Druitt. He is an educator, storyteller and conducts many of the smoking ceremonies in and around the Western Sydney area.
A long time ago when the earth was very new and only the animals lived here, there were two turtles. One was called Pukunuku and the other was Matariki. The turtles lived happily on the land at the edge of the sea. Then one day as they lay in the sun on the sandy shore, the earth under them began to shake and move. It shook and it shook and it shook until it began to break apart and shift.

The turtles called out to each other, ‘The land is moving, hurry we must keep it together.’ They scurried along and they began to push and push and push with all their might to keep the earth whole and together. As the land stirred and moved, the turtles continued to push with all their might but very soon they grew tired and could no longer hold on and keep the land in tact.

Tired and in despair they stopped pushing. They had to let go.

Soon a small piece of the land began to drift out to the sea…

Saddened that they could no longer hold the land together the turtles became distressed. Matariki turned to Pukunuku and said, ‘I will go out into the sea to stay with the land.’ Saddened by the decision to leave his friend he promised that one day he would return and they would enjoy being together again.

Photo 20. Matariki & Pukunuku
I come from the ideal world, a place where I am safe to be me. Where everyone is rich, but no one has lots of money. Where people work hard, but no one is really employed. Where things are given and received, but no one is actually in business. Here we stick together forever and ever.

In this ideal world we live according to customs and our own ways of knowing. We belong to a whanau, hapu, and iwi, who in turn belong to Papatuanuku, our earth mother. Whakapapa or our genealogical storylines informs our sense of being, for it helps us to know who we are, where we come from, and where we are going. This whakapapa also reminds us that we are kaitiaki or caretakers of the land we know intimately as Aotearoa. It is a gift entrusted to us by Iho Matua the God of all living things.

I come from the ideal world a place where I am safe to be me. Within this space life is simple, not complicated, and, there is always lots of time to reflect and daydream. Papatuanuku knows those dreams, feels my spirit and she listens. The big hill just behind our whare is where many ideas and thoughts turned into stories as my immature and self-indulgent mind, created worlds and fantasy beyond the scope of time.

Yes, here on our hill there was magic all around. Sometimes I would reach out to those clouds, they were ever so close, touchable. Heaven felt like it was just a breath away. Then I stopped the roaming mind to ponder and contemplate a journey beyond this world, far far away to where the me I must become is awakened within…

Photo 21. Ngatihine Bush
AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY - KO ITITahi AHAU

Ko ititahi toku ingoa my name is also Roseanna Henare-Solomona depending of course where I am or who I am with. I was born and raised in the beautiful Bay of Islands, just North of Auckland in Aotearoa, New Zealand.

I am the second daughter of three girls born to Whanaupani Henare and Heeni Tautari.

From my father I inherit the Henare name. His people come from Motatau, Matawaia and Pipiwai, which is deep in the heart of Ngatihine territory. My father’s father was Henare Tau Henare who married Ngakupenga Kaka from Matawaia. My grandfather’s father was Tau Henare who is a descendent of Colonel Robert Wynyard. Tau Henare was a politician. His wife, my great grandmother, was Hera Paerata from Muriwhenua in the Far North. On my father’s side I have connections to Ngatihine, Ngapuhi, Te Rarawa, Ngati Kahu and Te Apouri.

My Mother is the eldest daughter of Matiu Tautari who comes from Waiomio, a place where great tupuna such as Hineamaru and Rangatira Kawiti lived. Matiu’s father was Mange Tautari and his mother was Heeni Kore who comes off the Pikimaui line from Wanganui. My mother’s mother was Ihipera McGee, the daughter of Mate Kingi from Otiria and Robert McGee who is of Irish descent. Now even as Whanaupani and Heeni are my biological parents, my mother’s people, Matiu and Ihipera raised me. They also raised my brother Jim who is older than me, shares the same biological mother but has a different father. Jim’s dad is Robert Clarke from Kaitaia.

We called our grandmother Mum and grandfather Pop. They brought us up the old way on our papakainga or land in a place called Ngapipito.

Photo 22. Jim and Wee-one
Our grandparents had nine children of their own, eight they raised at the homestead and one a daughter Betty was a whangai to my grandmother’s sister aunty Agnes and her husband. In her later years Betty came home and reconnected with whanau and the land; I loved aunty Betty, we all did. Some of our grandparents’ children were in the army and some moved to the city for work. One uncle even lived in Australia for a short time. We have a large whanau who would come home to the whenua a lot to help cut wood for the fire, work in the garden, eat, laugh and have lots of fun with each other. Our Mum and Pop were ever so happy when everyone was home. Most times, “I would wish with all my heart that everyone would stay forever” but it was never to be as they all returned to their own homes leaving us waiting with anticipation for the next gathering. Our Mum and Pop were our first teachers.

Pop was a giant among men yet he never raised his voice or hand to a living soul. He was a kind, fun loving, happy, and humble man who lead by example. His gentle demeanor helped us to understand what it meant to care for people, to share and to give to others. He worked hard and gave all he had to our Mum and of course to us. He taught both Jim and me how to gather rongoa or Maori medicine, how and when to catch eels, to ride horses, eat off the land, plant and store food and most important how to listen to our wairua or spirit. He also taught us how to discern the spirit of others. I found listening to the wairua very difficult at first and often I would wonder how you could listen to something that was not real or tangible. Knowing our human struggle to understand things of the spirit our Pop would often say:

“Kaue korero, whakarongo, titiro ako ~ hush don’t talk, just listen, watch and learn…”

Our Kuia or Mum was a very small woman who had a strict work ethic. She fixed fences, milked cows and she maintained a huge vegetable garden. In the fruit season she walked many miles collecting peaches, apples, plums and black berries for preserving. Our Kuia made the best kanga wai, a winter delicacy that was delicious to the taste, but ‘boy it stunk to high heaven.’ From her I learned about the power of ones heart, mind and soul. She exemplified honesty, fair play, unconditional love and integrity. Our Mum raised us tough. She reminded us always that size meant nothing because truth gave you the strength to overcome anything and anyone. I grew up close to my Kuia and so everything
she did, I did too, and everywhere she went I went too. Our home was a very small whare, which was often a refuge for many families who needed time out or for women who needed my Kuia to sort their drunken husbands out. Often in the dark of the night a car would come up our driveway. There was never a knock, yet every time she would just go straight to the door with a candle in one hand and a blanket in the other. She always knew just what to do and she did it. I never saw much on those nights, most times it was very dark, but I do remember lots of crying and talking. As my Kuia sat to comfort these mysterious looking visitors, I would wiggle myself under her blanket and snuggle up to her back before returning to my sleepy slumber. Over the years Jim became a reflection of our grandfather and I of our grandmother. Furthermore, their teachings about life and how to live it the best way possible, set a precedent for how we should live and of course how we might teach our own children to live. This learning has become their legacy that will in time continue to be passed down through the generations yet to come.

A HOME FOR MY MOKOPUNA

When I was a young girl I remember going with our grandparents to see Tupi Puriri, my Mums cousin, who at that time worked for the Bay of Island County Council. They wanted him to help formalise the handing over of their land to their son Graham who was returning from the army and wanted to farm. During this meeting they told uncle Tupi that the homestead and the land around it was to be left to Jim and that I was to have a block to build a home. At a second meeting they took uncle Graham with them and explained their wishes to uncle Tupi again. Eventually the homestead was left to Jim in their will and the piece of land for me was to be negotiated after I was given the option to choose the spot. It was my Mums desire that we build a whare for our children on the land and so we went to work setting goals and doing the hard yards to make this happen. We left the farm and went to Auckland in search of work to fulfill our dream. On one of our trips home my Kuia, uncle Graham, my husband and I walked around the land looking for appropriate spots to build. She suggested we put the house on the big hill, Graham thought in front of Jim’s house, but I chose my grandparents last garden. This place brought my happiest and saddest memories. My mum loving her time in the garden and my grandfather sitting under the totara trees watching her dig. He spent most of his last days under those trees as he suffered the ordeal of cancer. After he died my Mum would come to this spot and till the land and then we
would both sit under the tree and talk about our Pop. It was her place to be still and mine to reminisce. Today our home stands in the middle of this garden and when I look out the front window I can often picture both of them sitting under those trees sorting seed potatoes. It is here that I feel closest to my Mum and Pop. It is also here that I feel safe to just be me.

Realizing a dream can often take hard work and sometimes long suffering. It can also require a huge scarifice. Jim and I never went too far from our grandmother’s side after the death of our Pop. In fact we took turns returning home to live with her, taking our partners and children back there too. But amidst the hustle and bustle of raising our children, this job of building a home on the land often took a back seat to every day living. Still at every opportunity uncle Graham, who had since taken over the farm would remind us about the task of building that house. Then on one of our vists home to spend the weekend with our Mum she too reminded us about the task to build that home for our children, her mokopuna. It was at this point that my husband and I decided to move to Australia to find work to fulfill this goal. At the time he was working two jobs, sometimes three, just to make ends meet and I was looking after our four young children, so saving to build back home was nothing more than a dream.

We had been to Australia earlier and had seen the potential of earning good money, but the fear of breaking my Mum’s heart by leaving her for a life in Australia was far from our minds, however, after continuous discussions with my husband about fulfilling our goals, a move across the Tasman seemed like the logical thing to do. Still, deciding to go was one thing, telling our Mum was indeed another, so it took me several attempts before I got it right.
AUSTRALIA THAT IS THE PLACE TO BE!

In the dark of the night there are no prying eyes to see the vulnerability in my longing to roam outside the confines of the iwi; a desire to venture beyond our papakainga, where dirt roads and dusty travels might just become stories from my past. I haven’t been to the hill in a long time; too many babies, nappies, dinners and dishes to even care…but here we are, my husband and me, lying awake night after night, after hay making, diving for kina or digging in the garden; our garden was huge, as big as a football field and it fed our whole whanau; here we are lying and contemplating, my dream, his dream, our dream to venture beyond and discover…

Each night we worked hard to convince each other and ourselves that moving to Aussie was a good thing to do…not frightened to work, we’ll get a job easy, we could give our boys everything, and they’ll have the best life ever! All said with so much conviction and belief…And what would I say to my mum? I couldn’t bear to hear her tell me as she always did…

My baby I may as well die if you move away from here!” Her baby! Me a grown woman with four babies of my own…Bad idea, no more thinking, too tiresome; just sleep now…I love my Kuia and yes I am her baby…

Then it just happened - yep ticket in hand and we were ready to go… Aussie bound!

As I gather my thoughts, her face appears in my mind; the fear, the sadness and her inconsolable grief as she learned of our impending journey across the Tasman Sea. There she is sitting in the lounge of our old homestead, she, staring out the window at the land and I contemplating my words of comfort for both of us…A long silence endued then she turned to me and asked “why you going to Aussie, why you taking my mokopuna there? This is their whenua, this is their home, and their whanau are here.”

Who will look after them there…? Aue…my mokopuna she whispered…

Photo 23. Our Papakainga
I dare not look at the pain I’ve brought to my Kuia...we will come back Mum, I promise!

I tried to bolster the blow by reassurring her it would only be for a few years and we were committed to getting enough money to build the house, then we would come home. After numerous discussions she reluctantly and with great sadness gave us her blessing to go, so in 1992 my husband, our four sons and I boarded an Air New Zealand flight destined for Sydney, Australia. We stayed with close friends who kindly put us up until we were able to move into our own place. The kids started school and adjusted to the changes quickly. John found work and I stayed close to our children walking them to school and collecting them at the end of the day. City living in Australia was very different and while we were quick to make new friends life back home amongst the whanau and hapu was sorely missed. We all craved the freedom to roam amongst our family and I particularly missed seeing people that looked, talked and thought just like us. With continuous bouts of homesickness I returned to Aotearoa three times a year when we first migrated here, and while I pined for my husband and our kids who were left in Australia, each time I had to leave my Mum back there, I would bawl my eyes out and reconsider a return to the homeland. In between my visits home my Mum wrote me letters which kept me focused on the bigger picture and her connected to us.

THE LAND OF THE DREAMTIME PEOPLE

Living in this new land certainly brought all sorts of interesting experiences, however, one that will forever stand out in my mind is the first time I saw an Aboriginal person. Her name was Dixie and she attended the same church as us. She was probably in her late sixties, had the whitest hair and dark brown skin. She sat quietly at the back of the chapel and smiled whenever someone spoke or waved to her. I stared at her and soon found myself lost in thought about how it would be if the tables were turned and she was visiting our land in Aotearoa. Having just left a very traditional Maori lifestyle, I was very curious about what to expect as a visitor to this land and so I questioned what was required of manuhiri like me. I had no connection to the first nations’ people, there was no conversation about what to do and really I had no idea about what was culturally appropriate in this new land. My desire to make the right connections, engage in discussion and do what was right was left to chance as I figured that in due time an opportunity would emerge.
But of course following what we did according to our own traditions seemed fitting for the mean time. Making the changes and readapting to this new way of living required a huge effort. Still no matter how hard we worked to fit in, I missed my Mum terribly, our kids missed their grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins and most of all we missed living as Maori amongst our own on the whenua. I could not help but wonder how other Maori had managed when they left the homeland and moved across the Tasman to Australia.

When you are looking for your people, it is often a good idea to find a thread and follow it back in time until you come to the beginning. In our Whare Tupuna there are many pictures of our ancestors. As kids we were often frightened by the eyes of so many people who seemed to follow our every move or stare down at us whenever we looked up at them. As I grew older my fear of these people subsided when their stories connected us and one by one we got to know more about them.

One narrative that I came to appreciate more after I had left Aotearoa was the tale about Ruatara, a seaman who travelled the world on whaling ships. In this account we learned that he had played a significant role in our connection with Australia and so I wanted to find out more. I travelled back in time to learn about his travels and the relationships he forged along the way. Here I discovered the movie ‘Moby Dick’ written by Herman Meville in which a native harpooner called Queequeg travelled the high seas aboard a whaling ship. This man had a face tattoo which made me think it could very well be a depiction of our Tupuna Ruatara.

As I sat watching the film I came to know about the kind of person this man was and the experiences he encountered as he travelled to different parts of the world and engaged with people from other cultures. This narrative is set in the earliest part of the nineteenth century. It provides a visual representation of the time, the place and the people.
THE GREAT WHALER - MATUA RUATARA

Moby Dick\(^1\) is a story about our tupuna…

Queequeg’s harpoon was flung and the stricken whale steered straight for the centre of the herd…as the whale struggles frantically, maddened with pain…Queequeg steered us skilfully and pricked out of our way whatever whales he could reach (Herman Melville 1851, p.36-37).

Our ancestor Ruatara is said to have worked on numerous ships which took him to many places throughout the world. New Zealand historian Michael King claimed Herman Melville’s tattooed harpooner, Queequeg, in Moby Dick was in all probability based on a Maori crew member whom the author had met on the whaling ship Lucy Ann. King suggests the harpooner could possibly be Ruatara or Matara as both had visited London before 1810. Whoever of these Rangatira it may have been, Melville's story depicts a young man in the prime of his life who was physically tall and athletic. His genealogy connected him to chiefly lines which in the movie is substantiated when Queequep contends with force his Rangatira status to other members of the crew.

Heavily tattooed, the young harpooner was portrayed as an excellent swimmer who never thought twice about diving into the icy cold water to save a life. He fasted regularly and engaged in prolonged periods of silence away from his peers which for his counterparts seemed very odd. He was said to have belonged to a cannibal community and was for the most part feared by the other seamen, yet in the movie there are glimpses of a man who observed a higher power and respected religion, favoured the under dog and was loyal and dedicated to his work.

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\(^1\) The great whaler refers to the book Moby Dick written by Herman Melville 1851. The movie is Moby Dick based on Melville’s book.
Queequeg was described as an extraordinary harpooner who was offered a great deal to sign on with specific crews (King 2003).

Ititahi - I wondered, as I watched this movie\textsuperscript{2} and read the book from cover to cover, if this great seaman was really our Tupuna. As I read more about his odd ways it seemed likely that these behaviours could very well be aligned to how a Rangatira might conduct himself. Still, it was the easy going character and the incredible ability to move confidently amongst white society that motivated me to explore his travels further. According to whakapapa, Ruatara was the son of Te Aweawe, who came from Waiohua, who then came from Whakaaria. Ruatara is from Te Wairua who is a direct decendent of Kaharau the son of Rahiri and born to Whakaruru. Rahiri is the eponymous ancestor of the Ngapuhi people which for many of us today provides the thread to our genealogical storylines. Early accounts by Samuel Marsden suggest Ruatara was the son of Kaparu who was the younger brother of Te Pahi. While these claims have since been altered according to the oral histories shared by whakapapa specialist Wiremu Wi Hongi, it may help to know that the whangai concept and the hapu system sometimes meant that children were not necessarily raised by their birth parents and some whanau groups were very large extended family units which made it difficult to determine who belong where.

This often created inconsistencies in how non Maori reported family connections which created discrepancies in ages, names and relationships. Oral discussions between tribal historians can usually correct these inconsistencies. For now we know that Ruatara was a direct decendent of Kaharau the son of Rahiri making him Ngapuhi with hapu connections across Te Tai Tokerau (Sissons, Wi Hongi & Hohepa 2001, p.16).

\textsuperscript{2}The movie is Moby Dick: see Moby Dick at the Internet Movie Database (2011) - William Hurt as Captain Ahab.
At the turn of the eighteenth century whale oil was in great demand by Europeans. It was commonly used for machinery lubrication and lighting. Its flexibility and texture in different bone parts also made it useful in the manufacture of women’s corsets and buggy horse whips. This brought whaling ships from as far away as Europe, Britain, France and Australia to hunt in the waters off Aotearoa where whales were plentiful. At the same time sealing on the coast of the South Island had hunters dropped off at different locations along the coastline for months at a time to procure sealskins which were often traded with the Chinese for tea (Flude 2001). The establishment of the British penal colony at Port Jackson in Australia and smaller convict stations in Northfolk Island and Hobart also meant there was a need for timber and flax. This flurry of activity saw Sydney, Hobart and Russell in the Bay of Islands become regular stop over ports for ships and their crews as they sourced food and other supplies (King 2003). The opportunity for Maori to establish trade relations, gain work and travel to other countries aboard many of these ships soon emerged.

In her book *Chiefs of Industry* Petrie writes:

> Early trade between Maori and Europeans varied according to regional resources, the timing and degree of exposure to foreigners, internal politics and many other factors. But although there was no one Maori practice or experience some snapshots left by early European visitors provide considerable insight into how customary commercial practices managed the greatly expanded trading environment (Petrie 2006, p.28).

From here on the story of Ruatara cannot be told in isolation because to understand his journey is to know that it involved many of his whanau, hapu and iwi. This is reflected in many of the stories written by historians. For example, King claimed that Maori in the North supplied the NSW Colony with timber and flax to build the new settlement in Port Jackson, Sydney, and provided timber for boats built and used by the British navy. This suggests business prospects on both sides offered lucrative opportunities. Over time trade between Maori and Europeans enabled prolonged integration between the two groups and in some cases outcomes were not always positive. For example, an early attempt to exploit Maori expertise in the preparation and working of flax occurred in 1793, when Lieutenant-Governor Philip King had two Maori, Tuki Tahua and Ngahuruuru,
kidnapped and taken to Northfolk Island to train convicts. The governor’s mission failed because neither of these two men knew anything about preparing flax as this was a skill accredited to women. Despite their inability to complete the task both men were treated well by the governor and so on their return to the homeland their stories about Northfolk Island and Sydney convinced other Rangatira to travel across the Tasman in search of opportunity. One such Tupuna was Te Pahi, a Rangatira from the Bay of Islands. It is said that around 1805 Te Pahi and a number of his sons travelled to Northfolk Island and then on to Sydney. The chief wanted to meet Governor King who did receive him and treat him well as a guest at Government House. King was impressed by Te Pahi and his drive to learn everything he could, that might be useful for his people (King 2003). In his book I have named it the Bay of Islands historian and author Jack Lee wrote:

Until his death in about 1810 Te Pahi, the chief was sufficiently in command…his authority unchallenged in Rangihoua and Te Puna districts. He was the first New Zealand chief of such standing to be entertained by the Governor of New South Wales in his own home and through this relationship European plants and animals were introduced into the Bay, to the benefit of trade with the whale fleet (Lee 1983, p.32).

During his visit to New South Wales, Te Pahi met Samuel Marsden who was struck with the character and bearing of the chief, whom he found to be a man of high rank and influence in his own country. Marsden claimed that Te Pahi was eager to engage in ongoing conversation about God and he attended the regular church meetings the cleric delivered on the sabbath day. This interest in deity by the Maori chief appealed to Marsden who hoped would help to extend his missionary activities to New Zealand. Marsden was keen to maintain an association with Te Pahi who was just as eager for this Anglican cleric to help teach his people farming and agriculture. Te Pahi travelled back to the homeland determined to maintain relations with both King and Marsden, and, with a swag of gifts including fruit trees, potatoes, pigs and a prefabricated house. Maori back in Aotearoa saw first hand that there were indeed benefits to be gained across the Tasman (Elder 1932).
Meanwhile Ruatara had joined the whaling ship Argo as a seaman, but after 12 months at sea he was put ashore in Sydney by the captain without pay for his services some 12 months’ work. He then boarded the Albion and returned to the Bay of Islands six months later. In 1807, Ruatara joined the ship Santa Anna where he spent five months sealing at the Bounty Islands. Left with very little food and water Ruatara and 14 men remained on the Island under extremely harsh conditions including no fresh drinking water. Before the return of the ship 2 of his crewmates died from the hardships. Ruatara wanted desperately to meet with the King in England so via Norfolk Island and on board the Santa Anna, Ruatara travelled to England arriving in London on July 1809. This was the same year that Te Pahi was killed by whalers, who mistakenly confused him for another chief. Ruatara was very disappointed when a meeting with King George could not be arranged, furthermore some days later when the captain had no further use for him, he was put on the convict ship Ann, bound for Sydney via Rio de Janeiro. The captain of the Ann described Ruatara as ill, almost naked and destitute. He was confined to the bottom of the boat because of his illness (Elder 1932).

Samuel Marsden, who happened to be returning to New South Wales on board this same ship, wrote:

I was then in London, but did not know that Ruatara had arrived in the Santa Anna. Shortly after he had embarked at Gravesend, the Ann sailed for Portsmouth; and when I embarked Ruatara was confined below by sickness, so that I did not see him nor know that he was there for some time. To my great astonishment...he was, wrapped up in an old grey coat, very sick and weak, had a violent cough and discharged considerable quantities of blood from his mouth. His mind was also very much cast down and he appeared that in a few days he might terminate his existence (Elder 1932, p.64).

Marsden inquired to the captain of the boat as to what had happened to Ruatara. The master explained that hardship and wrong doings were dished out to this man from the crew on board the Santa Anna. He claimed these were exceedingly great as English sailors had beaten him and caused him to spit blood. The master of the ship had also defrauded him of all his wages. Marsden, furious at the news of such dreadful conduct, took Ruatara under his wing and endeavoured to soothe him of his afflictions and offer him nourishment and medical assistance.
Ruatara was ever after grateful for the attention shown him by Marsden and soon he had recovered and his strength and spirit had once again returned. He was able to return quickly to duty as a common sailor to pay for his passage back to New South Wales. They arrived in Sydney in February 1810. Ruatara became a guest at Marden’s home, where he also received valuable lessons in agriculture (Reed 1939). After living in Parramatta for some months, Marsden arranged with the master of the whaling vessel the Frederick to take the young chief back to New Zealand. Unfortunately, the captain of the ship took advantage of the resources Ruatara could muster and without second thought sailed off for Norfolk Island without letting him off to return to his home in the Bay. This caused Ruatara great distress for he had been away from home for three years and still unwell, missing his whanau he was put sea on another hunting excursion only this time he went with a very heavy heart. Once they arrived at Norfolk Island Ruatara was again dumped, left without pay by dishonest captains and then set ashore destitute. He managed to get a passage back to Parramatta where he explained his misfortune to Marsden. He stayed again as a guest of the Pastor before travelling back to his beloved homeland on board the Ann. Ruatara took wheat seed given to him by Marsden who promised that it could be a useful trading resource. Upon his arrival home and after the death of Te Pahi, Ruatara resumed the leadership position and Hongi Hika became his associate in managing the affairs of the tribe including the fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of Te Pahi. This required ongoing trips to Parramatta to strengthen the ties with Marsden and keep the wheels of progress in motion. The work they did provides a glimpse of the experiences from working between the two worlds. Martha Marsden recorded many accounts encountered while growing up with a father who was constantly working to develop his missionary work in both Australia and New Zealand. Ramsden recollects some of these experiences in his book Marsden and the Missions: Prelude to Waitangi. One account describes an intense excitement at the old Parsonage, which stood in Church Street, not far from the original Woolpack Hotel in Parramatta, when the family of the Rev. Samuel Marsden learned one March night in 1815 that the missionary had returned from New Zealand. Martha, the youngest child of Samuel and Elizabeth Marsden, was wrapped in a patchwork quilt by her nurse and carried outside. A strange sight, one that ever remained impressed upon young Martha’s mind, met the child’s wondering eyes (Ramsden 1936).

The courtyard was alighted by blazing flares. In the centre, squatting on the ground, were several Maori chieftains garbed in their native mats and armed with their primitive weapons of stone…the flares revealed tattooed lines on the faces of the strange visitors…she saw her father
pass cups of steaming coffee from chief to chief...a sight such as this might well have terrified any child, but Martha had become accustomed to her fathers guests who she and her siblings had learned to admire and respect over time (Ramsden 1936, p.1-2).

From here on more Maori became frequent visitors to New South Wales under the direction of Ruatara. This strengthened the connection between Maori and Marsden and in time a mission was established in the Bay of Islands where trade continued to service the NSW colony and visiting whaling ships. The wheat seeds Marsden had given to Ruatara took extremely well to the growing conditions in the North Island and so this kept the ongoing trek between the Tasman alive and thriving as more agricultural resources were sought by the early settlers in Sydney. This activity quickened the establishment of the Anglican mission in Aotearoa (Lee 1983).

**SAMUEL MARSDEN – A MISSION IN AOTEAROA**

There are many versions of the first sermon preached in Aotearoa however, the story chosen here is taken from Marsden’s journal which has been edited by Elder (1932) who wrote:

On Sunday morning (December 25th in the year 1814)...about ten o'clock we prepared to go ashore to publish the glad tidings of the gospel for the first time. I was under no apprehensions for the safety of the vessel and therefore ordered all on board to go on shore to attend the divine service...when we landed we found Korokoro, Duaterra and Shungee dressed in the regimentals which Governor Macquarie had given them, with their men drawn up ready to march into the enclosure to attend the divine service. They had swords by their sides and a switch in their hands. We entered the enclosure and were placed in the seats on each side of the pulpit (set in place by Ruatara). Korokoro marched his men on and placed them on my right hand in the rear of the Europeans and Duaterra placed his men on the left. The inhabitants of the town with the women and the children and a number of chiefs formed a circle round the whole. A solemn silence prevailed - the sight was truly impressive. I got up and began the service with singing the old hundred psalm, and felt my very soul melt within me.

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3 Maori word incorrectly spelt. Duaterra should read Ruatara.
4 Maori word incorrectly spelt. Shungee should read Hongi.
When I viewed my congregation and considered the state we were in. It being Christmas day, I preached from the second chapter of St Luke's Gospel, the tenth verse: behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy. Duatara was very much pleased that he had been able to make all the necessary preparations for the divine service...and we felt much obliged to him for his attention. He was extremely anxious to convince us that he would do everything for us that lay in his power and that the good of his country was his principal consideration. In the above manner the gospel has been introduced into New Zealand, and I fervently pray that the glory of it may never depart from its inhabitants till time shall be no more (Elder 1932, p.93-94).

A FRIENDSHIP FOUND AT SEA

Marsden set about organising his mission in Paihia and Kerikeri under the watchful eye of Ruatara and Hongi. He stayed nights at Waikare and Kawakawa in the Bay of Islands where he was able to procure timber and food supplies. After some months in the Bay Marsden returned to Rangihou where he found Ruatara seriously ill. Concerned for his friend Marsden wrote:

Finding Duaterra dangerously ill was a very distressing circumstance to me. I called to see him, but the superstition of the natives would not permit me for several days to do so. His people had fixed a guard about him and would suffer no person to approach. He was very ill and they expected him to die in a short time. I entreated them time after time for two or three days together to admit me to see him but they had tabooed the enclosure in which he was laid and dared not to admit any person in to him. I was very mortified, and understood that he was to have nothing to eat or drink for five days. I went again to the people that attended him. They would only speak to me through the fence and still refused me admittance. I then told them I would bring the active near the town and would blow it down if they would not admit me in...I went to the chief a nephew of Tippahee5 who possessed the greatest influence and principle authority in the place and told him I was refused admittance to see Duaterra for several days and that if he did not get nourishment he would die. I further told him that I was determined to fire the big guns belonging to the Active on the town...if they would not let him see him (Elder 1932, p.120).

5 Maori word spelt incorrectly. Tippahee should read Te Pahi.
The chief expressed his concern and agreed to accompany Marsden to see what could be done. Marsden describes again the chief’s fear of some divine judgement, however, after a series of discussions a visit to the sick man was granted. Marsden describe his visit in the following way:

When I entered the enclosure I found Duaterra lying on his back facing the sun, which was exceeding hot in a very high fever. His tongue very foul; he complained of violent pains in his bowels, and from every appearance was not likely to survive long. I found two of his wives, his father-in-law, the priest, and several attendents with him. He was pleased I had come to see him. I asked him if he had anything to eat or drink. He replied he had not, excepting potatoes and water. I told him, whatever he wanted he should have and ordered him a supply of tea, sugar, rice, and wine for which he exposed his gratitute. I ordered some wine and water to be got for him as soon as possible, part of which he took. He also ate some rice and took some tea, and seemed a little revived (Elder 1932, p.121).

Marsden also reflected on the vision Ruatara had, which he described as:

His intention to have laid out a new town with regularstreets to be built after the European mode, in which ground was to be set apart for a church. I had gone to examine it before. The situation was delightful on a rising hill in front of the harbour mouth distant about eight miles, commanding a view of all the harbour. He again mentioned his intention to me and hoped he would be better so as to have the town marked out before I sailed. I told him I should be ready to attend to him and hoped to see him recover and recommended him to take what nourishment he could. From this they gave me permission to see him at all times. I called the next day and found he spoke much better, and I entertained hopes of his recovery. The day after I called he appeared worse. He was supplied with all the necessaties he could wish for…but whatever vessels were used in conveying meat or drink to the sick chief, were then detained by his relations who said if these were removed Duaterra would die. He was himself also of this opinion. So strongly rooted is superstition in the human mind (Elder 1932, p.121).
I sat many days and nights in the Sydney State Library searching journals, diaries, newspaper articles and letters; some written by Marsden, his family and close associates. I immersed myself in the storylines and was struck by the close friendship Marsden and Ruatara had established over the years. This is conveyed in many of his journals. Upon leaving Aotearoa, and his dear friend Ruatara’s close to death, Marsden wrote:

I had met everything in New Zealand to my full satisfaction, and nothing to give me pain till this unexpected affliction of Duaterra, which was to me very distressing as upon the wisdom, zeal, industry and influence of this servicable man I had calculated upon many advantages to New Zealand. What the great head of the church ordains to be done will in the end be best, but as David mourned for Abner I shall long mourn for Duaterra should he be carried off by death, for as a great man fell in Israel when Abner died, so will a great man fall in New Zealand should Duaterra not survive his present affliction. So far as natural causes can be considered to operate, I attributed Duaterra’s sickness to his exertions. He was a man of great bodily strength, with a very active, comprehensive mind, and on his return to New Zealand, exerted himself day and night to carry the plans he had formed into execution. His grand object was agriculture. He calculated that in two years should be able to raise sufficient wheat for all his people and to supply other chiefs with seed and in a short time export some to Port Jackson in exchange for iron and such other articles as he might want…under all these circumstances I fear he will be a great loss to his country. One consolation he has bequeathed to them, however is that of having introduced agriculture and paved the way for the civilisation of his countrymen. When he came to New South Wales last August in the Active he brought his half brother with him and left him with me, desiring he might be instructed in useful knowledge. He is now about sixteen years of age and is a very fine and intelligent youth, exceeding well disposed and truly industrious. This youth is next in authority and will succeed Duaterra in his estates. I intend him to remain till he can speak the English language and gains a knowledge of agriculture. He is every day at work either as a carpenter or farmer, and I entertain hopes, in the even of Duaterra quitting this mortal life, that he will soon be able to fill his place (Elder 1932, p.121-122).

As I looked at the friendship between Samuel Marsden, an English Anglican cleric, and Ruatara, a Maori chief, there is a great deal to learn from this relationship. There is information and facts that will help others including Maori understand how the connection between peoples of Australia
and Aotearoa developed. More importantly this story will illustrate how our link across the Tasman emerged from a unique friendship fostered between people.

**OUR BEGINNING IN COUNTRY**

We are all visitors to this time, to country. We are just passing through. Our purpose here is to observe, to learn, to grow, to love and then we return home (Aunty Gloria Matthews 2005).

Resettlement in the suburbs took our whanau few years. Still the fast pace and busy life down in the city often encroached on our family time, so we moved to the Blue Mountains to get away from the chaos. Here we found clean air, healthy living, safety and a sense of belonging in a close-knit community. Today we reside in Western Sydney, where we have lived for the most part in the spectacular Blue Mountains. This is ‘country’ to numerous Aboriginal kinship groups. Our home is located on lands that provides important kinship connections for six Aboriginal language groups. They include the Dharawal and Gundungurra people (in the south), the Wiradjuri (in the west and north-west), and the Wanaruah, Darkinjung and Darug (in the north-east). We have lived on this ‘country’ for over two decades. Learning about the lands in an Aboriginal context can be complicated however, after many long and in depth conversations with elders in uncle Wes, aunty Gloria, aunty Pat and my good friend Winsome I learned the term ‘country’ used by some Aboriginal people is similar to what Maori refer to as whenua, papakainga or hau kainga. The terms country, whenua, papakainga or hau kainga provides for people from both groups the foundation from where each person, family and community exists. They are very important concepts in that they link culture nature and people in a web of interconnected relationships that informs and sustains a person’s sense of place, being and knowing.
Our time in country has therefore helped us as a family to understand that each place, animal, plant or event in the Blue Mountains holds a living story, which not only reminds us about the kinship connections and kaitiaki responsibilities the Aboriginal people have to this place, but prompts us to consider our own personal obligation to country and to cultivate our own stories.

The Mountains certainly provided the stability our whanau needed and a safe space for our children to grow which gave us the confidence to work on our financial goals including the commitment to build that house on our land back home in Aotearoa. It was at this point that we realised to achieve this task financially, meant we had to stay here longer than first anticipated. I began to reflect and think about my decision to move here again and my personal conversation began again:

Ititahi - My inner self began to remind me about those awkward moments when I first told my Mum we were leaving for Australia. She wrote me letters every week and when the kids birthdays came along she sent them a card with a few dollars tucked carefully in an envelope. I telephoned her on a regular basis and frequently flew home to see her. Each time we made contact, she always asked “when are you coming home?” to which I replied “soon, just one more year”. Three of our boys were now at school with only our youngest at home. He was just three so I began to wonder what I could do to help my husband provide for our family and achieve our financial goals quicker. I had not worked for a long time as the option to be at home with our children in their earlyist years was essential. Our Mum had always said to me, the first five years of your baby’s life is the most important, because its during these early times that he or she will learn how much they are loved and this is what provides a firm foundation for them to grow. I believed her and followed her direction to the letter, however, the sight of young mothers bawling their eyes out when their children started school reminded me that one day soon our last child would also leave the nest, leaving me in a similar situation. I was not going to sob in sadness about kids going to school, because it had been hard work raising four boys born two years apart, and after ten years, I was ready to rejoice in the achievement of surviving the “stay at home mum” challenge. I wanted to help my husband provide for our family.
As I often do when I have an important decision to make I reflect and ponder the things I have learned from others...like the sadness I felt each time my Pop had to leave us to work in town or remembering the adults around us talk about how they loathed their jobs, but would not give them up for the sake of all the necessities in life...

I figured that if I were going to spend most of my time at work then whatever I did, should at the least be something I enjoyed. I also realised that in a place as big as Sydney the opportunity to choose where to work was unlimited and so I decided to use my last few years at home looking at all my options carefully. It had been just over two years since we had resettled here and now I was thinking about what I could do for work, when all of our children were eventually at school. I found an add in the local paper about an eighteen week careers’ course for women and thought it just might be a good place to start looking. More importantly my baby could come with me and the hours were scheduled to fit around our children at school. Gee, I was fresh out of the sticks, hated school so much I left three times, scared as hell that I would not fit in, not to mention I might not even be able to string a sentence together. Determination had always been my saving grace so with a deep breath I decided to jump into the unknown and give it a go. That was in 1993. Today I chuckle to think this leap of faith changed my world forever - you see I realised that through education the impossible could be achieved, all I had to do was to have a go and see what happens. At the end of the course I did a placement in a welfare service which eventually employed me as the CEO. I worked there for years fighting for the rights of disadvantaged people. I also gained valuable insights about how the system worked.

WORKING WITH THE PEOPLE – AT THE GRASS ROOTS

A safe home, a full belly and a happy life is not a privilege – it is a human right! (Monita Neville 1994)

Working with some of the most vulnerable people in Australia opens your eyes mind and heart to many of the challenges we as families, community and humans face every day.
The 2001 President’s Report of the Organization I worked in claimed that:

Our clients are challenging. Most demonstrate behavioural issues. Mental health issues. Drug issues. Issues of sheer desperation. Many have been locked up. They are the most marginalised young people our society has produced. They are destined to become the most marginalised adults if they have no support (Tim Carson 2001, p.8).

Managing a service with a brief such as the one outlined above, provided me with a broad education in justice, leadership, health, economics, politics and sociology. It also brought me face to face with addiction, poverty, abuse, mental health issues and the plight of an under resourced social sector. Perhaps the most sobering realisation of all, however, was the discovery that many of our Maori and Pacific Island families who failed to integrate successfully into the Australian mainstream education and employment system soon became the most incarcerated youth group in NSW. Moreover the intervention needed to assist them was in most cases incapable of providing the necessary support needed and soon the situation and indeed the problems became a thorn in my side.

Running a mainstream organization and trying to resource this Maori and Pacific Island community at the same time took a great deal of effort and on many occasions it required pushing the boundaries to the very edge. Much of my time was spent in negotiation meetings with government departments who were struggling to deal with the increase in Maori and Pacific Island crime. With no community support structures in place the urgency to establish some form of program to address the over representation of Maori and Pacific Island offenders in the criminal system led to consultation meetings with people from both Australia and New Zealand.
A SURPRISE MEETING WITH WHANAU

When you least expect it, serendipity arrives and magic begins. One morning I attended a consultation meeting held in Campbelltown with staff from the NSW Attorney General’s office. They had invited a Maori couple who had been involved in the implementation and development of the Family Group conferencing program in New Zealand and Australia and were considering adopting the strategy here to address youth offending, particularly for the Maori and Pacific Islanders.

This is what happened in our surprise visit from our people from home:

Ititahi - In the middle of our meeting a knock on the door jolted me out of my ‘this discussion is a drag! Because it’s always just a talkfest moment’. A group of about 8-9 Maori walked in the room and joined our meeting. The senior policy officer waved to them to have a seat and everyone shuffled around to accommodate for them. The convenor introduced himself and directed everyone else to do the same. As I looked at these visitors one by one and followed the introduction process I felt a sense of trepidation within, as I tussled with the decision to follow the lead or abide by tikanga. There were so many things to consider and at such short notice too. Oh gosh ‘what to do…what to do’ ‘chill I told myself there are two Maori elders here who are from this area, they will do what needs to be done.’ Oh-my-gosh they didn’t! No protocol; they followed suit; name, role in this meeting and organization they represented. I was beside myself as my turn drew closer, I could hear my mind over and over saying should I or shouldn’t I - oh what to do what to do. As I think back now, I do not quite know what the fussing was about because all that was needed was for ‘me to be, the me I am’ first. Serendipity, wairua or call it what you want, it just happens the way it does and the rest is history. When it got to me I stood up and did what I had been taught to do as a young Maori kid in school. I also did what I expected my children to do when they were learning at Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori; how could I do any less? To stand and greet these visitors who had come from the homeland; acknowledge the Aboriginal people and their place in this land and indeed my gratitude for the opportunity to be here in this country; and to have an appreciation for those who had come to find solutions to our community problems.
I then shared my *pepeha* before introducing myself in English, the position I held in the community and the organization I represented. I concluded with a simple *Kia ora*.

**Te Ara Te Ahuahu** - As I turned to sit down the old man stood and looked at me. I do not quite remember what he said, but I do know that as he spoke my loneliness for home and all of those special people back there, were now here in this room. Overwhelmed by emotion I hung my head to hide my tears for the people and the memories he had brought to life in this moment. As he concluded his *mihi* and the people at his side stood to sing a *waiata*, my heart reminded me of the gladness we feel each time we reconnect with our people the *Maori* way. It also endorsed what many *Kaumatua* and *Kuia* had said to us growing up, which was ‘if we really needed something or someone to help us’ it would always happen if it was meant to be. This wonderful man who I later learned was my granduncle, became my mentor, role model and teacher who encouraged me to acknowledge, embrace and be courageous to reveal what I could see. We shared and together we created pictures that helped us to know where to go and why. Our *whanau* loved uncle very much and he loved our boys, my husband and me just as much. He played an important part in our lives as he helped me remember how to reconnect the patterns and to know that it was simply ok to see beyond my human eyes. He showed my husband how to be a chief and reminded him that his obligation to the people was important. He helped me to be brave and courageous enough to see beyond my human eyes…

**WE ESTABLISH A PROJECT THE RIGHT WAY**

In 1995 and with funding from the department of Juvenile Justice Department the *Maori* and Pacific Island Resource Service, was launched in Werrington by the Mayor of Penrith. This introduced us to the Darug people on whose kinship lands we worked. As we began to prepare for the launch uncle asked us what plans did we have in place. Like most things that involve government departments in my view there is always a chance that it becomes a token gesture with ‘yes sir - no sir’ brownies who are eager to put in the hours for their weekly wages and thus willing to put their face in the community slot.
Often I found that many departments were driven by *time is money* thinking and let's have minimal cultural hullabaloo thank you very much so my planning was very thin because I wanted to avoid any of this political mishmash. Uncle on the other hand reminded me that to do this job properly required me to follow certain obligations to which I was keen to uphold. This is what happened:

**Uncle Sarge** - It might cause you a few headaches he said but that is just how it is and remember you are responsible to your people first and foremost because you have to live with them. Still, you could choose the other because at the end of the day the choice is still yours – don’t forget too you will be conducting important business on this *whenua* - and remember bub⁶ when you work closely with people some of that work is *tapu*. Working with people’s lives and their *wairua* is sacred and you need to be mindful of that. So it is important for you to explain that to the *Tangatawhenua*. Remember always be respectful to them because this *whenua* is theirs to care for and so you should always ensure they are informed when you do important things like this on their *whenua*. So we must go and talk with them first.

He directed me to find a *Rangatira* from the Darug tribe and to ask for a meeting. After consulting numerous Aboriginal people I was advised to contact uncle Colin who agreed to meet with uncle one evening at his home in Western Sydney. I attended this meeting and will always be grateful for the opportunity I had to sit quietly to watch, listen and learn. My husband John came too.

**Uncle Sarge** - Uncle began the discussion by introducing himself and his connection to John and me before explaining that it was our protocol to explain our intentions to the *kaitiaki* of the area. He said not only was this respectful to them as the people of the land, but it was also respectful to our own ancestors. As they continued to speak they shared stories about the area, how *Maori* were an integral part of history here in Sydney and how things have changed over the years. As the discussion continued they both agreed that Colin would open the launch of the project and speak about the Darug people and this Western Sydney area. He also asked uncle to speak. After their business was completed they enjoyed a good yarn over a cup of tea. Colin told uncle about various *Maori* groups coming to ask for permission to build a

⁶ Bub is a pet name uncle called us kids.
Maori house. He said, ‘but we never saw them again,’ actually he laughed, I thought that was why you were here’. They both chuckled and uncle said, ‘oh no not this time.’ They continued talking about the 1950s and the 1960’s.

Before our meeting concluded Colin gave John a copy of the book *The Darug and Their Neighbours*, and as we all said our farewells to each other until the launch, it was the traditional hongi and the embrace of these two elders that will remain in my mind forever (Meeting between Colin Gale and Uncle Sarge 1995).

The friendships and indeed the relationships established between Maori and Aboriginal people are special when they have been built on mutual respect and humility. This example set a precedent for future meetings, as more opportunities to work across cultures emerged adding to our tapestry of story and narrative.

**A CONVERSATION WITH MAORI**

As I set to work and started to engage other Maori we soon found crime, unemployment, truanting and the lack of education were all intertwined. I saw how individuals and families managed the resettlement process and in this realized the changes to identity culture and kinship systems contributed to many of the problems people faced. I wanted to know more and to see what I could do to help. I held two consultation meetings\(^7\) with young people and their families. Pseudo-names are used to ensure anonymity.

**If you ask the whanau - They will tell you**

In these gatherings I facilitated group discussions, however, the stories that emerged were built around the conversations shared by the whole collective. I asked questions like, “has moving to Australia been difficult for you?” They were directed to answer by choosing to sit in and participate with others in a group discussion responding to either “yes it was difficult or no it was not difficult”. The main group was divided in

\(^7\) Consultation meetings with families and young people were carried out twice. At both meetings we had between 15-25 people attend. From here I was able to select individuals to interview. The participants who spoke are identified by pseudo names.
two parts. There were more participants in the “yes it was difficult group”. In both groups, the discussion revealed how many young people, if not all, missed, their families in Aotearoa, especially their cousins and grandparents. Some said: “they wished they had not moved here and found it hard to fit in at school and they were often laughed at because they talked funny” (Tama). They said, “some teachers were racist and made them feel dumb” (Tama, Marama). “People could not say their names and this made them feel shame and they changed or shortened them so they would not have to hear people say it wrong” (Te Potiki, Tama, Marama). They mimicked their teachers trying to say their names and everyone laughed (Te Potiki). Some said: “They felt out of place in Australia because there were no other Maori kids at their school or if there were, they acted as if they weren’t really Maori” (Tama, Manaia).

When questioned about this way of acting they did not really know why and were keen to leave the topic to rest. As the conversation grew it was interesting how some of the young people moved comfortably between using the terms Aotearoa, New Zealand and home. They talked about looking forward to holidays back home with their whanau and said if they were allowed, they would stay in New Zealand (Tama, Te Potiki, Manaia, Marama). Those who had lived in Australia for a very long time, were quiet and sat listening (Tangi, Tane, Arama, Moana).

Ititahi - At this point I reminded the group that not everyone had family in New Zealand and some people in this room have never even met their whanau.

We soon moved on to the statement, “It was not difficult” moving to Australia. It was not quite answered with direct responses as most of the participants began to recall visits to the market and theme parks when they first arrived here. They also talked about buying new stuff and meeting other Maori and Pacific Island families at church, footy and at other people’s houses (Manaia, Tane).

When both groups were asked “did they think moving to Australia changed them or who they were”, almost everyone said “No not really”. A sense of doubt prompted me to ask, “What do you mean by not really?” The answer came from several young people and was endorsed by their
peers. “Well, we are Maori, Samoan, Tongan but most of us were born or grew up in New Zealand and so we think that’s our home first. But we stay here now too so I suppose we have two homes” (Manaia, Tama). A young man then said, “If you ask everyone here I bet they will say home is in New Zealand first. But the ones who were born here maybe they won’t, I think,” (Te Potiki).

Given that some of these young people were under 20 years old their parents were also asked to attend. They were invited to join in the conversation by participating in a discussion amongst themselves about how the resettlement process affected them or their children. Some said, their children struggled being away from whanau back home, but they wanted a better life for their families so they just handled it and reminded themselves how hard it was living with out a job in Aotearoa (Hinemoa, Mere, Wiremu, Roimata).

Some said, all they did back in New Zealand was booze and party so coming here was good because they were able to move away from that kind of lifestyle (Wiremu, Roimata). Most said, they were only going to stay for a few years so they were willing to give it a good go and would deal with the problems they faced as best they could (Hinemoa, Roimata, Mere, Wiremu).

Several participants talked about how different the schools were here compared to those in New Zealand and they agreed that problems occurred if the kids were older, say in their teenage years (Hinemoa, Roimata). Some parents did not know how to deal with many of the problems their kids experienced at school and talked about how frustrated they felt because the kids were often suspended or in trouble for simple and sometimes stupid things.

Some said, they could not afford to be going up to the school all the time to sort out these problems and were really stressed by the whole thing. They also said, if there were someone to help me and my kids, maybe the problems with teachers would not happen (Hinemoa, Wiremu, Mere, Roimata).
The information and data gathered from this focus group provided a small perspective of an important yet often silent part of the community in the children and young people’s experiences of assimilation, acculturation and integration. It also initiated the conversation about what the experience and impact of migration and resettlement had done for families. From this focus group I approached several individuals whose comments and personal stories stood out, to ask if they were willing to participate in an interview. Two females aged 45 and 55 years old accepted the invitation. In my interview with the 45-year-old aunty I met a young woman who had recently migrated to Sydney and I asked if she would mind being interviewed. She is 18 years old. To ensure gender balance I interviewed two males aged 21 and 19. The interviews were very relaxed with coffee, cake and an open conversation around the same question I asked at the focus group, “has moving to Australia been difficult for you?” The following quotations show some of the main issues drawn from our conversations. Again pseudo-names have been used here to maintain the anonymity of the people involved. The conversations are presented just the way they occurred.

I first met Hinemoa back in 1992. She was one of the few Maori aunties that lived out in the Penrith area.

**Hinemoa** - I came here a long time ago Roseanna. My baby was only small and my older girl stayed at home with whanau. Her choice. So my baby is now 17 and doesn’t really know any other life apart from what she’s had here in Sydney. We lived in Hurstville first and in those old days there were lots of Maori out that way. We moved out West because we wanted to have a more relaxed whanau environment for our baby and the suburbs offered that. There were not many Maori families out here at all. I think Tame and maybe a few others but we only knew him, Mere and their boys. That is really who we mixed with, in those early days out here. It is also who our girl went to school with and spent much of her childhood with. But like every other family it’s been very difficult trying to work through the teenage years with our girl especially at school. The biggest thing for me was the need to have help just to explain what was happening and why. Gee before I met you and came to these meetings I thought it was only me facing school problems. Now after hearing other parents tell their stories it helps me to know that I’m not alone and my daughter isn’t the terrible or naughty girl they have made her out to be.
Me - What do you mean by that?

Hinemoa - I mean gosh all the time in trouble suspended and man I can go on and on and I was really beginning to think what have I done wrong and is it me. You know what am I not doing. So when I heard you speak about not understanding our kids because we are different to the average Australian has made me think hard about that korero and look at things in a different way. Things are very different here. I mean we can’t just go down to the Marae and do all the things we did with our whanau back in Aotearoa. Here my house is always full of kids but they are not whanau they are Australian children. That was a huge learning for me because back in Aotearoa we always had whanau everywhere. Here it’s different. I think if my girl was back home she might be different because she would be connected to other family like cousins, aunties, uncles and all the nannies. You know the stress can be huge and I feel really sorry for my girl because the more she got punished the more I felt hopeless. When Hone came along with his program gosh I was so happy. It’s been really important because he helped us to get through our struggles and really that’s because he taught us to look at who we are and what that means and how can that work in this country. Thinking about that in it self answers a lot of questions. Have I changed or have we changed? We are still Maori in many of the things we do and say and feel. But I have lots of Australian friends; very close too so maybe we have changed because I well our whanau feel very comfortable when we are with Australians and people from other cultures. Have we changed I have to think about that one a bit more.

I first met Roimata in late 1995. She had just completed a TAFE course and wanted to do her work experience under my supervision. She completed a six-week placement with me and offered to volunteer whenever I needed help with family programs. During a consultation meeting she came to help prepare and serve food. I asked Roimata at this meeting if she would like to be interviewed, she agreed. I visited her at home. Her mum sat in on our interview. Like many whanau she was happy to sit and listen.

This is what Roimata said:
Roimata - um I wont like to say it but I think yeah we Maori have changed. Has the move been difficult um in the beginning it was sort of, but my husband is Aussie so you know that helped. Some of our whanau has changed I think.

Me - I would really like to hear about your migration story, will you tell me please?

Roimata - um yeah like what part.

Me - I would like to know about when you first came to Australia and the things you did to get established here.

Roimata - Well I first came here about twenty-five years ago. I met this Aussie guy in New Zealand and blah blah blah you know hooked up and well he wanted to come back here and asked me to come. So I did and well we have had three kids since then. I already had a son from a previous relationship but I left him with my mum back at home. I missed my baby son so I asked my mum if I could bring him here she said yes but was worried she would miss him too (aye mum; mum looks over and nods). I went home and brought him back. It was really good. But he started to fret for his nan so she came over. I asked her to stay because our dad died years ago and she was on her own back there. She ended up staying here with us and is till here now. My big brother missed our mum and so he came and then my younger brother came across too. Gee all the whanau are here (laughing – mum laughs too). My brother he has an Aboriginal partner and they have six kids and my older brother has a Maori wife and they have four kids. So in a way we are really lucky because we have our own whanau here. My kids have all been good at school until they get a bit older and then bloody problems seem to happen. My big boys has had major problems at school and you know when I was listening to those kids the other night at the meeting talk about racism, well I faced that from bloody teachers myself. They bloody look down on you aye especially if your black or brown I should say (laughs out loud). They were a bit shocked when they saw me because my boy looks like a Pakeha so when they see this 'black as’ woman rock up, well they don't know what to say or think. I have had major problems with some of the schools and one even called bloody Docs (Departments of Community Services). The younger
kids father is Aussie so when he heads up there he doesn’t get the same shit I get.

My kids (the girls I mean) have an Aussie father and they were all born here so they do all right aye but that big boy of mine man he gets in big trouble. Maybe its because he was raised by my mum, he seems to be a bit different to the others. She looked after him and probably spoilt him a bit. He’s quieter than the others maybe that’s because he has the old ways from mum. We don’t do Maori language or culture because, well we never grew up with it so the closest we get to being Maori is making fried bread and boil ups (laughs). Mum is our Maori cook (looks over to her mum and laughs) “aye mum so when we have a big munch the bro comes around and that’s us! big feed is on.” I am happy the way I am, and I try to stay Maori as much as I need to but well when you have kids with an Aussie its hard to stay the same. In my heart I will always be Maori. Ill probably teach the girls how to make choice fried bread and that will keep their Maori culture real aye.

Me - Yep, making that bread will keep them close to the Maori kaupapa for sure. Is there anything else you want to say?

Roimata - nah! Maybe I will think about migration some more and have another korero with you when you come and visit again.

Me - Yeah, ok. Thank you very much Roimata.

Roimata - No worries, any time aye Roseanna.

I first met Te Whenua in 2006 when she came to an interview with Te Potiki. She had been in Sydney for eighteen months so I was very interested in her story. I asked if she would mind being interviewed. She agreed and we did it then and there. I began by asking her was moving to Australia hard for you? Do you think your Maori identity has changed?
Te Whenua - Yes! Because when I first came to Australia I was only 16 and I didn’t really understand much about moving because I come from a real small country place and leaving home didn’t really sink in until I got here. But it didn’t take long before I realised I hadn’t just moved to a city like in Auckland or Tauranga or some place like that but I had actually left my home like Aotearoa you know the whenua. Gosh (emphasised) when I thought about it I really missed home more than ever. I was so homesick. I missed my family badly, I can’t really remember how many times I cried and cried I just know it was heaps. I had no family here and came across with my boyfriend. His family was my only connection to a whanau you know and luckily we came from the same place because it was easier for me to fit into their family well sort of. We are kind of related somewhere along the line so his mum and dad already knew my parents so - it just worked you know.

Oh and I didn’t have any friends because most of them I left back home so this made me feel even more lonely and more homesick. Australia was really different too. Back home everyone says hello to anybody even if you don’t know who he or she is and also most people will smile at you if you smile at them or they will say hello. But here that doesn’t really happen. Once I smiled at a lady when I passed her on the street and she just looked away. Some times when you see a Maori and you try to look at them or smile at them they turn away and that makes me feel shame. Not all people though because some have just said straight up: “hello bub where are you from” and I tell them. Then they tell me where they are from and we talk and laugh a bit. This makes me feel really good and reminds me of how it is back home.

No! Because when I think about my life here now I can do something with my life. I have learned so much from being here you know about getting a job and all that. When I was back home all I did was drink you know and do all that stuff because everyone else did it too. And really if I didn’t come here I would be still doing that. I’m grateful to my boyfriend and his parents because now that I am working I realise that it takes a lot to look after someone. It takes a lot to get a weeks wages so it makes me think more about how I spend my money and to think I lived with other people who worked hard and were alright to look after me has made me learn to be grateful. Now that I have been here for a while I really want to go to university and make something of my life. I am going to eventually.
Me - Do you think you have changed?

Yes and No. Yes because I want to do something with my life and I think living here in Australia has helped me to find that out. I am learning more and more about the world and it’s heaps bigger than what I knew and thought when I lived at home. No because I am still a Maori and I still belong to my family who is back there. No because some of the things that I did back home I still do them here. Like what? I asked her…like make a mean as, boil up (she laughs).

I ring home all the time and they remind me about who I am and where I am – especially when I have to say goodbye or see ya.

Tama came with a group of young men. He was a friend of a friend of my son Del. I did not know much about Tama or his family before this interview.

Tama - so my story um well it’s a bit complicated. I live with my mum. My father is still in New Zealand and so are my brothers. I was the youngest so I had to come across with my mum. I didn’t want to but oh well I came. When I’m old enough I’m going back. I started school in the Mountains and there was only one other Maori there. He became my best friend. School wasn’t very good yeah I felt out of place and I didn’t really feel good there so I would just leave before the morning break. I don’t think they really liked the look of me because I look a bit rough. They judged me all the time so I would just leave before the morning break. I don’t think they really liked the look of me because I look a bit rough. They judged me all the time so it wasn’t really school it was like going to a zoo and I was the monkey (he laughs and looks at his mates…they all laugh).

Me - Aroha mai# Tama

# Aroha mai is a term used to show concern, love and affection for someone.
**Tama** - Never mind that’s just the way it is. I reckon I won’t last long at this school so I will probably just stay at home. My mum gets so stressed and then I get pissed off and then well I end up going to my mates and staying there till everything cools down. My aunty and uncle wanted me to stay with them and tried to straighten me up but if I don’t like the school because I don’t fit in, nothing much will change. I think there will just be more adults pissed off with me. Nah I can’t wait to go home because I know that’s where I belong.

I had met **Te Potiki** before this interview but only to say hello as he had attended the same school as my boys. He became friends with my sons at school, connecting through their link to New Zealand and their Polynesian roots. I knew very little about **Te Potiki** or his family before this interview.

**Te Potiki** - well I was born here. My mum is Maori from the North and my dad is Fijian. I don’t know much about my Maori side because I spent most of my life with my dad and the Fijian side. My mum is now married to an Australian. I look more like a Fijian than a Maori. The people that know me and have met my mum know that I am half Maori. I wish I knew more about my Maori family and the culture and stuff but we don’t really go back home to New Zealand. I am planning on getting a tattoo so I was asking my mum about it but she doesn’t really know much about the tribal stuff so I might just do Fijian styles and try to incorporate Maori somehow. I’ve lived here most of my life so I really don’t know much about Maori. Actually what I do know I have learned from my friends and their parents or families who are Maori.

My mate says to me it’s called Ta Moko not tattoo but I’m not really sure his parents know so I think he is right. I better listen then aye. Is he right?

**Me** - Yes he is right. But there is a whole discussion behind knowing what it all means and this will help you to understand it all.

**Te Potiki** - Yeah he has explained it pretty good so I do know a bit but I feel a bit funny saying Maori words, because I’m not really sure how to say them or what they mean. I’m more comfortable with my Fijian side.
The interesting thing about many of these people is that most, if not all, of them have created an extended family and community around the common themes they all shared. For example, the young people often connected to each other through New Zealand or their Polynesian roots. Many had school problems that were very similar and they found mateship with other kids in the same situation. They also talked about how kids from certain cultures, like Arabic kids, had the same problems as them. Some connected through friends or knowing other family members and some acknowledged that physical appearance was also a key factor in their link to their new-formed families or communities.

**BLOOD IS THICKER THAN WATER MAYBE? – OUR WHANAU FROM IRAQ**

For our family a home in the Blue Mountains gave us the space to review our aims and to plan our lives around the things that mattered the most. A safe and happy environment for our children and the means to fulfil our financial goals kept us focused on the future. We spent much of our time creating fun activities with our boys and in the process made new friends who soon became an important part of our extended family. Ironically most of them were not Maori and so the idiom, ‘blood is thicker than water,’ lends an interesting twist to our narrative as I reflect on these new relationships. These connections have been interesting, sometimes difficult and even fun. They has also been filled with love. Some have also been profound. One person who left her mark on many hearts including ours was Zahara.

Zahara Mohammad Farag was born in 1957 at Surdash, a Kurdish city of Sulaimaniya in Northern Iraq. She was an artist, restaurateur and mother. She was also an aunty to our children, best friend to my husband and a sister to me. Often our Saturday’s in the Mountains were spent at her shop feasting on the most delicious food ever.
Her specialty was roasted vegetables in a special marinade, freshly made tabouli and falafel all smothered in the most delicious homemade hummus. We sipped unlimited cups of Turkish coffee and nibbled on baklava as we chattered about our children, caught up on the local gossip and talked about the world and our place in it - oh how we loved to laugh about what we could be - what we should be - and how cool it was to just do it. To be alive and free was always a resounding theme in our conversations; a privilege many of us take for granted. You see when Zahara was young she and her family moved to Baghdad at a time when it was famous for its bookstores and considered a centre of culture and education. She excelled in mathematics and science and in 1980 graduated from the University of Baghdad with a bachelor degree in physics. She also became an accomplished artist and exhibited her work in Iraq. It was at this time that she met and married the radical poet and journalist Gailan Hoshi Ali. When the Gulf war broke out in 1991 the family moved back to Kurdistan to avoid the war. However, many Kurdish people were targeted by Sadaam Hussein’s regime as he waged death sentences on those who favoured freedom of expression. Zahara and Gailan believed that “to dream was to fly”, but thoughts of this kind had no place in the old Iraq and for those who dared to think this way, they were sure to be put to death. They took their three young children and fled to Iran on foot across rugged terrain and huge mountains in the cold of winter. She would often pause as she recalled the sight of mothers leaving their children by the side of the road to die because they had no food to feed them.

This was such a horrifying sight she would whisper ‘so children my sister and the sound of their laughter is the most precious reminder of the gift of life’… Zahara and her family spent many months in a refugee camp where food was scarce, sanitation poor and physical abuse from soldiers ever present. They returned to Iraq but after security forces attempted to kidnap one of her children they left for good, this time travelling to Turkey under the supervision of the United Nations. Here she applied for refugee status to Australia. Their application was granted and they migrated first to Tasmania and then to Punchbowl in Sydney. In 1994 they moved to Hazelbrook in the Blue Mountains where they would eventually settle into a house they would soon call home. It was also during this time that our family moved to Hazo as our kids called it back then and thus our friendship began from here. Our children went to the same school, so we watched them grow together. Sometimes it was with happiness and laughter and other times with tears and concern. Either way our connection grew every time this caring human being came into our space and gave nothing less than unconditional love. In our Maori world there is a concept called whangai which refers to the feeding of a child.
It also means to care, inspire, be responsible for, lift up and love. Zahara was our whangai and we were hers. On the 14 June 2011 after a short battle with cancer Zahara died and while we miss her dearly the legacies she left behind are as poignant as the stories about her life, the thoughts she shared about the era we now live in and her dreams of a better world for all of humanity.

Her love for life was reflected in the way she lived every minute of every day and as I watch her children follow her footprints she so lovingly left for them I see her smile, laughter, strength, determination and unfailing desire to do good for humanity. Zahara was the goodness she saw in all people which made me realise the true measure of the Maori whakatauki that asks us over and over that tender question, “what is the greatest thing? To which we almost always reply, it is the people, it is the people, it is the people…”

E te tuahine kua wheturangitia koe e kore rawa koe e warewaretia waiho mai nga taonga mo o mokopuna takoto i runga i te aroha…

My sister you have become a star in the heavens; you will never be forgotten because of the treasures you leave for your children and theirs to come, lie peacefully in our love…

WOMEN TALKING TO WOMEN ABOUT US

Maori have always maintained that our children and young people are the future and so it is essential that our whanau systems ensure that our tamariki and mokopuna are nurtured so they may grow into strong and confident adults. Tribal services which provide health, education and other forms of support and advocacy have played a pivotal role in co-supporting this process. Unfortunately when our people leave Aotearoa and resettle in Australia their options are limited as they are expected to access mainstream services. Sadly most find these organizations unhelpful or culturally insensitive and as a consequence most families avoid contact and will often seek support within their own network amongst whanau and friends. They also travel to where other Maori gather which is usually at churches, work places, cultural festivities, tangihana\(^9\) and sports clubs. As it

\(^9\) It is culturally appropriate to acknowledge the dead who have passed over into the other world after one has spoken about them in this world.

\(^10\) Tangihana is a funeral or wake.
happens our women often play a leading role in raising the children and so they are generally the ones seeking resources and opportunities to develop additional services and programs for our people. This has lead to the establishment of several community programs. One such group here in NSW is the Maori Women’s Welfare League (MWWL) which began as a branch off the main organization in Aotearoa whose roots go back to the early 1950s.

**Ititahi** - When I was a little girl I can remember my mum filling sacks with potatoes and corn from our garden, then she would carry them one by one to the train station. She would dress me in my best clothes and together we would catch the train to Moerewa. When we got to Otiria she would carry the sacks across to the Marae one by one. I would carry her bag and follow her on both trips to and from the Marae. After we delivered our potatoes and corn to the men at the back of the Whare Kai we would head for the Whare Tupuna, and find us a place on the mattress with all the other ladies. Most of them were my aunties because my mum would hug and kiss them all. She was always very happy to see them and was quick to join in on the talking and laughing. Many years later, I asked my mum about our monthly trips to the Marae on the train. She looked at me and said, ‘oh you remember that? I replied, yeah I used to carry your bag.’ She laughed and then took a moment to reflect back to those days…

She said well we all used to go to Otiria because that’s where the leaders from the MWWL came to talk about what other women around the area were doing and how we could all learn from each other. It was a way of sharing ideas and information with all of our women. We took things from our gardens to share and I always came home with something from someone else. Sometimes they sold the things we took to the meetings to help pay for the leaders to travel to all the different areas. At our meetings we also talked about the health and wellbeing of our tamariki and mokopuna. We learned so much from the other women. We worked hard to keep this organization going. “Can you remember the time when we dressed you in these different outfits and you and Mereana’s boy had to parade around with them on?” “Yes mum I can.”

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11 Moerewa is our hometown in Aotearoa.
12 Otiria refers to a place. It is also where the train station was in Moerewa.
13 Marae is a Maori meetinghouse.
14 Whare kai is a dinning room.
“You were only about four or five years old then I think.” “Yeah I remember mum!” My memories of this organization are fond ones…

My first contact with the MWWL in Sydney occurred sometime in the late 1990. It was around the time I was on the board of a local community centre and I was approached by a local Kuia who wanted to hire our building for a special meeting regarding the MWWL branch here in Sydney. They were meeting to discuss the current governance system of their organization. She invited me to attend. Already committed to a hectic work schedule I agreed to stay for the Powhiri\(^{15}\) and the first half of the meeting where I would be happy to observe and provide feedback on my return to lock up the building. The day of the meeting, people came from all over Sydney, the Central Coast and the Blue Mountains.

\textbf{Ititahi} - As I watched from the side I could not help but think about my mum and those days we spent travelling by train to Otiria Marae. The conversation and laughter exchanged by aunties to inform, inspire and uplift the women from our \textit{Rohe}.\(^{16}\)

As the \textit{Karanga} rang out to the visitors I took my seat in the back of the room where I sat quietly ready to observe the meeting. After the formal introductions were exchanged, an agenda with the main issues was presented to the audience.

\textbf{Ititahi} - From the periphery I watched with great anticipation as to what this women’s group that carried such a big name would do. I also wondered about the task of an even bigger undertaking - to resource and support our women and families here in Australia. Again I thought about my Kuia and the efforts she made to keep the branch in our home town strong and operating. My work in the community helped me to see the need for a resource such as the MWWL here in NSW and so I was keen to see how I might help.

The meeting began with a number of speakers outlining the structure and also the constitutional guidelines of the MWWL. This was met by challenges from the floor. Very soon the presentation developed into a discussion and then a debate, which became a heated arguement. This

\(^{15}\) Powhiri is a formal Maori welcome.
\(^{16}\) Rohe is territorial boundaries of a tribal region.
continued on for most of the meeting which led me to believe this was not the organization I wanted to be involved with and furthermore if this was the kind of leadership they employed then the needs of our community would not be met by this group. I slipped out of the meeting and went about my business, happy to leave the negativity behind. I steered clear of this organization until almost a decade later when I found myself nominated to a position on its executive committee. Actually I had not been asked but rather I was told that Kaumatua and Kuia wanted me on the committee and that was that! At the same time another women’s, group a Maori Network of Women (NOW) emerged. I was invited as a guest speaker at their launch and asked to speak on a subject of my choice. Since it was during my pre-investigation period for this thesis, I spoke about my research goals. The audience was mainly women who were aged between twenty years through to approximately eighty. They were quietly absorbed in the facts, statistics, dialogue and propositions being presented. At the conclusion of my talk I invited the women to share with me their stories, ideas and thoughts about trans-Tasman Maori migration. I also asked them to think about the role they played in the resettlement process and invited each of them to contact me either by telephone or email if they wanted to make a contribution or share their thoughts and stories.

After the meeting we all sat down to a huge banquet. I shared a table with eight other women who were on the committee of this organization. As we ate our lunch the women began to relate their stories and thoughts about leadership, Maori and migration:

**Wahine**17- Hey Roseanna I am really interested in your mahi because I think we need something for our wahine when they come here...especially for the first time. I was lucky I had my whanau but still there’s a lot of things you have to know and learn and sometimes you just miss home so much that being with others who feel the same way helps. You know I wanted to send my kids to a Kohanga but I couldn’t find one and man I was so worried about my older kids because they went to Kura and moving here they had to fit into mainstream. Poor my kids, they didn’t fit in well and man I felt aroha18 for them because they looked so dumb.

I think the teachers thought they were dumb natives, but you know we just tried to awhi19 them the best way.

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17 Wahine is a Maori woman.
18 Aroha is love
19 Awhi is love and support
That was the hardest part of moving here. So how did you get that job anyway?

_Me_ - What job?

_Wahine_ - Doing the research?

_Me_ - Oh no…its not a job its actually my research for university. I'm a student.

_Wahine_ - Oh.

_Me_ - Yeah, I have been, for a long time now. Long story short I wanted to seriously do something that would help our kids and their families. One of the main problems is that mainstream teachers have no idea what they have when they get these Maori kids. So obviously they haven’t got a clue how to work with them or help them. And if you think about it the transition between total immersion and mainstream is a big deal. Don’t you think?

_Wahine_ - Ummm yeah! Theres a big difference alright.

_Me_ - Well that’s why I decided to do something about it and really these Pakeha don’t have the time or the resources to help our kids. Some couldn’t give a rats arse about what you and me think. I’ve been told, ‘well you can always go back to New Zealand.’ So I decided to try formal research to identify some of the main issues our families and community face when they migrate here. You see there will be bigger problems for these families if the issues are not attended to early. I deal with them when they end up in juvenile detention or adult prisons and man it’s always sad to see the heartbreak for the whanau. Especially the mums. The crazy thing is, it wont take much to fix it.
Wahine - So can you explain to me what some of the problems are?

Me - Well just like that wahine said, her tamariki had trouble fitting in here because they came from a total immersion Kura back home. You know what many kids from home have the same problem, and what I have found is that if the teachers are not sensitive to their needs or they don’t understand the kids then there’s discontent. The tamariki are sometimes left out or even pushed to the side. Then they get hoha,\(^{20}\) teacher gets hoha and next minute… trouble. In my travels around the different schools that seems to be the way things have been for many of our Maori kids. And also for Pacific Island children too. It’s really sad especially when families aren’t sure what to do and schools don’t have the time for these kids - so bottom line; nothing gets done and the tamariki continue to struggle. This often leads to suspensions and expulsions. Furthermore, these kids don’t get to finish school making it harder for them to get a job or go on to university.

Wahine - Yeah I had the same thing in New Zealand so we moved here. I know how being unemployed can mean being a no hoper on the dole. Nah I don’t wont that for my kids. So is this your mahi\(^ {21}\) working with the schools?

Me - No I manage a mainstream service for homeless people, but because there are very few Maori workers who understand the issues and the problems our families face I end up helping out. It’s not easy to turn people away when mothers come to see me stressed out and are at their wits end. I feel so aroha for them that I end up helping out. I go and do the mahi and sort out the problems and that’s me. Well until the next one comes along and that’s not long either because the flow is very stready at the moment.

Wahine - Well I’m glad they have this new women’s group going, cause we really do need something to help our mothers and their kids.

Me - Like what?

\(^{20}\) Hoha is impatient, annoying, cant be bothered.  
\(^{21}\) Mahi is work.
**Wahine – Kohanga**, health stuff and some programs for our women too like education. Especially when it comes to talking to teachers and even Docs (Department Community Services) people about our kids. I know quite a few whanau who have had major problems with their kids and stuff so that’s why I came here because I hope this group can help to do something for us you know our people. I hope it will. Nah I don’t hope, I know it will!

After lunch I exchanged contact details with a number of women and then thanked the president and her team for the invitation to participate in their launch. I explained I was organizing a leadership forum and asked them if they would be willing to participate. They accepted my invitation. Meanwhile I had been summoned to attend a meeting with the MWWL here in Sydney where I was invited to join its executive committee. I was rather surprised. They talked about a dwindling membership and asked if I would help them to lift their association numbers. After careful thought I suggested they conduct an organizational review and develop a five year business plan. I also told them that I would help them out by conducting the review. They agreed. After six months, numerous interviews, focus groups and an analysis of organizational documents, the work was completed and a report with several recommendations was handed over to the executive committee. One of the key suggestions was to hold a recruitment drive and invite women to an open day. After several planning meetings a cultural day with Aboriginal storytelling, painting, raranga, karanga and waiata emerged. It was also agreed that I should present my research. As the group continued to discuss the usual committee business I began to drift in and out of thought and before long numerous images appeared as I remembered…

**Ititahi** - It was a Saturday morning and my husband and I were enjoying brunch at the Mount Druitt shopping centre. We loved coming back to the Druitt. It was here in the West that we lived when we first moved to Australia in the early 1990 and often visits to the plaza were an opportunity to catch up with old friends or just reminisce in the space. This is a special place for us.

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22 Kohanga in this context refers to a Maori like preschool (the correct spelling should read Kohanga Reo) however I have written it as it was spoken by the person being interviewed. This indicates Maori often shorten words.
23 Raranga is weaving.
24 Karanga is a Maori call usually done by women to welcome people to a place.
25 Waiata is a song or to sing.
In between eating and laughing, something caught my eye. I stopped and looked across the food court. In amongst the people I saw a beautiful chin moko or kauae.\footnote{Kauae is a chin moko or tattoo.} I loved the chin moko and to see one in this huge shopping centre was not only a rare thing, it was also a treat. As we finished our meal and started to head out, this beautiful kauae suddenly appeared in front of me and the Kuia who wore it leaned towards us and said, ‘kiaora.’ I smiled at her and responded with ‘kiaora.’ The usual where are you from chit chat occurred and before we went our separate ways I invited her to attend our open day.

After a series of executive meetings, the final preparations for our open day were complete. We started very early and ended late into the night. It was an awesome day with singing, laughing, learning, creating, eating and enjoying being in the company of so many women. We had our babies and our children, whose cries and laughter were a constant reminder of the future and our responsibility to them. There were quiet times to reflect as we listened to aunty Gloria share dreamtime stories (see page 89) and aunty Paddy Field explain some of the important things to remember about their Aboriginal people. She told us that her people only got to vote in 1967 and that they had suffered great hardship under colonisation. She taught us some of their words and the importance of totems. Paddy explained to us how their kinship system worked and she told us a few stories…

**Paddy** - There have been important Aboriginal people like uncle Charlie Perkins who made a big stand against racism which landed him in jail. Uncle led what we called the *Freedom Ride.* He took a bus load of black fullas up to Moree, (that’s my country Moree) to the swimming pool. We wasn’t allowed to swim there because it was only for the white people so Charlie decided they were going to fight that rule. When they got there and all them black fullas trying to get into the pool for a swim…well them white fullas went off. They called the police, threw tomatoes and eggs at them and even bashed some of them mob of ours. Forty years and our people were not allowed to swim in that public pool - not right aye.
And there was another old black fulla. Neville Bonner who was from Queensland. He was a politician, one the first black fullas to become one too. Well this one he went to England (she laughed) and he stuck the Aboriginal flag in the ground outside of the Queen’s place you know that Buckingham palace. He told them white fullas this is Aboriginal land because you put your flag in our country and called it yours so we doing the same to you mob. He got arrested, but you know made us proud because he was brave to stand up for us, our rights! And you know we never had many in those days and we still gotta fight today. You know there is a great Aboriginal leader he’s name is Pemulwuy and he came from around this area. He was one of our first freedom fighters. When them white fullas first came here he was the one who put up a fight to resist them and all their plans to settle here. You should find out about him because this is his country we on here. We got many strong black women too who helped us to raise our children and look after our menfolk. Women like mum Shirl who took in many of our people from off the streets, just out of jail and even ones who was having problems at home you know. She fed them, gave them a place to sleep and even looked after babies and kids too. She was so important for many people. See we got a lot of history and its important to us. We have fought for many years and not matter what has happened to us - we have survived and that’s what’s most important.

You know we got to learn lots about your Maori mob when we met Rosie and John. Our kids went to school together so we watched out for all of them. My girls are close to her and John and the boys too. Those boys are like my own and they always give me a hug when I see them in the street. That’s proper aye. I have learned a lot about your culture from them and they have learned a lot about our culture from us. That’s what we have to do aye, teach each other and care about each other too – thank you.

This was indeed a treat for our Maori women, because many if not most had never heard or engaged with the Tangatawhenua27 in this way before. It is difficult to explain the feelings or the effects of something like this, but I can assure you that my heart knows and will always remember this engagement for many years to come. This connection was indeed a lesson and a reminder about who we are, where we came from and more importantly our place in this land.

27 Tangatawhenua refers to people of a particular land i.e. Maori are Tangatawhenua of Aotearoa.
The presentations by our two guests set the mood for my own talk which I started by asking the following question, “who takes care of your children?” I then asked the audience to ponder this question throughout the presentation. Then I went on to introduce the Maori Womens Welfare League (MWWL), including a brief history and an overview of the organization’s aims and objectives. With the aid of my Power point slides I began:

Ititahi - The MWWL NSW branch was established and incorporated in December 1993. It had gained the support and assistance from the mother organization in Aotearoa because its main task was to support Maori families re-establish themselves in Sydney. At first the organization was located at Te Wairua Tapu28 the Anglican Church in Redfern, but over the years it has moved to different venues with its executive members as they have changed over time. The brief and aims, however, are still the same and so those leading the group have continued to work on development strategies to improve its brief. The need for a valuable resource to support and advocate on behalf of Maori families has continued to grow. Today we invited you all here for two very important reasons. The first is so that we as wahine can enjoy being together, share our gifts and learn from each other in a way that works for us as Maori. The second reason is to ask YOU what we need to do to improve this organization so that it does its best to help our people here in NSW.

This was our chance to invite the women here to join, participate and more importantly have a say.

Ititahi - Think about some of the challenges we have faced when we settled here. Maybe some of us are still facing difficulties. If we look at school suspensions and the juvenile incarceration rates for Maori and Pacific Island children and young people over the past decade, there is a lot to be learned. If we visit the prisons, which is a big part of what the league here in Sydney does, then we will find there are many of our people in there too. We must then ask ourselves, why?

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28 Te Wairua Tapu: the Holy Spirit. It is the name of the Maori church in Redfern.
What we all have in common as mothers, sisters, aunties and grandmothers is the reality that our children will grow up to be adults and what they learn will help to determine the kind of people, parents and citizens they will be. This calls to mind this saying from a wise woman who once said, ‘I believe our younger women need to take the best from the past and move on into the future by developing positive initiatives for the wellbeing of our tamariki and mokopuna’ (Lady Norma Ngata 2005).

Who knows a child, young person or whanau who struggles with issues such as this?
Who knows a whanau who has concerns about how well their children will cope in this new land?
Who cares about whether or not our children will be able to know about their Maori identity and culture?
And last but by no means least, let us return to the question I asked at the beginning of my talk and let me ask you all again…

“Who will take care of your children?”

I opened the floor and invited people to speak and this is what they said:

- **Aunty** - Have our leaders heard this korero?
- **Dorisday** - We should be looking after our own tamariki and the youth too.
- **Hineara** - Our language is very important and I would really like to see a Kohanga Reo here.
- **Nellie** - What makes you think this organisation will help our people?
- **Winsome** - Your mob is building this country, so you people are in a very good position to create lots of things for your families.
- **Kath** - I think we need to have more days like this or even a place where we can do raranga and other Maori things.
- **Meecy** - I really enjoyed learning about the Aboriginal culture and their animals (thank you aunty Gloria and Pat) hearing your stories was choice and now I feel a lot better knowing a bit about the Tangatawhenua and that helps me to know where I stand here.
**Ititahi** - Before we conclude let me just say my answer to this question and I do hope you have one, it is - “I will care for my children” and if my whanau is not here to help me, then I know there is an awesome network of strong and able wahine that will. I just have to ask…Kiaora.

Our *ringawera* signalled cup of tea time. We took a tea break and during this time I could not help but feel a sense of unease from some of our guests, especially those who had been involved in the community for a longer period of time. I guessed it was something to do with Maori politics and I wanted to know more so when our broadcasting stalwarts Nellie and Koro invited me to an interview on their Thursday night radio show I was happy to accept. Our open day continued and so did the fun and learning. The kids painted a picture with aunty Pat, the women yarned with aunty Gloria and we all sang and did Maori action songs. We ate more food, shared our own stories and by the end of the day we had signed up more than thirty new members. Upon reflection it was this open day that provided a platform from where other incentives including a Maori language school emerged. This gave me the chance to speak to more people about their migration stories. A conversation that stands out is the one I had with our *Kuia* and *Kaiako*. Our *kuia* whom I had met that day in Mount Druitt when that beautiful *moko kauae* caught my eye and made my heart skip. She told me that:

**Hineara** - Our Maori language is very important because it’s what helps us to connect with our Maoritanga. I have been involved in Te Ataarangi for many years. I went back to school at home to learn how to become a teacher…fancy that at my age, but nevermind I loved learning our language all over again especially with others who also wanted to learn. You know my mother told us we were not allowed to go up to Ngapuhi because of the things that happened in the past. And you know what? when I finished my teachers training I was sent to Matawaia right in the heart of Ngapuhi to do my practicum. Man that was a real eye opener for me. I was so *mataku* when I was told to go there. I told my *Kaiako* no I don’t want to go! They said you will be ok and that was that! so I just had to go.

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20 *Ringawera* refers to here as “hot hands” or the helpers making the refreshments.
30 *Kaiako* is a teacher.
31 *Hineara* is our *kuia*.
32 Maoritanga is referred to here as Maori ways.
33 *Te Ataarangi* is a method of teaching Maori language.
34 *Mataku* means frightened.
Today I am glad I went to your people because their reo was so good, beautiful when you hear them korero Maori! I was taught by some of the best in the game and you know what? they were so good to me up there. You are lucky Ititahi because that’s your whanau and you could learn from them how to korero Maori.

**Me** - Ummm, yeah I know, one day maybe? Hineara, what made you come here?

**Hineara** - Well my kids and mokopuna are here so I was coming to Australia quite a bit to have a holiday with them. They are all here except one of my girls who is still at home. I miss them all very much. And I thought by golly I have taught so many people to speak Te Reo, and I really wanted to teach my kids too. I thought if I stayed over here I could do that. I love teaching Ititahi especially Te Reo. See when you see our people speak our language, they look proud and happy about being Maori and that’s so important. But coming here, you know I miss speaking Maori all the time because there are not many here for me to have a real conversation with, so that’s not good. You have to speak Maori all the time not Pakeha. I speak more English here because there is not many around who I can speak to, you know? I wish I had a mate to speak Maori to Ititahi.

**Me** - I know someone who you might like to visit.

**Hineara** - Who?

**Me** - An Aunty out in Campbelltown. She speaks Maori and you will like her. She also makes the korowai. She is one of my favourite aunties here. Would you like me to ask her if we can visit so you can talk with her?

**Hineara** - Yes please Ititahi I would like that very much.
Taking my friend Hineara to visit aunty Te Ruīnga\textsuperscript{35} became routine. We would often set out on these visits bright and early and find ourselves all talked out and heading home well into the night. They talked and laughed, ate food, drank cups of tea and talked and talked and talked. It was so neat to see how happy and contented speaking our language made them feel. It was such a blessing to have seen and felt such warmth from both of these very special women. Over time my friendship with Hineara grew beyond my interest in her migration stories and then one day out of the blue she said:

\textbf{Hineara} - Ititahi I want to teach these people to speak Maori. Can you help me start a Kura we can have classes in the garage at my place and then when you have your meetings at the university we can teach some reo at the same time.

So we set up a Kura in her garage. At the focus groups I organised she would come with her rakau\textsuperscript{36} and teach for an hour in class after our discussions but as the word spread amongst our Maori community the groups began to grow and before long we had almost 30 people attending any one group. After a year I not only had lots of migration stories, but I also had narratives shared by partners who were Australian and had married or were in a relationship with Maori. They were keen to learn the language and the culture so that they could understand some of the things their partners were teaching their children. When I questioned them about what they thought was important for them living with Maori partners and raising their children they said:

\textbf{Shayna} - Sometimes it was hard to know what their partners were saying when they spoke Maori to their children. Their partners would teach their children Maori things and they had no clue. They wanted to know the meaning behind the haka\textsuperscript{37} and why it was important. They wanted to know whether they should let their sons do it.

\textsuperscript{35} Te Ruīnga is our aunty. 
\textsuperscript{36} Rakau in this context means stick/block of wood - Cuisenaire rods. 
\textsuperscript{37} Haka is a Maori dance.
**Kitty** - Why speaking Maori was important to their partners and the reasons behind wanting their children to learn. Knowing what tamoko meant and what would happen when their boys asked for one.

**Beth** - Showing their partners they were supportive of their desire to learn about their Maori culture.

We had an Aboriginal woman, an Australian and an Italian Australian women join our Te Reo classes. In time they went on to enrol their children into Kapa Haka and today each of them is confident in knowing the answers to many of their concerns, so they participate in keeping Maori culture alive at home with simple words and sentences that they all know and share. The term whanau seems so different now as mixed partnerships and marriages produce children who will have hybrid children. I wanted to explore this issue further and so I invited the group of non-Maori parents who have children with a Maori partner to have coffee and a chat. At our meeting I asked them to tell me what being a partner to a Maori person meant and how this influenced the way they raised their children. This is what they said:

**Shayna** - I am Australian. My husband is Maori as you know and we have three sons. I have a son from a prior relationship (his dad is Maori) and a daughter to my first partner who is Australian. My husband has helped me to raise my other two children without second thoughts and he has raised my daughter in conjunction with her Australian father. He says whanau is the most important thing so he loves our children all the same and that’s so cool. Our daughter fits in with the Maori whanau and doesn’t see herself as anything different. They love her like the other grandchildren too. I would like my children to know about their Maori culture because my husband is into his Maori stuff. He encourages them to learn the haka and he even talks Maori to them. I want to know what it all means because they are my children too and I really think its important for me to know what he is teaching them. I went to Aotearoa with my husband and our kids and I really did love living that traditional Maori way because the family or whanau was very important especially the children. I want to know the basics so I can support my husband be Maori and teach our children how they are suppose to be what they are, Maori.

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38 Kapa Haka is Maori dance.
Beth - I am Australian but my background is Italian. My husband is Maori and we have four children. I am not really interested in learning much about the Maori thing but I thought I would come along to see what you were going to talk about. I know my husband likes to keep strong in his culture and that is fine for him but I am happy just looking on from the side. I am also willing to support my husband but sometimes I do not think I will be happy if he wants our kids to do too many Maori things. I think that they are Australian because they were born and raised here. It can be difficult knowing how much to do...I mean culture.

Kitty – I am Aboriginal and my partner is Maori. He speaks the language so I joined a Maori language group so I am able to know what he is saying. He comes with me to support my efforts and he says that he is still learning as well. It is very hard to learn another language but we are both doing it together and that is a good thing I think. We are expecting our first baby in a few months so I was thinking I should find out as much as I can about my baby’s Maori culture. My partner fits in well with my family because in many ways we are very similar. I have been to Aotearoa a few times and I am amazed at how strong the Maori culture is back there. They also make me feel very welcome when I am with his whanau and they are huge. There are lots of them. I find it difficult to speak the language but I am not giving up and even though I may not say the words right I am doing the best so that when my baby is born at least I can teach it some Maori. You know mothers are usually the teachers in our Aboriginal culture so if I can learn about Maori then my baby won’t miss out aye.

If we keep in mind that the face of Maori is changing as more whanau move away from the homeland and become a part of the global community it is important then to take note of what Cleve Barlow (1991) says about whakapapa and how it must be passed on to our children and theirs. Barlow reminds us that:

Whakapapa is one of the most prized forms of knowledge and great efforts are made to preserve it. All the people in a community are expected to know who their immediate ancestors are, and to pass this information on to their children so that they may develop proud and a sense of belonging through understanding the roots of their heritage (Barlow 1991, p.174).
Our whanau or family unit provides the platform for us to teach our children all of the important protocols traditions and practices that enable our children. Therefore, what we teach them at home will determine how they see themselves in the future. As I return to the invitation to be interviewed on radio I was drawn to yet another issue of importance. The politics within our community. My involvement in this women’s organization was, I suspected, going to introduce and teach me first hand about our people and the black politics that we know exists, but prefer to push it aside and pretend it does not exist. It sure did teach me and the teaching began right here at this interview. The program was live to air so people from the community were listening to the interview and they were also invited to ring in and ask questions or comment freely. Of course this also meant I could be put on the spot at any time, but I was quite prepared to take the chance in the hope to gain another perspective or perhaps engage in some enlightening dialogue. On air you do not get to see who people are so many who did call in remained anonymous. They still asked challenged me with statements and questions:

- The MWWL has not really helped our people, what makes you think it will change now?
- What is the difference between Network of Maori Women and the MWWL?
- Will these two organizations work together?
- Will the MWWL rejoin the mother branch at home?
- What is different about this organization now and are the same people from the old committee still involved?

The interviewers asked me similar questions to which my answer was always that I would maintain my commitment to do what I could to bring about a change for the better. I also mentioned that I was willing to do the best I could with the talent, skills and drive I had, but if that meant being different then I was prepared to accept that some people will support this work and some wont. It was a good night having learned some very important things about the community and in particular some key people. The fear of uncertainty when we open ourselves up to community scrutiny can be somewhat complicated and so when that intuitive feeling in my puku[^1] reminded me to go carefully it was a sign that I did not

[^1]: Puku is stomach.
dismiss lightly. However, my passion to generate change for the betterment of the next generation, including my own mokopuna, quickly surpassed any doubt and with this I pushed on.

**RANGATIRA HUI - LEADERSHIP FORUM**

**Calling on Maori Leaders**

I put a call out to some of the main Maori organizations in Sydney inviting them to participate in a leaders’ forum to discuss governance and leadership issues. The forum was designed to examine the possibility of working together to improve the needs of our community and to ascertain potential development strategies. So on Saturday 21 and Sunday 22 January 2006 I facilitated a leadership forum held at Poituraki Marae in Newcastle. I went ahead a few days earlier to meet with the Kaumatua hosting our weekend and the meeting. We set the kaupapa, sorted the program and prepared the Marae for the people coming from Sydney. The forum began with a powhiri. We had morning tea and thereafter we started our program. To set the scene for our forum the following questions were posed:

- Who are we in this new land?
- Who are our children and their children, in this new land?
- Have we changed? Have our children changed?

The audience was asked to ponder these questions and to consider how they might answer them at the end of the forum. Our first speaker and guest Winsome Ruth Matthews was then given the floor. Winsome is a Yorta Yorta Goomaroi woman who lives in Mount Druitt, Western Sydney. She is one of eleven children and comes from a close-knit family. Her mum is aunty Gloria Matthews who is a well-respected elder and storyteller and who has a long history working with families across Western Sydney. Winsome has been a social activist for many years and advocates strongly the need for cultural competence on Aboriginal and indigenous issues. My relationship with Winsome emerged out of our work roles in the social sector. Often she was the only ‘black woman’ and I was the only ‘brown woman’ at sector and state leadership meetings where major decisions...
were being made about her people and mine. We supported each other in our community commitments and often when advisors were sought by government bureaucrats we were both there propping each other up. She contacted me when her staff needed help with Maori or Pacific Island clients and I would do the same when mine worked with Aboriginal families. The respect we had for each other’s culture was reflected in our commitment to draw the line when it came to working with each other’s people. I knew she was an expert for her mob and she knew I was the expert for mine. Our work took us to the front-line where fighting for the rights of disadvantaged people occurred every day. We were both involved on advisory councils and we also shared the dream to make the world a better place for our grandbabies. Winsome has a particular interest in trans-Tasman Maori migration, as she will tell us today:

Winsome - I have worked with Maori and Maori have worked with me. Your people come here and you prosper. Your people are proud and strong. My people are too. We have many stories to tell, they are our dreaming. When I think about your mob I think about my mum and the stories she tells. There is one about two turtles but it’s really about us, your people and mine. My mum will tell us so take the time to listen carefully and then think about it. I want you to consider these things she says and then think about where you fit. I want to add my question to the list already asked - has Aotearoa returned to Koori land? Have Maori returned to the Australian land/spirit?

Us black fullas have to get real because Maori are building our land, Koori land, Australia. Our people ca not get jobs, many of them are overlooked because your people have better skills. Your mob gets treated better most of the time too. We have a long way to go to get close to your people and we are trying the best we can with what we have. Many of your people succeed here because you get work easy and from that you can get ahead. The Gubba40 are cool with that because it gives economical benefits to their system. But you know what we are fighters just like your mob. You know why? Because we have survived after all that’s been done to us - we are still here.

What does the future hold for relations between Gubba and Maori?

40 Gubba is the Aboriginal work for pakeha or European.
What does the future hold for Maori and Aboriginal?

This is my tidda\textsuperscript{41} my sister (pointing to me), I have her back and she has mine. We work together to try and make things better for your people and me we try to get some balance for our people, you know they are right at the bottom of the heap and sometimes they fall off. We pick them up and encourage them to keep going. I have a Maori son-in-law and now I have mokopuna between the two worlds, what is that? My grandmother, she’s my Moori (everyone laughs) not a Koori or a Maori she is both so I call her my Moori.\textsuperscript{42} I hear your mob calling your babies mozzies! Why would they call the most precious little people in the world after a germ-ridden insect? I wont let anyone call my mokopuna a mozzie – no way! Think about it!

You Maori have a lot to offer us. You are always at the front breaking down the walls of oppression for all indigenous nations. But remember, like we need you, Maori need us too because we know that culturally you have protocols that require us, to be apart of that visitor/host relationship. Here I am, a representative of my people. I am a reminder of our past and my ancestors. I also represent our today. But most importantly, I represent our tomorrow, your children and mine. Thank you for inviting me here today to participate and be apart of this your, our conversation.

It was my turn and with the aid of a Power Point I introduced a historical timeline connecting trans-Tasman Maori migration and recalling some of the important joint ventures between our two countries. I then went on to say:

\textbf{Ititahi} - Who are we? What are we? What do we look like today? What kind of future will we offer our children now that we live in this land? Australia! Many of us moved here to seek better opportunities for our families. It may have been a financial decision, or a desire to experience something different. Whatever our story is we moved to Australia and we now live here. If we take a moment to think about our

\footnotesize{
\textsuperscript{41} Tidda is what my Aboriginal friend called me. In this context it means sister.
\textsuperscript{42} Moori is referred to by my Aboriginal friend to mean a baby born to a Maori and Koori parents (as told by W. Matthews).
}
tamariki and mokopuna we might find that many came here on their parents’ coat tails. Mums and dads just like us who wanted a better life for the whanau and packed up our children and moved across the Tasman with out too much fore thought about the consequences.

As I reflect on our own move to Australia I realize that some of the adjustments our children had to make were huge. They left the whenua, their connection to their Maoritanga especially those every day experiences that strengthens the bond they have with whanau and the things we do as a collective. A way of life that endorses what being Maori can really mean. Today in Australia there are many children and young people who crave to know who they are, where they come from and most important how they can live as Maori in this land. There are many parents and grandparents including me who wonder, reflect and sometimes worry about how our children and theirs might fare in this land without those links.

I ask myself all the time - will my children’s connection to whanau hapu and iwi be important? What about my mokopuna?

As parents and leaders in our Maori community do we have an obligation to ensure our children have the best opportunities to know about their culture and indeed their identity? This is what our forum today is all about!

Like many of you here, I too spend a lot of my time in the community. The unfortunate thing is as a social worker I come into contact with a lot of people who are often in need of help. Many are Maori children youth and families who lack the capacity to adapt to resettlement. Parents have very little information or skills to support their children who have come from Maori schools and find integrating into various mainstream systems difficult. They struggle without the aid of the extended whanau and find living as Maori in another country is not an easy process if the system we join does not have the appropriate means to resource our people. Often whanau had great difficulty accessing mainstream services because staff in these organizations lack the cultural skills and knowledge necessary to resource Maori adequately. I spent almost two decades supporting families or training frontline workers to resource Maori clients in a culturally appropriate way. The need was great and for the most part I was run off my feet working across Sydney. In time more whanau stepped forward to help struggling families
but with little or no funding to resource their efforts advocacy was in most cases unsustainable. The tragedy of it all is that Maori like Aboriginal have a need to be supported in a particular way and many mainstream service providers are often oblivious to this simple yet essential point of importance. At the same time we have politicians on both sides of the Tasman who continue to alter policies without regard for how these changes might affect us on the ground and indeed our migratory community. They can be found in the new visa program introduced in 1994, changes to the social security arrangements in 2001 and the adjustments to citizenship requirements made in 2010 (Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship 2012).

So what do we do? What can we do? More questions, but how do we answer – which reminds me of that song from a Maori Prince.

There are more questions and answers  
Pictures in my mind that will not show  
There are more questions and answers  
The more I find out the less I know  
Yeah the more I find out the less I know…Prince Tui Teka.

So let’s take on board these questions and make a commitment to share our ideas, thoughts and suggestions so that we can leave this forum with some constructive answers that may help us to understand our predicament a little more. Let us share our stories with one and other in the hope to offer ideas and knowledge from the spaces in which we work, live and engage with other Maori. Finally, sharing our lived experience can often be one of the most powerful ways to teach others. It can also put people in a very vulnerable position, so I ask everyone to be mindful, sensitive and respectful as each of us shares and contributes to this collective conversation.
Prior to this hui or gathering I assigned 10 speakers from numerous organizations to address our forum. Each was given a topic to cover, which was reflective of the groups and people they represented. This is a review of the places they came from what they said:

**Australian New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) – Our Alliance**

According to history the word ANZAC is part of what New Zealanders and Australians refer to as an alliance between neighbours. When people talk about the spirit of the ANZACS, they are often speaking about the camaraderie between soldiers from both New Zealand and Australia. This alliance emerged from a shared heritage of two nations that are geographically located next door to each other and whose bond grew after soldiers from both countries served and died at Gallipoli in 1915. Together, people from both countries travel to Gallipoli on the 25 April each year to remember this great sacrifice our brave men folk made. Each time they make the journey our alliance is strengthened even more. Today there are many brave servicemen who continue to keep this history and indeed our shared legacy alive. Brigham Tarawa is a war veteran and spends much of his time with others from the armed services, some of which are Maori. He spoke to us about how our leaders should be working on strategies to help our NSW Maori community, including our old people.

He began his talk by asking:

**Uncle Brigham** - What is a leader? To me a good leader is a man who commands the authority he has, but if that fails he has the ability to go back to the basics. Times have changed and it’s very important to recognize that if you fail to plan, you plan to fail. I think we must take what both Maori and Pakeha have, the best of both worlds and come together in the middle. Let me go over the basics because that’s where we need to focus:

- Treat everyone with respect
- To function – one must listen
• We need to stick together
• Resources together a Maori
• Living together in Australia
• Maori has the greatest family principles in the world
• Everyone’s opinions count.

Te Wairua Tapu – A Place to Stand

A number of Church groups attended including two representatives from Te Wairua Tapu. To understand the significance of this organization and the contribution it makes to this forum it is important to share some of the historical milestones it brings to this forum and indeed the collective conversation. In 1979 the late Sir Kingi Ihaka gave a sermon at St Luke’s Church in Randwick, NSW. A short time later he was asked if a Maori priest could visit Sydney to minister in Te Reo and to preach within a traditional context. The Anglican archbishop of Sydney granted permission in June of that same year. In 1980 the Christian Fellowship Outreach was formed laying the foundation for a Maori church to develop. Two years later the membership of this group petitioned the archbishop to consider them as a congregation in the diocese of Sydney and with that in 1982 the title Christian Fellowship Outreach was replaced with – Maori Anglican Fellowship (MAF). Two years later Sir Kingi Ihaka was commissioned as the first Maori chaplain to Sydney. In 1985 the Maori Anglican Fellowship became the Sydney Maori Arohanui Fellowship to cater for the needs of the Maori community as a whole. At the same time a section in the Rookwood cemetery, NSW was dedicated and set aside for Maori. Located in Redfern, NSW at 587 Elizabeth Street our Maori fellowship one with another in a beautiful old church building gifted to the Anglican Diocese of Sydney by the Catholic Apostolic Church. This whare was offered to the Maori community as a spiritual centre. Not only did the Maori community accept this gift, they went on to name it Te Wairua Tapu (the church of the holy spirit). Over the years and under the leadership of four different ministers both the church building and the fellowship has gone through many changes. Today it remains a central meeting place for our Maori people here in NSW and continues to provide a place for families to farewell their deceased, showcase Maori art and craft and most importantly administer to the spiritual needs of our people from the wider Maori community.
In 2000 the Reverend Kaio Malcolm Karipa was commissioned as the fourth Maori chaplain to Te Wairua Tapu Church. Today he serves our people in numerous capacities and is a very important leader in our NSW Maori community. Two representatives from Te Wairua Tapu in Frank Thompson and Hone Karaka will speak to us about a place to stand:

**Matua Frank** - We must share our gifts for the benefit of our tamariki and mokopuna. For the wider community we should consider starting from the inside and work out. We need to remember that if we can’t tidy our own house, how then can we begin to tidy some other. We need to look at ways to share leadership so that we all can contribute.

**Matua Hone** - Told us a story about the power of Iho matua and how faith in this power can help us to overcome the challenges that we may face. We must establish the things that we need for our people. He used a metaphor to explain this further by suggesting that if we are willing to smell the rain - we will be able to smell the Lord. In other words if we used our own innate senses we will be guided by the wairua.

He then proposed that we must listen to our leaders and this could mean that we should consider the following three things:

- Delegate - Motivate - Follow Through.

**Matua Hone** - concluded their talk by suggesting that self-worth is important – just like relationships are important. Again he used a metaphor to endorse his point. He claimed that in any leadership role relationships are very important like in a marriage. If a husband and wife both treat each other with respect and they recognize each has an important contribution to make to the partnership, then good will come from the association. This becomes a good example of fine leadership.
Maori Workforce – Our Working Class Heroes

There is a large Maori population who work on construction sites, in mines, for security groups and in other frontline jobs. Often their rights are called into question and so some of our people have become actively involved in the union movement which places them in a very good position to monitor the needs and concerns of our Maori community. One person who plays a major role here is Tipene. I invited him to participate in this forum. He accepted and began his talk by telling us a story about his youth.

Tipene - I was raised on the land with many uncles and aunties who parented not just me but all of the other kids in the area. I have no formal qualifications but the teachings I have received from my Kaumatua and Kuia back home have helped me to achieve great things. In my current position at the Construction Forestry Energy Mining Union (CFEMU) much of my time beyond my daily work hours is spent with workers and their families and many of them are Maori. Some times the situations we see mean we have to make some challenging decisions but the pull from the collective community has helped when things have looked very grim. If we think about a leadership role - I think no matter where we go we must be a good person and this means being honest and having integrity. A good leader must be able to interact with people on the same level. In my job I see and engage with Maori steel workers, wharfies, miners, bridge builders and general labourers.

I really do think that us moving here to Australia from Aotearoa makes us all working class heros because it is a big thing to leave our land and our home. Also it is important that we remind our people and others in the wider community, that Maori have over the years made a huge contribution to this country. Many of us have come here and worked hard to build Australia. Maori carpenters built much of Darling Harbor in Sydney in the early 1970s and then in 2003 and onwards many of our people worked on the M7 motorway.

There are stories all over this country about Maori coming here to work. Some went home but others stayed and made lives in this country. Today those who have made this place their home have had to integrate or blend into the Australian way of life to succeed. For most it has been quite easy but that means not rocking the boat too much and doing most things the Australian way. The question I want to ask though is - do Maori living here want to take the risk to be more Maori? If so what would it take and what are the consequences? I think we would
do quite well if we worked on becoming more independent, but that means we have to do a lot of thinking about how it can be done. I think it will take a lot. But I also think we can do anything – we have already proved that by surviving the move here and establishing ourselves. That shows that we are all working class heros.

**Maori Woman Talking about Whanau - Maori Womens Welfare League**

As the Chairperson of this organization at the time of the forum I wrote this speech and assigned a committee member to deliver it. It reads:

**Moe** - Migration and resettlement can and does cause increasing stress for both the individual and the whanau. What do Maori have to assist with the migration process? In the late 1980s a number of Maori leaders from Sydney recognized that families needed resettlement assistance when relocated to Australia so in the early 90s the MWWL with the support of the mother branch in Aotearoa was established here in Sydney. This organization has had its fair share of ups and down’s however, if we look at what we have today we can be sure that more must be done to develop an effective system that can help our people to address the issues and concerns they face in this country. Issues among many include health, domestic violence, child abuse, sexual health, suicide and tangihana. There is also education, justice issues and the links we need to make with Tangatawhenua and mainstream Australia. What happens when problems are not addressed adequately? As we all know if troubles are left unaddressed it doesn’t take long before they escalate and they do. What we have and what we need are poles apart which means our assistance and support to the community is very limited. It is therefore important for us to explore our options and to work with other leaders in our community to create better advocacy mechanism for our Maori people here in NSW.

**The Church on the Edge – Our Crusade**

The Church on the Edge is a relatively new organization, which was established as a fellowship group for Maori families out in the South Western Sydney. The organization operates largely around Campbelltown and surrounding districts. It also works very closely with like minded groups to support social initiatives in the local area.
Piripi\textsuperscript{43} represented this group and said:

\textbf{Piripi} - The leaders in our church try to provide stability for our Maori people. We try to work from a holistic approach and that I think is the best way to respond to the community needs we have encountered and attempted to address. We have a ministry that explores and helps those in need, particularly the poor or whanau who are struggling with the basics. We try to work from a whanau model and we seek to engage as many whanaunga\textsuperscript{44} as we can and that takes us to almost everywhere in NSW. Unity and working together is extremely important for us because that’s how we can give the best to our people and they deserve nothing less. We think that providing services to our people is essential – for example feeding tamariki through our breakfast club. A simple thing like this meal in the morning can help a child to have a better learning experience at school and that’s important for any child. We try to plan and implement various community activities to encourage positive social interaction and this leads to all sorts of integrated activities. Our women get together and through various activities share parenting ideas and skills. They even plan activities or look after each other’s kids to enable them to have time out. That’s an important thing for our women. We hold spiritual fellowship meetings weekly, which we hope will inspire and uplift our people. The idea that we can play an active part in helping to meet the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of our Maori community here in NSW is crucial.

The Edge also works on connecting the corporate world with our community work. This means we look for opportunities amongst those in our Maori community who may have resources and are willing to financially support our social initiatives.

As a final point I think we need to love our people through our culture. When the community trusts us they begin to believe in themselves. This gives them the courage to become whatever they want and this becomes a blueprint for others even their children. As leaders we need to explore our trans-Tasman stories because there have been many Maori who came before us and like Roseanna has said we should look closely at what they did in their time. We must also think about becoming politically active for the benefit of our people here and so we

\textsuperscript{43} Piripi is the Maori Phil.
\textsuperscript{44} Whanaunga is a relative.
should seek to involve and teach our people how this can benefit our families and our Maori community overall. I think this is self-determination for us as a people. Last of all I think we need to remember that in many ways we are still tied to whanau back home but we must also consider our place in NSW and Australia too. If we are to go forward we all need to have a voice and that means an opportunity to speak. We also need to be heard.

**Maori Sports – Who is Playing for Whom?**

Maori Rugby League and Australia have a very old history that goes back to the early 1900s. Author’s Coffey and Wood in their book *100 Years: Maori Rugby League, 1908-2008*, writes:

The journey starts with the early pioneers leaving these shores, in 1908, to travel to Australia to help develop the game. In those days it was referred to as the northern union game. Our ancestors caused a huge surge of interest in this new game. The game ended in controversy — but not because of anything that happened on the field. The issue was with the administrators and a disgruntled promoter. The New Zealand Maori rugby league team proved so popular in Australia that it was invited back to play, one year later, in 1909. At that stage the NSW Rugby League was struggling to find headway against the already established rugby union code. It was these Maori players and administrators who went over in 1909, who cemented the game into Australian sporting psyche. The Maori team attracted huge crowds and played an entertaining brand of rugby league. They set a benchmark for quality rugby league that young Maori players aspire to replicate (Coffey, Wood 2008, p.iii).

Over the years Maori have continued to travel to Australia to play rugby league; only now it has become a search for that elusive deal with big rugby league clubs. Scouts too from Australia have made it their business to search Aotearoa for young players who they can groom to be the next star for their popular National Rugby League team. Some make it and stay on. Others move to England or different parts of Europe and a few simply move home to Aotearoa. Whatever the case these athletes and the history they continue to keep alive through their participation in this
sport is an integral part of our Maori community. Today NSW and other states around Australia are progressively working together to produce tournaments that bring our people together annually. In NSW we have a team which has followed the changing dynamics of this emerging group of athletes.

Mano is a member of their executive team who has the following thoughts to share with us:

**Mano** - The legacy we create today will inspire those tomorrow and so we must be brave and dare to dream.

We need support systems and this is apparent even in the Maori sports arena. Our young Maori men who leave Aotearoa to seek football careers in Australia have become a growing concern as many leave whanau and come to live here alone. If they are lucky to have support where family or parents move with them, the resettlement process is relatively easy and there is very little stress. However, if migration has been by invitation through mainstream sports officials then many of these young people are provided with the living essentials minus of course the whanau. If the people looking for careers succeed then they are often resourced well, but if they do not make it then they are likely to be left to their own devices and often it’s without any support. For those of us who have lived in NSW or Australia for a very long time we have developed many of our own initiatives. Some of these go back a long way. For example, we had the Taki Toa tournament, which was not only a very important sports event, it also served our community in that we could come together to whakawhanaungatanga and manaaki each other. Over the years our sports events have become a lot more organized as support from Maori businesses and statewide organizations like the union have come on board to sponsor the program. Today we have the annual Nga Hau e Wha League Tournament, which involves games between the North East, West and South NSW. We have also grown this event and now our winner travels back to NZ to play against home teams. Our desire to involve the Tangatawhenua in numerous ways has lead to great partnerships. I would like us to

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45 Taki Toa is the name of a Maori Rugby tournament held in NSW.
46 Whakawhanaungatanga refers to hosting and supporting extended whanau and community.
47 Manaaki means to host or care for whanau or visitors.
48 Nga hau e wha refers the four corners of the earth i.e. east west south and north.
consider that in Maori sports we have seen the opportunities for our people has a whole to participate in playing, supporting and even providing the wider community with a chance to buy and sell food, socialize and network. We must also bear in mind those who are born with talent. If we were well organized perhaps we could help them or support them to achieve excellence. There are two key things for us to remember here. First, we must be mindful of the sports people who come from home and their needs and, second, there are those who live here and could do better if we were in a position to help or support them to achieve. To do this takes good leadership. It also requires funds - so I say “homai te putea” or give us some funding.

I also have a caution - I think it is important that Maori sports people here in NSW want to be identified as Poihakena Maori which I think might cause a backlash if we assert that right to be independent. All the same I think if we combine our different skills we could actually help each other to strengthen not only our sports sector but also the whole of our community. Kiaora!

Network of Maori Women
This organization was a relatively new group with aspirations to gather our different factions within our wider Maori community together. Its brief was largely to try and resource our women through creating strong links to all sorts of programs. A member from this group attended our gathering, however, in her presentation she made it clear that her contribution to the conversation was not a representation of the organization, rather it was on her own merits as an individual Maori woman. Our beautiful wahine toa began her korero by asking the following question - Where are Maori now?

Barbara - We have to look to the past and learn from these experiences both in New Zealand and also here in Australia. We need to find out what our gifts are and what the essence of that contribution is so that we can use these tools to help develop our community. To be a good leader we must also be willing to walk the talk, because many have just talked and talked with nothing to show for it. We need to look at

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49 Poihakena is the Maori word for Port Jackson.
50 Wahine toa usually refers to a woman warrior.
where we are today so that we know where we are going tomorrow.

Our wahine toa Barbara drew on the following metaphor to help articulate her korero -

I see myself walking out there in the community, then I pause momentarily and look back… and I can see there are people following behind me. She talked about an experience as a child in a school and how being unsure and uninformed was petrifying. That the insensitivity of those in charge of her needs as a vulnerable child led to difficulties in later years. This is what we have to open our minds too. Our children are put in these predicaments when they are taken from something they know and are to something different and often foreign. It is the fear of being in a place where you are unsure. I became a teacher in my adult years and have attempted to make a difference for others. What we do in the community is crucial, as people and leaders and keeping track of how we do this and whom we influence along the way is a must.

Thank you.

It is Not What We Want – It is What We Need
I was very impressed with the ideas and thoughts of a young man who had attended an earlier forum. I invited him to attend and asked that he speak on the needs of young people who were born or raised in Australia. His contribution was also to let our leaders hear from the young people themselves about their experiences as Maori living in Australia. Nervous, yet confident, he spoke from the heart touching every soul in our hui. His korero highlighted how identity and culture can impact on our younger generation. It also validates the need for us to take note and to consider our own response.

Hemi simply said:
Hemi - I am speaking for myself and not other Maori youth, but I know there are a lot of young people like me out there. I was born here in Australia. My father is Maori my mother is Pakeha. I don’t have an understanding about who I am. I mean my Maori part. I don’t feel connected to Maori. I feel connected to this land and to the Aboriginal people. I have travelled all over Australia looking for something and I ended up in the middle of this country with the Aboriginal people.

They make me feel welcome, I feel Aboriginal, but I know I am also Maori. I want to belong to Maori, but I am not sure what that is. I have people here in Newcastle who help and support me in lots of ways, but I really have a need inside to connect with being Maori. I speak only for myself, but young people like me are looking for something because we know there is a missing part somewhere. I am at university because I want to learn and be a ‘somebody,’ but I struggle because I need help and support and direction with life. I am living in the world the best way I know how. I look like a Maori. I think you have to talk with other young people to see what they think. I mean I can’t speak on their behalf, but I am speaking as a young Maori person.

It was after Hemi spoke that I decided to call it a day. Before I invited Minita Piripi to close our meeting with karakia I asked participants to bear in mind the questions we had asked and to reflect on some the issues presented throughout the discussions. I also explained that after breakfast in the morning we would begin the second stage of our forum by reviewing some of the key topics and themes that emerged from the talks and presentations. With that we closed our meeting and went on to enjoy a night of song and dance.

Voices from the Floor – A Community Narrative
The next day and the second part of our forum started with karakia led by matua Hone Karaka from Te Wairua Tapu. Uncle Sid shared an inspirational thought and to conclude our morning of worship our Minita Piripi led us in a medley of inspirational song. What an awesome way to begin a day and indeed our forum. I picked up our conversation with a brief review of the discussions from the day before. The questions were

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51 Karakia refers to prayer.
posed again and a short analysis brought to the table a number of key themes for our participants to consider as we continued the discussion. Most of us talked about leadership and the impact it may have on our people and we also called for a strategy that will help us as a community strengthen and resource our people, especially our children.

The following points were made by the people (approximately 60-80) who attended the hui over a two-day period.

- Our community has needs
- Our mokopuna need more
- Strategy is necessary to resource our people
- This research is one approach
- Unity and sharing for a better future

Before opening the floor to the audience the questions were asked once more:

Who are we in this new land? Who are our children and their children, in this new land?

Who are we?

On the last day there was over 70 people at the meeting as we had began with church. Like all things Maori the floor is always opened to the community to speak. These responses do not have names because some of them I did not know, so the conversation is collected as a collective response. The people tell us what they know:

Even though we live here in Australia we are still Maori. Some of our children are mixed, some know how to speak Maori and some don’t.
But we their parents must remind them about who they are. They are Maori as much as they are any other culture. As a leader of a small group I am willing to support a community development strategy and I realize how important research can be. I would also like to propose that Maori continue to engage with Aboriginal so that both groups are able to strengthen our relationship with each other. This is a vital part of any Maori activity big or small. An aunty said, in my time I have been personal secretary for many Maori politicians.

I dare say politics is a sure way to start lobbying for negotiation power. Of course here in NSW we have a big job to do if we are to begin from scratch, but if we want the best for our children that’s what it takes. The strength of your group depends largely on how you strategize. My advice is to be strategic from beginning to end and make sure you’re common sense driven. What I mean is you need to be sensible. There are many examples of how various Maori leaders made changes for our people, so we need to revisit some of these stories and look at how they did it. That’s the taonga of knowledge we need today, for something like this. I have been around the world and I know Maori live far and wide but Australia is different for some reason. It could be because of our links to this place after all these years. We are close to home so we can always go back to remind us we are Maori if we need that. We are Maori and so are our children. There is a lot to be learned from our people especially the leaders who have died or passed on. Politics is exciting because it becomes the catalyst for change and in our case hopefully improvement. If you want to listen to an old Kuia like me I say set up a party and get going. Think about where the branches will be and why. It’s a big job so start now even with simple tasks like gathering the basic political information relevant to NSW or Australia. Then get statistics and numbers and get these leaders to prepare their people for what may follow. I am supporting this work because as we have learned from everyone who has spoken this weekend we need to become empowered and whanau I am there. Kiaora!

Another participant claimed:

I am here as a Kuia. I have been sitting back watching and listening to all that has been said over the past two days and for the first time in a long while I am excited about our future. I have been the president of the MWWL for over a decade and just recently have retired my position. We are fortunate that Roseanna has taken up the leadership role as of August 2005. She didn’t seek to fill that position on her own;
she was nominated by our Kuia and Kaumatua of NSW. I did some major things that upset a lot of people but as the years have gone by I realize now that these new ways have a lot to do with the fact that we are not in New Zealand. We don’t have the structures like our Maori people back there and so in many ways we are forced to do things very different here. These changes seem to get people, especially those leaders back there who think we should conform, rather upset and in the case of the league we were actually excluded from the mother branch in NZ. But we have survived and with young blood and good leadership we can move forward and do great things for our people here in Australia. I support Roseanna in both her position as the NSW MWWL president as well as in the research work she is doing. After all it is work that will benefit us all especially our mokopuna here in Australia. So I am using my Kuia position to support this work – thank you.

Matua Frank said: What we need to do is step out of our comfort zone, to talk with others in our community who are partners in helping to make this kaupapa work. I too believe we need to be strategic and yes we need to explore ways to establish a voice here in NSW. Many people have tried different things over the years and it has never worked after many attempts. What is it now that seems to be different, is the fact that this girl has managed to get most of our key leaders together or is it just about the right time for us. I think it is both and we from Te Wairua Tapu will definitely play an active part in supporting this work. We are and always will be Maori. How we practice that is up to each of us but we must remember that how we do that will determine what our children learn about what it means to be Maori.

Matua Hone said: I support what Frank had just said, but this is something that I am interested in because it just sounds like it’s meant to be. And think of the blessings our whanau here in NSW will enjoy. Whanau is about being Maori and we all know that our tamariki and moko are an important part of that family unit. I am clear about how bigger job this is, but if we reflect on the story from yesterday about smelling the rain we should have the faith to move mountains. And like others have said our mokopuna are worth the shot.

Hemi then said: I suppose after I have had some time to think about this whole thing, the gathering, the Maori issues and what we have all
been doing and talking about I have to say I can’t think of anything better for our youth. I felt good being here…is that being Maori? I’m not sure but I do know that the more I can be apart of this and other gatherings, I think I will begin to really know what it means to be Maori. I know I need to learn a lot, but at least now I have a choice. I will support Roseanna and this work because it is what young people need.

A number of people were confident to go back to their organizations to share the ideas and information they gained from this forum. They were keen to support the process and eager to attend the next forum. Then a Rangatira stood and said:

Rangatira - I want to ask a question. What happens if the government starts to find out about this stuff and they change the laws or block this work?

Our host and Kaumatua Hori directed that question to me for a reply. I responded:

Ititahi - Kiaora! Thanks for that question because it’s an extremely important one and we must attempt to answer it before we leave and return home to our families. First off, I agree that there could quite easily be a number of stoppers or barriers from various areas or even people. There has already been instances in the lead up to this hui\textsuperscript{52} where people both Maori and Pakeha have challenged the kaupapa\textsuperscript{53} of how this forum was organized, the participants and so on. The reality is this gathering was organized this way for a purpose. Second, if we look at how our Tupuna made major decisions about our people, we can learn from them that it was a well thought out process. They made time to discuss, share, think, debate and ask questions. Actually they took many days, weeks and sometimes, even years to decide certain things. We only had one and a half days. Today we are always in a rush and in most cases we don’t set aside enough time to reflect or discuss or even debate and question the decisions that affect our lives including our children’s future. We need to learn from our old people by taking the time to reflect on why, how and what we need to do to improve things for our community and that takes time if we want to do a good job. If we start to work towards becoming a voice that may at some point become politically active there is a risk that the work here

\textsuperscript{52} Hui refers to a gathering.
\textsuperscript{53} Kaupapa is a particular way of doing things.
could be challenged or even stopped. I cannot do anything about that and I don’t think anyone else here can do much either, but I can do my best to do my bit. Research is an important part of the system and we are in it (the system) whether we like it, deny it or don’t think about it. To succeed in a system we need to be a visible part of it so this research might put us in the picture on our own terms.

Many have come here and written about us, but this project is different it is us telling our stories and learning from our own experiences and driving upon our own passion to do more for our children and theirs. This research is not just about me and what I think it’s about us and how we all think and it is also about bringing these ideas together to illustrate to those who make decisions on our behalf that we have needs, aspirations and desires for our whanau especially the tamariki and mokopuna. That’s why I am here and I hope that’s what motivated you and everyone else here to come to this hui.

So I do hope you Matua and others here see the importance of this mahi and do what it takes to support it. I will not let anyone or anything stand in my way. My mokopuna is worth the fight as I’m sure yours are - I wont stop for anything or anyone, I hope you do not too. Kiaora!

**Hori** - Is that a good enough answer e hoa? 

**Rangatira** - Thank you! I will go away and think more about this. Kiaora!

As we came to the conclusion of our leadership forum and prepared to return to our homes in Sydney we bade farewell to our hosts. We thanked them for the scrumptious food and awesome hospitality, and then I promised to return in a few months to review and update our position as a collective group of leaders with a mission in sight. The drive back to Sydney was filled with mixed emotion, deep thought and interesting conversation. Many threads lay bare for me to follow all over the place. There were a few I wanted to follow, like Maori sports, the building sector and language groups and culture.

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54 e hoa refers to the saying; aye friend.
Photos: Newcastle Leaders' Forum
21 January 2006
BUILDING SYDNEY

One day I began to reflect on a story I heard about Maori building Australia; Darling Harbour and other places in Australia and my uncle Roy from Ngatihine. In time I soon found myself sitting at a table interviewing him about his migration story and the job he had as builder on Sydney’s waterfront.

Me - Uncle Roy I didn’t know that you were a carpenter and that you worked at the waterfront in Sydney.

Uncle Roy - Oh yeah that was years ago.

Me - Can you tell me about that *mahi* please?

Uncle Roy - Well I had big plans. I wanted to go to America so I came to Australia first. I had a very good job in New Zealand because I had my building ticket. We lived a good life in New Zealand so moving overseas wasn’t about money – no it was about seeing the world. We thought if we start in Australia and then go on to America that would be the best plan. When I got here - to start out I had to take any job because my tools were being shipped over here so I took a labourers position. We lived in an old run down *whare*. It was degrading, especially coming from the high life at home. On my first day of work I was taken back after I was called a black so and so. I had never been spoken to like this in New Zealand and I could feel myself getting angry. I said to this *Pakeha* *falla*55 hey don’t you bloody talk to me like that mate – he got a fright. I said you hear me don’t ever call me that name again cos you will be sorry if you do. Then the next *Pakeha*, same thing again – hey you black so and so. Gee I was really shocked aye, I never ever been talked to like this. Made me turn into a big person - I stood up to these buggers and said every time don’t call me that I wont stand for it – they were so shocked and scared all at once. They didn’t know what to say. They were so afraid too. They never called me those racist names again.

55 *Falla* is slang for *fella*.
I put up with this shit for six months – working twelve hours for peanuts, bloody racists… I thought man there’s no future here. Even though I was thinking this way I was still pretty good at doing my job and so I was given a boss position. I accepted it… well until my tools arrived on the boat. During this same time Sydney was getting ready for the Queen’s visit so they wanted to spruce up Darling Harbor. There was another Maori bloke he was a rigger working down there and he knew I was a pretty good builder so he asked me if I wanted a job to run the contractors. Well my tools were here by then and it was my field so I decided to go back to my real job, building. I agreed and went to work as the head builder. When I got there all those Australian’s couldn’t get passed the fact that I was a black or brown falla and I was the boss. They were bloody racist back then. They didn’t like being told what to do by me cause in their eyes I was black even though I had the paper and they were just bloody labourers. They were lazy so if they didn’t work I would just sack them and that made it worse. Being the boss isn’t easy when your treated like shit, because you are not a Pakeha.

And I was the boss the only bloody qualified builder in the lot – bloody pissed me off.

Anyway the job we did down there was worth about two billion dollars and I am a very picky carpenter so I made sure the work was done properly, professional you know. If they weren’t up to it and they didn’t do a good job, I would help them, teach them to do better. I didn’t have a problem sacking them if they didn’t do the work without trying. About a third of the workforce who did this Darling Harbor build were Maori who like me had qualifications and came across from home. Some went home and others stayed. I got more offers because they liked my work so I stayed here and went on to build that big theme park in Rooty Hill. You know the one?

Me - Wonderland!

Yeah that’s it! Gosh more bloody racism. People in those early days just couldn’t get it. I was a qualified builder. I had built huge projects and been the boss on most of these sights…but well that’s what happens when people see what you look like, before they use their bloody brains.
I didn’t put up with any racist nonsense and shit. If it came out then they were gone…you really had to have very thick skin in those days.

You know where we come from in Ngatihine they breed them tough so I wasn’t going to crumble to that nonsense – gee I hate that kind of thing. But in about the late eighties the racism sort of stopped…well it didn’t go away it just wasn’t as regular as before. That was because the laws came in and that helped to stop that kind of carry on. Everything began to settle down and I liked my job by now. Who wouldn’t I was a boss and getting good money and we had moved into a good house. I was happy to stay here. In 1985 I got another job this time building the monorail for the bicentenary. That was a very big job. I think there were about twenty of the biggest companies involved. Every Friday we would get a big shout\textsuperscript{56} from the State Government because we were fast and doing a very good job. Again we had a big Maori presence in the crews so not only did we build our working friendships but we got to know each other’s families too. You know what makes me laugh is people say my accent still sounds strong like when I was at home so people think I just came here. But you know aye I’ve been here since the 1970s.

You know, we are always going to be Maori - we are a proud race – so I never stand to be put down and we should never put up with racism ever – it’s a terrible thing cause it eats you up inside…you know it doesn’t make you feel good at all. Maori here in Australia have got to be proud of who they are. We also got to remember that the Aboriginal people know everything about this land. Just like us we know everything about our whenua they know about here cause this is their place, so we should listen to what they say. You know if we could have a place for the kids to learn about their Maoritanga that would be very good. They have to get qualifications too because that’s what helps them to get a good job.

\textbf{Me} - Uncle Roy, what about America?

\textsuperscript{56} The word ‘shout’ in this context refers to an acknowledgement for good work. The shout spoken of here acknowledges that workers were treated to a celebration with food and drinks because they finished a particular job ahead of time or schedule.
Oh well we went there for a big holiday maybe three months or a bit longer. That was enough for me. I like here because it is close to home and my whanau who live here too. How about we have a kai aye!

Me - Choice! Thank you.

LETTERS FROM HOME – STAYING CONNECTED
Uncle Roy’s story made me think about my own journey here. The resettlement process, work, finding our feet and creating another whanau system that would sustain our needs in this new land. I thought about the racism I had encountered too and pondered how this insidious behaviour can eat away at one’s soul. I remembered the sadness our whanau all felt leaving our mum, our papakainga. Then my thoughts moved to our children and I realized they too must have experienced some of these feelings. I began to wonder how they felt. Had they experienced the same loss and sadness I felt when we left whanau or our homestead. Did they encounter the same racism uncle described? I knew they were excited about travelling on a huge plane and reconnecting with their friends in Australia, but when all the hype settled, I also knew they missed home and whanau very much. The letters and pictures they sent back had numerous tell tale signs. On the one hand they described fun and excitement in the new things they were experiencing yet they also wrote about missing certain people and were eager to return. The sight of our boys squirming with delight each time they received a letter or package from home is a fond memory of our early resettlement days. So are the weekly meetings in which we did fun things with our children, including reading the letters from home. They also wrote short stories, drew pictures and selected photographs to send back. Our pile grew as the letters came weekly from friends and whanau. It was such a joy so see our children giggle and laugh as they listened to the love and affection found in every letter they read and re-read over and over.

One that I remember with fondness is a letter we received from our neighbour in Auckland. Sheryl and Robert had three sons the same age as our boys and so our children went to school, played sports and hung out together. Our baby was only a few months old so he was adored by both families. Sheryl wrote:
6th July 1992

Dear John Roseanna and Boys

Many many thanks for your lovely letters, pictures and photo’s. It was great to hear how you were all doing…it sounds as though you are really enjoying yourselves a lot which is good. It looks as though the boys are extremely healthy and they have still got those lovely smiles which I always remember and miss a great deal. When I received all your stories, pictures and photo’s, it cheered me up. Then as I sorted through all Calvins clothes and I couldn’t even pass them over the fence my mind began thinking about the boys all morning. Me and our kids started talking about all of the good times and the fun things we have done together. I am looking forward to February when we will see you all. We all are. Im sure it may only be for a visit now as you are all so happy there in Australia. Take care of yourselves and please give each of the boys a big hug and lots and lots of love.

Robert Sheryl and boys xxxxxxxooo

Then there are the letters we received from my mum that reminded us about our whanau back home keeping the fires burning for when we returned. She wrote to us weekly in the early days and then fortnightly as we got settled. Her letters to us were always encouraging and supportive of our new adventure across the Tasman, yet her hope for us to return remained as strong as her enduring love. This was reflected in her letters when she reminded us that:

… I love the children and miss them very much and
… I hope you and the family are ok over there. I do worry a bit however I feel that you are capable of managing your lives over there and I mustn’t worry – but that’s easier said than done. Well until I hear from you again I will ring off with lots of love to you all.
P.S. Cant help thinking about how Delamain has grown – tell my moko I love him, tell them all that I love them very much. Lots of XXX.
My mum was referring to our youngest child Delamain (Del) who was four months old when he first came to Australia on a scouting trip with us. He then turned a year, a month before we migrated to live in Australia, so in her eyes he was her mokopuna pepi, who she could see in the photographs we sent her, was growing up quickly. Her sharp eye and intuitive sense of knowing drew my attention to our baby. That is what my mum was very good at – making loose statements that would require you to think, question and respond in a way that made you look at the big picture, not just the day to day realities. She had never singled out any of our children before and so the specific mention of our baby all those years ago made me more aware of how important it was to keep his connection to the hau kainga strong. Del, like the other boys was born in Aotearoa, has lived in Australia for most of his life and only returned home briefly for holidays. Our older boys, on the other hand, spent most of their early years in Aotearoa. They attended Kohanga Reo and Kura and more importantly they had lived within our whanau system on the land. This made it easier for them to fit back in when they returned home to attend high school during their teenage years. Deciding whether or not to send Del home required careful consideration because unlike his older siblings he had not lived in Aotearoa and we were concerned that perhaps he might not have the social skills to fit into the large whanau system back home. Besides I had seen many of our Australian born and raised children treated unkindly when they returned to the homeland and I was not willing to let my child be subjected to that kind of torment even under the watchful care of extended family.

We made the decision to keep him in Australia and incorporate many of the values and principles we were taught from home into our everyday lives. Wherever we could practice our Maori culture we did, but often most of these opportunities were limited and so a great deal of Del’s learning was notional or theoretically based. We hoped that regular trips home to Aotearoa would provide the practical experience for him to connect the two. Still, living in an Australian system and incorporating Maori traditions into our way of life required a great deal of adjustment and sometimes innovative modifications that often raised eyebrows and brought criticism from other Maori including our own whanau. When you want the best for your children, it is not unusual to go above and beyond what we are conditioned to think or do to achieve what is good for their wellbeing and sometimes the line between right and wrong can become blurred and very thin.

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57 Mokopuna pepi is our grandbaby.
58 Hau kainga is our homelands in Aotearoa.
This has certainly been the case when it has come to maintaining or practicing our Maori traditions and culture within our own whanau here in Australia. And for our tamariki and mokopuna a push right to the very edge is worth every effort. Still, the uncomfortability about changing existing ways of doing things is still a huge challenge for most of us. So when words of wisdom are offered they were quickly embraced. For example:

**Uncle Sarge** – It’s not wrong Bub (me) it’s just different, and if it works then perhaps it is right.

**Malcolm** - We are not at home and so we have to do things different here.

**Ititahi** - It doesn’t make us any less Maori to do things different, in fact just the thought of having to make a change for our kid’s benefit I think is tikanga.

Raising our children in Australia has required an ability to move between two worlds carefully and strategically. It has also been about seeing the value that both places have provided for our children and acknowledging these in all of the goodness, challenges, difficulties and potentialities that have emerged over time. Throughout the years I have asked my children about their home in Aotearoa and their lives here in Australia. When they were young they would have raced me to the airport and won, just at the very thought of moving home. As they have grown older, started to work, form relationships and produce children, their outlook has somewhat changed. As children I was relatively clear about where they thought they belonged and then has they grew into young adults it was still quite apparent as we talked about quick trips home, holidays or whanau activities. Then as I began to conduct research for this thesis I was surprised when in a conversation with my eldest son, he said, “I don’t think I will ever go back to New Zealand to live. I might go for a holiday, but that’s about it” (Ran). This was the first indication that my children may have had a change of heart and I was concerned so one by one I asked them – should we move home to Aotearoa?
This is what they said:

**Ran** - Nah that’s your home. This is ours.

**Harls** - Maybe? Can we stay here too? We could have a house there and one here.

**Lee** - Um! I want to stay back there because I want to live off the land and have lots of animals. But I’m happy to live here too. One day I am going back there to live, but I think I will just stay here for now.

**Del** - Ummm nah I think it might be better to stay here mum…you know I’ve only ever lived in the mountains.

My oldest boys had on occasion moved back to Aotearoa and lived there for short periods, but the reminder that Del had not made me wonder about his connections again. He was a lot older now so I wanted to hear what he thought about home and whether his view had changed too. One day when we were having coffee I asked him what he thought about our family moving to Australia all those years ago and which country did he think was his home. Our conversation went something like this:

**Del** - Well we came here and you can’t got backwards I think mum. New Zealand is always going to be home for me, because I was born there. But growing up here…sometimes I didn’t really feel that I was from over there, but then when certain things happened it helped me to remember and feel it was my home…you know like when uncle Sarge was dying and me and you went home and I helped him to shower and all of that stuff. It sort of made me realise that some of the things we have to do…you know with our old people especially if they feel strong about something. It was really different at first I felt a bit scared because we didn’t do any of that in Australia, but I really liked uncle and I cared about him so it just felt normal.
And then when he wanted to go home up north to die and you and dad helped aunty to organise our house for him, I reckon that was the best thing about our trip back there…that time. Uncle was so sick but he kept saying a Rangatira walks home and I’m not going to be carried back to my whenua. That really made me realise how important a home can be for a Maori and it also made me know for real that my home was there…for real.

And you know I remember that time we went home for holidays when we hung out with our cousins at the beach and whanau kept coming to see us and stay at our house. And then uncle Jim made that big as feed for the whole whanau and well that was truely the best time. Those are things that make me say home is in New Zealand. I feel different there…but in both places I feel ok.

Me - What about Australia Del?

Del - Yeah I feel like this is where my home is too. I feel happiest in the Mountains because all my friends are there and its where I went to school. I feel comfortable there because I know every place. I think we should be able to live in both countries if we want to. I think if you and dad were back there, in New Zealand, then maybe we might…us boys…might want to move back too, I don’t know probably have to wait and see. I think I will probably stay here, but I don’t really know because things can change any time. The feeling I get back there is not the same here, but I feel pretty good here too.

As I sit and ponder the thoughts of our children and reflect on the decision to move to Australia all those years ago I have mixed emotions. My mum has since passed on, but her legacy is alive in the home that has now been built on the land she gifted to our children, her mokopuna. Our personal stories and the family history we share is rich from the knowledge and experiences we have gained from moving to Australia. Our whanau can now straddle two worlds with ease and confidence. For example, our children are now connected to their indigenous roots more than ever before and they have the confidence to step out into the global arena moving between the two worlds with competence and skill.
Perhaps our greatest gain, however, has been a reawakening within, that to seek after knowledge is to gain a better understanding about ourselves and world(s) in which we live. In doing this we can help to improve and indeed enable the lives of others, especially our children yet to come.

My thoughts soon return to that conversation I had with my mum. The one we had when we first decided to leave our homeland to come to Australia and those simple yet poignant words soon filled my mind:

…why are you going to Aussie, why you taking my mokopuna there? This is their whenua, this is their home and their whanau are here, Who will look after them there? Aue… my mokopuna? We will come back mum, I promise...

The stories we generate, the propositions we make and the dreams we strive to fulfil play an important role in the lives we live and the futures we create for our families. The narratives shared in this thesis are a portrait reminder of the changes individuals and families have experienced as they travelled across the Tasman and in many instances made the decision to stay and settle in Australia. These stories will remind our Maori people about the connection between New Zealand and Australia and the importance this history is for future generations who are trying to understand their place in this land and indeed the connections they have to Aotearoa. They form an integral part of their yesteryear, particularly for those Australian born and raised Maori children who may know they are connected to a rich culture in theory, yet feel unsure about what that really means in practice.
As we head into the third and final section of this thesis it is time for us to see what gifts of knowledge we will find embedded within the stories and conversations shared by our people. It is also time to fill in the gaps for those who have a strong desire to know where they can find the answers to those questions that will help them to know who they are, where they come from and where they are going in the future.

Photo 35. Juran and his Australian-born children
Part Three – He Wae Wae

Matauranga
Ma te rongo, ka mohio
Ma te mohio, ka marama
Ma te marama, ka matau,
Ma te matau, ka ora…

Wisdom
Through resonance comes cognizance,
Through cognizance comes understanding,
Through understanding comes knowledge,
Through knowledge comes life,
And wellbeing…

Photo 36. He Wae Wae
A Visit from Wisdom – by Khalil Gibran

In the stillness of night wisdom came and stood by my bed.  
She gazed upon me like a tender mother and wiped away my tears and said  
'I have heard the cry of your spirit and I am come to comfort it.  
Open your heart to me and I shall fill it with light.  
Ask of me and I shall show you the way of truth.'

And I said

'Who am I, wisdom, and how came I to this frightening place?  
What manner of things are these mighty hopes and these many books and strange patterns?  
What are these thoughts that pass as doves in flight?  
And these words composed by desire and sung by delight, what are they?  
What are these conclusions, grievous and joyous, that embrace my spirit and envelop my heart?  
And those eyes which look at me seeing into my depths and fleeing from my sorrows?  
And those voices mourning my days and chanting my littleness, what are they?  

'What is this youth that plays with my desires and mocks at my longings, forgetful of yesterday’s deeds,  
Rejoicing in paltry things of the moment, scornful of the morrow’s coming?  

'What is this world that leads me whither I know not, standing with me in despising?  
And this earth that opens wide its mouth to swallow bodies and lets evil things to dwell on its breast?  
What is this creature that is satisfied with the love of fortune, whilst beyond its union is the pit?  
Who seeks life’s kiss whilst death does smite him, and brings the pleasure of a minute with a year of repentance,  
And gives himself to slumber the while dreams call him?  
What is he who flows with the rivers of folly to the sea of darkness?  
O wisdom, what manner of things are these?  
And she answered, saying

You would see, human creature, this world through the eyes of a god.  
And you would seek to know the secrets of the hereafter with the thinking of men.  
Yet in truth is this the height of folly?
'Go you to the wild places and you shall find,

There the bee above the flowers and behold the eagle swooping down on his prey.
Go you into your neighbor's house and see then the child blinking at the firelight and his mother busied at her household tasks.
Be you like the bee and spend not the days of spring looking on the eagle's doing.
Be as the child and rejoice in the firelight and heed not your Mother's affairs.
All that you see with your eyes was and is for your sake.

'The many books and the strange patterns and beautiful thoughts are the shades of those spirits
That came ere you were come.
The words that you do weave are a bond between you and your brothers.
The conclusions, grievous and joyous, are the seeds that the past did scatter in the field of the spirit to be reaped by the future.
That youth who plays with your desires is he who will open the door of your heart to let enter the light.
This earth with the ever open mouth is the savior of your spirit from the body's slavery.
This world which walks with you is your heart; and your heart is all that you think that world.
This creature whom you see as ignorant and small is the same who has come from God's side to learn pity through sadness, and knowledge
By way of darkness.'

Then Wisdom put her hand on my burning brow

And said
'Go then forward and do not tarry, for before you walks perfection.
Go, and have not fear of thorns on the path,
For they deem naught lawful
Save Corrupted blood.'
Chapter 6. A Phase Portrait – Our Picture Story

THE PHASE PORTRAIT SHOWS US HOW

A phase portrait is often used to illustrate cohesive fieldwork. Lucas (2005) claims in the traditional scientific sense we often follow formulas and rules and work towards a solution. Then when we change the formula and perhaps the rules we arrive at another solution and this process goes on. Complexity science, he suggests, is a little different because it seeks to look for all of the potential possibilities available and presents them as a collective group. Lucas offers the following description of this concept:

If we take all possible parameters and investigate them, then we can arrive at a family of solutions, rather than just one. We derive the potential behaviour of a whole class of solutions and can then better understand what possibilities are open to the system and under which combinations of parameters - we can also derive the relative frequencies of static, ordered and chaotic states…Plotting all these possible trajectories on one graph gives us a phase portrait of that solution, a map showing the attractors present (Lucas 2005, p.4).

Themes drawn from my observations in the field, the data collected from people and stories found in journals and the archives form this phase portrait. They provide insights about how Maori identity and culture has evolved, adapted and changed when we migrate to live in Australia. If we position ourselves within the phase portrait amongst the stories, conversations and reflections, changes can be seen emerging and unfolding all around. Sometimes they are subtle and occur without too much fuss and other times they are substantial and bring changes to our lives in ways we could never have imagined. If we take a step back, watch and follow the different phase space trajectories generational changes can be seen. These perspectives help to ascertain what might occur in the future.

In life knowing who we are and where we come from provides a strong foundation for living well, so it is important that Maori are able to answer these very important questions as they shape our social and cultural identity. For those of us living in Australia these questions are even more...
applicable as second and third generation Maori raise their children in this land. Furthermore, with very few opportunities to practice our Maori culture on a regular basis the chances of cultural sustainability over time are very slim. In writing the final part of this thesis I take my lead from LT Smith (1999) who reminds us that research should be about empowering people and giving voice to the community to enable changes that will improve their lives. Seeing ourselves in the social settings in which we live can help to identify where changes are necessary and so the idea that a picture story can help to illustrate how Maori identity and culture changes when our people migrate and settle in Australia forms the basis on which this analysis is established. The main themes in this section are drawn from the narratives shared in part two of the thesis and they provide useful insights about how Maori migration and resettlement in Australia has unfolded over time, the changes that have occurred and the impact these have had on whanau.

WHAT DEFINES MAORI TODAY

In order to answer the thesis question, “Does Maori identity and culture change when we migrate to live in Australia?” let me begin by presenting a brief précis of what some Maori scholars and intellectuals assert, Maori identity is. Cleve Barlow (1991) claims Maori is the name given to the indigenous people of New Zealand and is an adjective to denote something in its natural state. Ranginui Walker (1987) suggests that it derives from being an active part of the whanau or kinship system and John Rangihau (1977) says Maori identity is about learning traditions and customs to earn one’s place in the tribal community where they are taught under the mentorship of leaders and elders. Timoti Karetu (1990) asserts Maori identity is about one’s upbringing and his or her knowledge and observance of the rites of passage in a traditional Maori way. Witi Ihimaera, in the introduction of his book Growing up Maori, writes:

The notion of Maori identity is problematic because there is no racial or full blood definition and many can claim as much Pakeha ancestry as Maori ancestry or at least Pakeha influence in their years of growing up. Much of our identity has to do with whakapapa, with memory based not only on the bloodlines and physical landscapes we live in but also the emotional landscapes constructed by loving grandparents or whanau with aroha, manakitanga and whanaungatanga (Ihimaera 1998, p.14).
Mason Durie (1994, p.164) adds an interesting twist arguing that, ‘contemporary Maori live in several realities’. Some he says are culturally impoverished and are unable to speak Maori. They exist and participate in conservative Maori situations. Then there are others who enjoy the benefits of those progressive tribal organizations who have provided cultural activities that have enhanced their identity. Durie (1994, p.164) also suggests, ‘there is no single Maori identity; the Maori population is as diverse as any other’ (p.64). In Australia this claim to diversity is every bit true as Maori intermarry and form relationships and produce children with people from other cultures. I interviewed Maori who are in relationships with Aboriginal, African, Italian, Australian, Pacific Islander, Fijian, Lebanese and Armenian peoples. When I asked these research participants in individual interviews or focus group meetings what they thought being Maori meant to them today, I was surprised by their responses. In many instances their answers defined Maori in a conservative context making no acknowledgement to diversity suggesting it was about the connection to whenua and whanau in Aotearoa. Most participants, particularly those who are in mixed relationships with children, drew on their own Maori identity to define their perspective or view about what it meant to them. They talked about connections to people and place in Aotearoa. When I asked about their children they acknowledged they too were connected to the whanau in Aotearoa. To get an insight to what my research community said about what Maori identity meant to them I have established the following four categories around age and length of stay in Australia to present their perspectives.

Group 1. Maori 45 years and over - who have lived in Australia for 10 years and longer.
Group 2. Maori 45 years and over - who have lived in Australia less than 10 years.
Group 3. Maori under 45 years - who have lived in Australia for 10 years and longer.
Group 4. Maori under 45 years - who have lived in Australia less than 10 years.

**Maori 45 years and over - Who have lived in Australia for 10 years and longer**
When I asked the participants, ‘what does Maori identity mean for you?’ many if not all claimed that whakapapa, and whanau in Aotearoa made them Maori. When I asked them what that meant they told me a story. Most were very clear about their Maori identity, but this group of
participants were also more reserved about their responses than the other participants. This showed in the answers they shared and the stories they used to support their propositions. Most said growing up in the 50s, 60s and 70s in Aotearoa meant they were either raised the old way and learnt how to speak Maori or they did not and they meant looking Maori, but doing everything the Pakeha way. Some said they lived in between the Maori and Pakeha world especially if their parents decided they would not teach or allow them to speak Maori. They said in this case they looked Maori, but spoke Pakeha so sometimes they felt like they were in between anyway. Some said they found it all a bit much and just wanted to be themselves, so Australia gave them the opportunity to be that. I then asked how they felt about being Maori after living in Australia for many years. They said leaving Aotearoa made them realise how important their culture, whanau and home was to them. Most were concerned and sometimes sad they had not learned enough Maori to be able to teach their children even the basics. Those who did have the ability to pass on their Maori ways said it was difficult for their children to put the things they were learning into practice because the opportunity to live like we did back home was not available here. Some said there was no Marae to do many of the things we need to do as Maori. That by keeping a close link with whanau in Aotearoa their children were able to connect easier when they did go back even if it was only for visits, tangihana or short holidays.

Some said teaching their children in the home was how they did their best to keep parts of the culture alive for them. They taught their children simple Maori words, whakapapa connections and what tribe and geographical area they belong to in Aotearoa. They talked about how important food was in teaching Maori especially how to prepare or cook certain dishes. Some participants said they wanted their grandchildren to learn the Maori language, but pointed out the skills needed to teach children were a bit beyond them. Many said a kohanga reo or something like that would be good here because they really thought their mokopuna deserved to learn about Maori language and culture. It was interesting to note that those who had lived here for many years and had married into other cultures, including Australian, Italian and Aboriginal families, were quite happy to acknowledge a sense of place in this land, which they claimed was because their children were born in this country and they believed these kids belonged here too. On the other hand Maori who had given birth and raised children in this country were not as forthright and while most acknowledged their children were born in Australia they relied on their own connection to Aotearoa as a link for them to have a sense of identity and culture. Interestingly they still identified themselves as manuhiri or visitors to this land and were quick to acknowledge Aotearoa was where
they belonged first. One kuia said she and her husband had lived in Australia for over 20 years and when he died she took him home. When I asked her if she would go home too when she died, she said, ‘well my children and mokopuna are here so maybe not’. She laughed and made the comment, ‘now wouldn’t that raise eyebrows, Roseanna’. I smiled and replied, ‘yes I reckon it will aunty’. The people in this category have a definitive view on where they will go when they die. Most said they would return to Aotearoa to be buried with whanau. Only a few say they will probably stay here if they died.

Maori 45 years and over - Who have lived in Australia less than 10 years

The people in this group were very clear about coming here short-term and had their sights set on returning back to Aotearoa in a few years. Almost all of them said they wish they would had made the move across to Australia sooner and were grateful to be working and enjoying the lifestyle that comes with living here. When asked about whether their Maori identity had change most said no. When I asked them to explain what they meant, one woman said if she died she was going home and that was that. She said she was always frightened that she might die in Australia and that was her biggest problem staying here because she wanted to go home and be buried beside her whanau. Her kids and mokopuna were here, but she was heading back to Aotearoa to live in a few years time just in case. She lived in Australia for three years before returning home to live in Aotearoa. During her time here we spoke often about Maori living in Australia and the issues that our people face. She was clear that in order to maintain Maori identity it is important for our people to learn to speak the language and also tikanga. She said, ‘I came here because my children are here and I wanted to teach them how to speak Maori. They are busy, everyone here is so very busy’.

One stand out point she made was that, ‘it is one thing to learn to speak Maori, but it must be spoken all the time, every day’. Unfortunately this can be problematic and somewhat unrealistic when there are very few Maori speakers or gatherings in which to converse. Her need to be amongst total immersion Maori speakers also influenced her decision to move back to Aotearoa.
Maori under 45 years - who have lived in Australia for 10 years and longer

It is important to note this group should be considered in two parts. The first consists of young adults who migrated to Australia to gain employment and achieve financial independence as young adults. Many of these people now raise young children who were either brought across with them as young babies or are born here in Australia. These young adults are now old enough to have established themselves, are earning good wages and are in steady jobs. They have either bought a home or are contemplating buying real estate in Australia.

The second group is the children of the older Maori population above 45 who have lived in Australia 10 years and over, many who are now young adults and were very small children when their parents migrated and brought them here. Most in this group were born in Aotearoa and raised in Australia. There are a small group that were born in Australia. Either way both of these groups believed their Maori identity was influenced by their connection to whanau and Aotearoa. There are distinct differences, however, in the way the younger group of the two describe what being Maori means for them today. Some identified their sense of Maori by claiming a place in an iwi or whanau in Aotearoa. They were very limited in their conversation about culture or tradition, but anything beyond the very basics saw them shy away. The older group are happy to quote their pepeha and in doing this are confident to speak about their tupuna, where their whenua is and who the whanau they belong to. Some talk about being trained and qualified in teaching Te Reo to children and adults, but found no reason to use these skills in Australia. Many said they decided to get a job, put the Maori thing aside and just get on with earning and living the better lifestyle in Australia. This group claimed they made connections with other whanau and joined Kapa Haka to keep their sense of Maori culture alive outside living this new Australian lifestyle. Some of these people volunteered their time at different Te Reo groups, Kapa Haka and other cultural activities. There were a few in this group who said putting their culture aside in Australia was fine because they knew keeping in contact with whanau in Aotearoa kept them grounded as Maori and one day they would eventually leave Australia and return home to Aotearoa. They said this bond to home was very important and the visit back to whanau every Christmas was a time to renew and reconnect. It is interesting to note this younger generation still see Maori identity as having links to whanau and Aotearoa.
Maori under 45 years - who have lived in Australia less than 10 years

This group of people are happy to be working and enjoying the lifestyle change. They are still very connected to whanau and Aotearoa and return home regularly. They have no qualms about their Maori identity most having moved here in search of work. Some say they will return home in a few years, but are happy they made the decision to move to Australia because they really do want to work and get ahead. The people in this group are highly skilled in Te Reo Maori and have used their talents to form culture groups and join rugby league clubs at the highest level. In the last decade and for the first time Maori rugby league teams and Kapa Haka groups from Australia have travelled back to Aotearoa to compete in tournaments. This is largely because of the Maori connections this group has in Aotearoa. The first Maori language school was established in Sydney within this ten-year period and is successfully operating under the guidance of the community. The community who support these initiatives is made up from people across the four categories.

When I reflect on this précis and how our people define their Maori identity, the theory behind the family of solutions is useful here because as Lucas (2005) points out by placing all of the possible trajectories on one graph we can see a phase portrait of that solution showing there are attractors present. By analysing the whole cluster of solutions the possibilities become visible.

The following attractors are evident in this synopsis:

- Whanau - The kinship system.
- Whenua - Aotearoa as a place of belonging.
- Whakapapa - Sense of self as Maori.
- Tikanga - Maori culture and protocols.
The responses in this summary are varied most if not all Maori who have migrated from Aotearoa had left whanau or some form of kinship group behind in Aotearoa. Those who were born here established connections through their parents. Those participants, who spoke about not having connections to their cultural identity because they lost touch with a Maori parent, found they could establish links by connecting to a hapu or iwi system in Aotearoa. This indicates that it is essential to establish a working partnership of some kind between people here in Australia and whanau at home in Aotearoa. It is also obvious that teaching children about Maori ways begins in the home, which aligns with what our Kaumatua and Kuia often referred to, as, ‘our Marae is our home’. In many ways this view is vital for us in Australia because our Marae or the sacred house of learning is where the teachings of our Maori traditions can be taught to our whanau. How we do this is important because we must take care to ensure we follow tikanga to make sure it is done with carefulness and expertise. By establishing our Marae in our homes we create the space to teach our traditions and culture to whanau and in this context educate our children about those concepts described by our Maori elders, scholars and intellectuals. Beyond our homes we must also consider how we can create strategies to enable this process to extend into the community. When we look at those in the four groups above most came from Aotearoa and had an affiliation with Kohanga Reo, Kapa Haka or whanau, hapu and iwi, and just about every Maori that shared their story in this thesis had a connection to a whanau in Aotearoa. Some Maori established new connections to family they met for the first time in Australia and others established new whanau connections to Maori from other tribal areas.

This clearly shows how the individual plays a dual role beginning with their individual self and then adjusting to other positions including their part in the whanau, hapu and iwi. It also extends to the wider Maori community. It also reminds us that within these two spaces one learns how to exist according to the guidelines of this structure, but as they move into other systems beyond the Maori world they must adapt yet again. The move back and forth between the self and those different fractal parts in our whanau and community can be seen in my own story in the, “me I am and the me I must become”.
MY MAORI IDENTITY - THE ME I AM

As I sit here and think about this thesis I wonder how it all emerged and then without a second thought I step back and look at what has unfolded.

With my Maori heart and mind, I know that the wairua of our tupuna helped me to make this journey, especially when my own faith faded into the shadows and the inner vulnerabilities I held within were lay bare in the challenges I found along the way. Each time I woke in the early hours of the morning I knew they were here, listening to my thoughts, questions and concerns. I knew my brother was cheering me on to finish my book. Each time I visited aunty Te Ruenga to mahi raranga, her mihi, karakia and ongoing words of wisdom reminded me that everyone of us is an important vehicle to transfer knowledge from generation to generation and in this process have the potential to inform, inspire and uplift others. In Phase space I was more conscious about the responsibilities I have to my children, mokopuna and our Maori people as a whole. It enabled within me a determination to keep going, seek excellence and to believe that anything is possible with the power of wairua. I heard the voices of my uncle Sarge who said, “sometimes things were just different and that is ok, and aunties who told me burdens and challenges will never overcome you, because Iho Matua does not give us what we cannot manage.” I was inspired each time I remembered sitting on the floor as a child, listening to uncle Jim (Sir James Henare) tell us how our faces looked just like our tupuna, so it was important that we knew who our ancestors were and what they did for our people. That in time, we would also have to do these things because that’s what we do as Maori. I heard my Pop remind me to be “still and watch, listen and learn” so I could see, know and then understand what is right. I listened to my Kuia remind me over and over that I was her special baby and she loved me bigger than the world. I told myself it was important to build a house on our papakainga so that our children and mokopuna could come home when they were ready. That they knew they belonged to someone and somewhere. Time after time my Maori heart and mind reminded me on this journey beyond our homeland who I was and what that means from looking at the past, present and the future. I was reminded too, that I wasn’t alone and in due time this work would unfold and become an important part of the thoughts, actions and changes for others who like us have made Australia their home.
MY MAORI IDENTITY HAS CHANGED - “THE ME I MUST BECOME”

Living in Australia and learning how to navigate successfully between my Maori world and this Australian society adds to the “me I am” and thus enables “the me I must become” which for me is a bicompetent woman who moves with confidence between the two spaces. By understanding how to navigate this dual position successfully, I then validate what it really means to “be a Maori” in Australia and live effectively in both worlds.

For me having been raised with my kuia and kaumatua this is indeed life changing. Not only do I know how to exist as a Maori in Australia, but also I now understand how to move beyond this country and into the global community with confidence and self-assurance as me, a Maori. I can be a Maori and also a global citizen of the world. This is a massive change. Perhaps what I understand now more than ever before is how precious our Maori ways are and how important it is for us to keep ourselves connected to a system that strengthens our sense of self. In this process we will understand who we are, where we come from and even where we are heading in the future.

On the other hand while, I live in my home as a Maori, each day I walk out my front door and into the world I make the necessary changes to adapt myself to live the Australian way of life. This statement is true for many Maori who like me have made Australia their home. In our early migration days to Australia ‘putting on the armour’ was often a metaphor to remind us to be attentive to the changes we needed to make in the way we spoke, behaved and even thought in Australian society. It meant being alert to racism and keeping in mind it was far more practical to respond with a positive attitude should it emerge. Most times it was easier to integrate or perhaps even assimilate in the short-term and we always knew that once we returned home at the end of each day we could return to being Maori and relax in our own home. Ward, Bochner and Furnam (2001) validate this type of behaviour in their suggestion that immigrants and refugees are usually willing to learn new behaviours and skills, but their attitudes and values are generally more resistant to change. They also claim that patterns of intra-cultural contact and communication similarly influence social identity. Perhaps the attitude change is linked to the fear of having to put one’s culture aside in order to fit in to the new environment. It might be because the host nation can sometimes be not as welcoming as we migrants might like it to be. For me it was the fear of changing so much that the link to whanau in Aotearoa was then compromised. Most migrants try to incorporate two ways of being and sometimes they do it well and sometimes they do not. In my case it was a work in progress, but the ability to see the patterns found in moving between the
two worlds helped me to maintain a place in both spaces. Then as one strives to improve his and her competence in this movement between the two worlds the person soon learns to maintain both.

THE ANSWERS LIE WITHIN

The greatest resource is the knowledge we have within. Many Maori have brought to Australia the traditional knowledge that for many of us has guided the way we have lived in the world for generations. There are also whanau who live here and have no understanding about their culture at all, but have an ongoing desire to learn and become a part of it. Then there are those Maori in between who have bits and pieces and will take what they want, gain support here and there and are basically happy as they are. The important point to make here is that we have an enormous human resource base to help develop learning opportunities to teach Maori culture in Australia. If we look at these three levels of knowing it is important to consider that each of these approaches has an outcome. Nonetheless the challenge for us, if we believe that teaching our culture to the next generation is important for their future, then this is how we coordinate, negotiate and disseminate these resources amongst our people and ourselves. Today there are a number of learning institutions here in NSW where the Maori language and traditions are taught. In these forums the lessons are framed within the same context as the learning in Aotearoa, on the land, at the Marae or in homes under the mentorship of elders.

Gaining traditional knowledge in this way can have huge benefits, but the question must be asked, how does this old way of knowing fit into the new Australian world in which we live today. Being able to stand back from the space and see this whole ‘Maori in Australia’ Phase portrait allows us to identify where and how our Maori knowledge, tradition, culture and identity fit into the everyday experiences we encounter in the Australian world. In looking from this neutral position (stand back space) we can see that to succeed in this place we need to be able to function in two ways, which reminds us that this means we must take care not to forfeit one way over the other, but look for opportunities to incorporate both. It is evident that through migration one can learn to readapt to the new space where new traits are learned and incorporated alongside existing knowledge. We become trans-Tasman migrants who move between our Maori world and the new Australian world taking on knowledge from both spaces and in the process creating a new hybrid identity. In time a trans-Tasman Maori emerges with the confidence and skills to move between the two worlds competently. It is important to note that if the new hybrid manages his or her ability to exist in both worlds he or she will
progress in both spaces, however, if one way is favoured over the other an imbalance can occur and this may lead to integration problems in both spaces down the track. The lack of skills to assimilate into the Australia way of life can lead to marginalization and this in turn can perpetuate all sorts of problems in education, socialisation and indeed personal development. On the other hand the inability to integrate into the Maori world can be equally as difficult. If one cannot fit into the Maori world because the person speaks, acts or appears to look different, feelings of inadequacy can lead to a sense of failure. This can have devastating effects on a person’s wellbeing because not only is he or she unable to integrate, the emotional disconnection to this kinship system can be damaging to the person’s sense of self. A sense of belonging to a whanau is important to a Maori and so if we want the best for our children and mokopuna then we must be vigilant in finding ways to teach them the skills to be competent in both worlds. This begins with us learning first.

**THE ME I AM WITH MY WHANAU**

Leaving whanau and the homeland was a huge change for us, and can be seen each time we look at our children and mokopuna. I look at our children and see their friends are Australian, Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern and Aboriginal and this is a big change. I also see that when they need to return to their place with whanau in the kinship system they can, and do. Being comfortable in these two worlds, is an achievement, but to have a choice of either or both is a humbling change. Our boys no longer see Aotearoa as their only home and they tell me “that’s your home, ours is here” in the Blue Mountains. They ask, “can we just have two” and I say, “yeah ok”. This is a major change for me and indeed our whanau.

Then when I look at our whanau and I think about whom our children call their aunty and uncle and I can see how the make up of our family system has changed considerably. When we lived in Aotearoa our whanau was made up of ‘blood’ relatives and even if they were distant our link to a sub and main tribe was connected through a shared genealogy. Today this is not so.
Again I draw on Walker’s (1987) whanau system to remind us what it looks like:

The whanau (extended family) and hapu (sub-tribe) are the primary and secondary social units of Maori society. The whanau in pre-European times consisted of the Kaumatua (elder), Kuia (female elder), their children and mokopuna (grandchildren)...although maternal and paternal bonds were clearly recognised in the whanau, all adults in the generation above, namely uncles and aunts were recognised by the children as being in loco parentis. If parents were occupied elsewhere, an adult in the vicinity, would comfort or admonish a child as needed. Accordingly, affection for parents in the whanau was diffused among a wide group of people (Walker 1987, p.153).

In Australia our whanau looks remarkably different. It is made up of Maori who are not ‘blood’ or whakapapa related, but who come from different tribes across Aotearoa. We also have members of our whanau who are not Maori, but who love our children like their own. Our friend Zahra from Iraq is an example of this new and emerging extended whanau. Many cultural experts quoted in this thesis have said whanau is built on relationships and I agree because our new family system is indeed built upon many close associations with others who are not Maori. The connections between people have brought out the best in us in this process helped to build strong whanau systems made up of people. This becomes the basis to create strong whanau systems and the potential beyond this is great. We just have to follow some simple guidelines, such as respect, understanding and a willingness to work at learning how to be better in the relationship rather than judging by looks, assumption and unsubstantiated fodder. Marsden and Ruatara had an awesome friendship, our whanau and Zahara had a similar one, and the list goes on. This reminds me about that famous Maori whakatauki that in short tells us…“What is the greatest thing it is people, people people”.

Our daughter-in-law has Polish and Italian ancestry and when I look at many of our whanau here they too have a mixed heritage in their families. As I look at my beautiful Australian born and raised mokopuna this is my biggest and most prized change. Their Australian heritage and the stories they create with their parents in this land have brought overwhelming changes to my Maori ways of knowing and doing things that I may never have considered ever. I now teach my mokopuna what simple Maori knowledge I have inherited from my tupuna. Durie (1994) makes an
interesting point about whanau diversity suggesting that beyond birth the term has changed in parallel with the Maori world and the transformations evolving over time. This thesis is a good example of the changing face of our Maori world.

When I see my husband’s degree and our children are employed and working or attending a mainstream university this is a change for our whanau. It means they will have the opportunity to work or achieve in a mainstream system and this will provide for them and their families in the future. In my family I am the first in four generations to receive a university degree and I hope this achievement continues down through my children and theirs. This is an awesome change for us all. I can also see through this example that ripples do make a difference, when a big enough stone is cast into a pool of water. Difference is change and to achieve in a mainstream education system requires hard work and the drive to keep going and not give up. At times I found it extremely difficult and often thought about taking the easy way out to complete what I could. However, with determination and perseverance learning how to master the ‘other’ way of being, I can now move between the two worlds competently. Success is having the opportunity to choose, which reminds me, the power to change is within.

“THE ME I AM WITH OUR COMMUNITY”

When I look at my place in our NSW Maori community I see changes in the way we practice our culture, interact with others, gather in groups, lead our communities and officiate in the different roles we hold. The most prevalent change for Maori is trying to understand what it means to live as manuhiri in the land of the dreamtime people. This means knowing what we must do to maintain a place in this land without standing on the mana of the first nation people. There are no guidelines to follow and it is often difficult to work out who to contact or which group to work with and so it is important to be patient and respectful to all of the contacts. From time to time this means waiting, using our initiative to do what we would expect a visitor in our own land to do. It also means establishing trust and building close relations, meeting with numerous gatekeepers and engaging in ongoing conversations about what is acceptable and how we can exist in this land in a way that is appropriate for them and us. My own affiliation to the local Darug people took some 10 years to develop and it is a connection I honour, respect and hold very dear to my heart. I also have a very special bond with some local Aboriginal women whom I share a love for children and a common belief that we have an obligation
and a responsibility to ensure our grandchildren and generations to come have the best we can provide. In this thesis the Aboriginal presence is very slight, which is a reflection of where they choose to be and how I should respond because it is not about what we want or I need, but what is good for us collectively.

Despite the subtle presence their support for this research study and the ongoing work in our Maori community is reflected in the beautiful dreamtime story gifted to our people from the Aboriginal elders of NSW. This story tells us that in the beginning we were all one people that the relationship between Aotearoa and Australia is as old as the beginning of time. It tells us that in the future we will come back together as one people. This narrative is a gift to our children so that they may have a sense of place and being in this land. As I look around our community there is an overwhelming desire by our leaders to make the changes we need to create the means to support our children as they make this dual journey by participating in this Australian system as Maori. The challenge for our people is to unite as a collective group to build upon the assets we already have and to explore ideas and ways to develop and resource our community further. Our leaders have already identified what we need to do. We must walk our talk to make it happen. It is also important that we understand to make a change the transformation begins with us. Our homes are our first place of learning therefore as parents and whanau alike we must begin to resource our people here.

Furthermore, we have seen that if one is to have a strong sense of identity it is important to be able to practice our culture and participate as a member of an extended whanau in our kinship system. It is also important to have an intimate relationship with our language, protocols, extended family and whakapapa storylines to build, strengthen and develop our sense of self as Maori. I see the potential for change in the way we enable our families by understanding and listening to their needs, desires hopes and dreams. This thesis is that change. I see that my achievements at university have encouraged other Maori women to create their own learning journey and that is a change for our people that will continue to enable further transformations across generations.
In a project negotiated between the University of Western Sydney and our Maori people we set out to develop a mentor system to assist a small group of leaders into postgraduate study. After two years six out of seven completed the study and graduated with a Masters degree. Today these students have gone on to create exciting initiatives and changes in our Maori world and in the wider Australian community with their new skills.

Also, one of our students has gone on to further study and is in her second year of a PhD. This small but valuable example, of how a small ripple can move far and wide influencing others in the process, shows us what can happen when we continue to chip away. It also illustrates how opportunities can make a difference if they are strategically devised, carefully executed and continuously monitored and reviewed. This example also shows that two worlds can find common ground and work together for the betterment of both and in the process enable a positive outcome for all.

![Photo 37. Teaching each other by watching, listening and learning](image-url)
Chapter 7. The Phase Portrait Tells Us

PHASE SPACE CREATES THE PLACE

Our portrait began with a portrayal of phase space. In phase space various props are used to create both a visual and oral ambience so readers can see and perhaps imagine themselves as apart of the stories moving with and between people, places, experiences and learning opportunities. Kuhn (2009, p.48) reminds us that, Phase space is, in essence, an imaginary multi-dimensional space, a mathematical construct in which numbers are turned into pictures where we can ‘see’ the movement of a complex entity over time. In phase space we can see the influence of the history between Maori and Australia and we can see how important relationships among key leaders on both sides of the Tasman helped to enable the trans-Tasman pathway. If we continue to follow the conversation, more attractors emerge creating new storylines. This process can be seen in the following example: the friendship fostered between Ruatara and Marsden enabled young Maori to attend a school in NSW developing the Maori relationship to local Aboriginal storylines. Today various symbols throughout this region validate this connection.

PATTERNS AND ATTRACTORS Emerge

As we reflect on this analysis, it is important to consider three different timelines within phase space. Phase One highlights two key attractors from our Maori past and then begins to generate more as conversations begin to develop between different people. The two main attractors are the search for economic opportunity through work and trade beyond the homeland and the desire for adventure in having courage to leave whanau and the whenua to see the world and discover new things. In Phase Two we revisit the same two attractors in economic opportunity and the desire for adventure, only this time they are examined through a more modern lens. In this era we explore different periods throughout the 20th century travelling back and forth between the 1960s and 1970s when uncles and aunties moved here and established our Maori community in Sydney. They were musicians, builders, religious leaders, abattoir workers and young adventurers who established businesses on the back of hard work and determination. My own migration experience is interwoven into the storylines of this era too and in this process moves us into the next century. In this section ideas are proposed and suggestions are made about how this picture story might help to enable a sense of identity and connection to
place here in NSW. Finally, *Phase Three* introduces the 21st century and beyond as we ponder our mokopuna and their time here. This section challenges readers to consider what our future¹ may look like in the years to come.

**PHASE ONE: ANCIENT ATTRACTORS – ADVENTURE ON THE HIGH SEAS**

Imagine what it would have been like to be Ruatara and sail the open seas on board whaling ships in the early 1800s. The movie *Moby Dick* helped me to reflect visually on the travels our tupuna made on board various boats as he travelled between Aotearoa and Australia. I thought and pondered…

In phase space I watched the boats sailing on the high seas and the men hoisting sails and scrubbing decks I thought about the sun, the rain and the storms and I imagined the danger they faced each time these brave sailors went in search of whales. I thought about our courageous matua at the stern of the whaling boat ready and waiting with his harpoon. I sense the excitement and the thrill of the chase. Thinking, wanting, hoping - just one more whale for another piece of silver and gold. I saw how hard they worked, but at what cost to the whanau if they do not return. As the story goes - when the lamp cast its light in the room and a young Ishmael set eyes on Queequeg for the first time, he was overcome with fear by the sight of this ferocious man with whom he was to share a bed…

As I listened to Ishmael describe Queequeg, I could see the frightful tattoo he spoke about, only in my eyes this taonga tuku iho o te whakapapa or nga tupuna² was a beautiful reminder about who we are and the connection we have to our whanau and tribal lands. In time the young adventurer saw beyond the frightening tattoo and described the natives face as reflecting a simple and honest heart. Queequeg he said had fiery dark eyes that lay bare courage and bravery I had not seen before. He had a sense of nobility that gives him dignity and a profound respect from all those around him. Queequeg on the other hand said, very little about Ishmael and would only speak to answer

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¹ Maori often say they can see the faces of our ancestors in the mokopuna or grandchildren. This particular reference to the term future invites readers to consider whether our ancestor's faces will still be noticeable in the years to come as more Maori interbreed with global cultures.

² Taonga tuku iho o te whakapapa o nga tupuna refers to the gift of genealogy in the storylines inherited from our ancestors.
select questions. What is important here is that it was not about what Queequeg said but rather what he did that illustrates his connection to young Ishmael. He kept him safe from big burly sailors and he taught him how to survive the harsh life at sea. Queequeg shared unconditionally with his new friend. Stories about their homes and families emerged and in this process I saw a friendship develop and then blossom into a lifelong relationship…Ititahi

In *Moby Dick* the book, Ishmael offered a view of our tupuna through the eyes of the ‘other’ and in that context I understood the deficit in his knowledge about our people. I also saw his willingness to learn. In turn Ruatara did the same, moving silently within the world of the ‘other’ speaking when necessary, assimilating where appropriate, but for the most part maintaining a dominant stance in his own Maori world. The important point here is that by seeing the interaction between the two parties we can gain a better understanding about how their association led to a successful relationship. Complexity helps us to see the ambiguities, by naming, describing and illustrating the multifaceted behaviour people exhibit when they coexist or belong to a group. Furthermore, by seeing the various patterns and connecting the different variables we can estimate, follow and then identify potential outcomes. If we consider the initial encounter between Ishmael and Ruatara we are reminded that it was a meeting under intense circumstances.

In complexity thinking the edge of chaos according to Kuhn (2009, p.59) ‘represents a dynamic area within a complex entity’s phase space’. This may also mean that a space, which is identified as being in a normal state, can be disrupted or changed instantly by a dynamic interaction. This interaction comes with repercussions and outcomes that vary according to input. Sometimes it is at the edge of chaos where the most creative response or reaction to an intense circumstance or issue can occur. For example, the frightening meeting between both men may have lead to 1. Ishmael or Queequeg leaving the room and the space eventually returning to a sense of equilibrium or 2. the two men staying and addressing the issue and in that process negotiating a favourable outcome for both parties. Option two was the best choice under the circumstances and as a result they established a partnership that in due time lead to a vibrant friendship. The edge of chaos reminds us that both parties self-organise beyond the disruption negotiating, collaborating and adapting to generate an outcome.
The ‘edge’ is often where all sorts of options are contemplated as possible.

Queequeg helped me to envision our past as I imagined Ruatara and his adventures at sea…

I saw our tupuna there in the middle of nowhere dumped and left to die by a shady captain of a whaling ship. Seriously ill, starving and with nothing but the will to live, a sick and distressed Ruatara was rescued by Samuel Marsden who was on route to Sydney. He recognized our tupuna from the visiting Maori contingency that stayed with Governor King in NSW. Ruatara was transported to Marsden’s home in Parramatta where the clergyman’s family nursed him back to health…Ititahi.

The connection between Ruatara and Marsden can be interpreted in various ways. For example, here are two human beings, one in a position of power to help and the other in a state of despair needing assistance. We could argue Marsden held out his hand in compassion, influenced largely by his religious beliefs or we could be cynical and claim he saw the potential to progress his missionary work through Ruatara. Our Matua on the other hand could have succumbed to death and rejected help, but as we see here he did not. In my mind and certainly these thoughts are influenced by teachings gained from within our Maori world, a possible explanation might just be that Ruatara had mahi to do and therefore his time to die was not now. I also suspect that since our tupuna spent time with Pakeha he was comfortable enough to accept their help. Again there are very few words to describe the perspective from our ancestors (Ruatara) position, however, I suggest readers consider not what he says but rather his actions beyond this meeting. If we compare this contact to the Ishmael and Queequeg story the same patterns are at work here; that is, two people from different worlds negotiating a friendship or partnership to co-exist effectively in the same space. Moreover the connection between Marsden and Ruatara enabled numerous outcomes, which are still unfolding today. Consider the butterfly effect (Briggs and Peat 1999) and how things have emerged over time as we watch what occurred beyond this first meeting at sea.

From here on Ruatara and Marsden built an extraordinary relationship that in time became an important catalyst in the long-standing association between Maori and Australia. Together they established the mission in Aotearoa, which in time enabled education, business,
intermarriage, colonization and the treaty. Looking back through time it is clear to see that each of these attractors has also generated trajectories and patterns that have moved in all directions connecting people and place in both Aotearoa and Australia.

Parramatta and the surrounding suburbs are an important place for our Maori people who live here because many of our storylines connect us to the local history of this area. For example the sons of Rangatira attended learning institutions in Parramatta, Blacktown and in the Hawkesbury. Ruatara himself stayed several years to attend school and learn agricultural skills. Today there are reminders scattered throughout Western Sydney that acknowledge their time here and the relationships they fostered along the way. These mementos from our past are typically vague and very faint but every so often a reconnection through story and conversation is made and they become stand out moments in our day…Ititahi.

There are numerous ways to connect the past with our present and complexity principles are certainly useful in helping us understand this process. The concept of self-organisation can be used in highlighting the links between different generations. Cilliers (1998, p.90) suggests, ‘the capacity for self-organisation is a property of complex systems, which enables them to develop or change internal structure spontaneously and adaptively in order to cope with or manipulate their environment’. Consider this example: when we visit a particular landmark that has a connection to a specific person or people from our past, we bring them into our space through conversation and storytelling. In this context an affinity with the space, the person or people and the moment creates a new storyline and we become a participant in the story. The enabler can be understood as an attractor and can be the different places in Western Sydney, a carved font in the Anglican church in Parramatta, an orphanage in the grounds of the University of Western Sydney, a yarn about our ancestors from an Aboriginal elder and so on. These attractors enable more trajectories across people, place and time and by making our own connection we soon become a part of this macro system we call the world. For Maori it is important to find connecting points so that we can maintain our link to this system that continues to change and adapt as people reorganise themselves at both the micro and macro level.
Now when we walk around Saint Marys in the western suburbs there are old farmhouses that once belonged to Marsden and his family. My Aboriginal friend once told us that our people regularly stayed at these places, and on numerous occasions, we walked through the paddocks near South Creek and he showed us where. In Parramatta the churches built by Marsden are located on the grounds where our Rangatira sat, watched, listened and learned about the Pakeha version of God and Christianity. Today a carved font stands in the St Johns Anglican Cathedral as a reminder about the special relationship between our Maori people, the church and Samuel Marsden. As I run my hands over the carved wood the image of Te Pahi and Ruatara sitting and listening to Samuel Marsden preach reminds me they were here too.

Sometimes I sit on the banks of the Parramatta River just a few steps away from the old orphanage, which stands in the grounds of the University of Western Sydney. This old stone building is another reminder about the link between our people and this land. The orphanage was where the daughter of Atahoe, granddaughter of Te Pahi was raised. She was just a month old when her mother died of dysentery and her father placed her in this institution before returning to England. I often retreat to this building and in reflection wonder about that baby girl knowing full well how precious my own mokopuna is to our whanau. I felt aroha for this pepi.3 I always think about who she is, and where she may have gone. Did she know about her ties to Taiamai and the whakapapa links to our ancestors? I wonder if her descendants know about these connections. This story turns my thoughts to Newcastle as I recall the yarn shared by the young man in our leaders forum who said his father was Maori, but he didn’t know his people. His need to belong took him to places all around Australia and while the Aboriginal people welcomed him into their world he still had a need to connect with his Maori ancestry…Ititahi.

The disconnection from whanau and iwi can lead to a number of different outcomes. When I think about the mokopuna left in this orphanage not only does it sadden me to think this baby may have lost connection with her whanau hapu and iwi, but it also reminds us this loss can occur down through the generations. The butterfly effect (Sensitive Dependence on Initial Conditions) helps us to understand the process. This metaphor suggests that even the smallest perturbation or disturbance can have long-term and significant influence or effect on a whole system. The butterfly

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3 Pepi is the Maori word for baby.
effect not only informs, but it also shows us that the disconnection from whanau has the potential to continue down through the generations. It reminds us that today we are in a better position to ensure this does not occur to our babies and that as adults and indeed Maori leaders, we have both a responsibility and an obligation to our whanau to ensure our children have the opportunity to be connected to their people, culture and identity.

The butterfly effect metaphor suggests changes can be positive or negative.

As my thoughts return to our homeland for just a moment…those silly childhood years re-emerge and I remember the stories our Kaumatua told us about Te Pahi, Ruatara, Hongi and the missionaries. They reminded us to have a special reverence for this relationship and after many years of following the storylines I can now understand why. Our Kaumatua also taught us about the importance of the treaty and the link this document has between Maori and Australia. The government from Australia were responsible for negotiating the treaty and in the early days these leaders came from Sydney. I knew these narratives were an important part of our tribal history, but it was not until I moved across the Tasman and began to explore our place in this land was I able to fully understand what this connection really meant.

When I attended university and lived on campus in Richmond I began to find storylines all over the Hawkesbury area. As I visited different sights and spoke to numerous people I made further connections. Then one day our class took us to the edge of the Hawkesbury River where a Koori elder told us the history about the land, river and his people. I always felt a sense of trepidation when I attended these gatherings because I did not quite know how ‘to be’ on the land. I understood my place as a Maori and a visitor to country, but beyond that there was very little that helped me to understand how to behave.

* Maori Rangatira here refers to a number of chief’s who stayed with Marsden in Parramatta.
Then in the middle of his yarn and quite out of the blue he looked over at me lifted his eyebrows and said:

‘Aye! Your mob came up here with old man Marsden’

I looked around and realized he was talking to me. He continued,

‘Your Maori people stayed here and learned school off that white fulla. He was good to your mob that old man… Not that good to ours’.

What could I say?

Curious about the clergyman I wondered why he favoured our Maori people and not the Aboriginals. I scoured his journals and followed connecting storylines to the writings left by his children and their families. Martha who became his confidant when he was older only recorded his connection to Maori and Aotearoa. Her writings explain how our tupuna were welcomed company in their home. She also described her father’s relationship with Ruatara as a very special friendship and regularly refers to his connection with Aotearoa as papa’s “beloved New Zealand”. There was no mention here of the Aboriginal people. Unsuccessful in his quest to curb the convicts, Marsden put all his professional time and energy into building a relationship with Maori who were more receptive to his religious advances. At the same time our people were keen to embrace the new ways and resources they found in Australia. Many history writers claim that Marsden believed Maori were far more intelligent than the Aboriginals. I suspect that it may have been Marsden’s lack of cultural knowledge or understanding about these people and their ways that might have influenced him to think this way. Moreover, given the political climate and the push for terra nullius during this period it may have been reason enough to avoid at all costs any kind of positive engagement with Aboriginal Australia…Ititahi.
PHASE TWO: ANCIENT ATTRACTORS IN A MODERN WORLD

Today the pathway across the Tasman remains a vibrant corridor to adventure and economic opportunity for Maori. In this second phase space the call to “look behind”, frames the first part of our discussion. Not only does it suggest there is a great deal to learn from what has already occurred in the past, it reminds us again that each person, group, organization or whanau hapu and iwi plays an important role in creating the history that will in time become our children’s memoirs. As we adjust our lens to this modern era I pause briefly to acknowledge the special connection we have to those Rangatira from long-ago by recalling the words of our Kuia Erenora Puketapu-Hetet (1989) who reminds us that we cannot separate ourselves from our ancestors or the generations who are yet to be born because the past, present and future are all interrelated’. This proposition encourages us to bear in mind that even beyond our papakainga the kinship ties we have through whakapapa to our whanau hapu and iwi locates us in the eternal circle where our Maori identity and connection to the land is both validated and endorsed. For Maori who have this knowledge and can link themselves and their whanau to these storylines, their position within this kinship system even beyond Aotearoa remains in tact. However, for our Australian born and raised mokopuna, this transfer of knowledge may not be as straight forward because the resources needed to enable this process to occur are not always close at hand here in this country. Consequently, this may well determine the connections they do have to our genealogical circle in the years to come. In spite of this difficulty, caution about what could happen down the track is often an after thought put to one side, as the irresistible desire to experience new things, see different places and gain economic opportunity for the whanau takes over. As I embark on another trip into phase space my heart skips a beat as the music from an all time favourite “Prince Tui Teka” rings out…

There are more questions and answers, pictures in my mind that will not show
There are more questions and answers, the more I find out the less I know yeah …
The more I find out the less I know, I’ve asked the question time and time again
Why is there so little love among men? But what is life, how should we live
What should we take, how much should we give…(Song from my personal diary by Prince Tui Teka called Questions and Answers)
This wonderful song takes me back in time to when whanau sat around playing guitars, singing, laughing and having fun together. Tui Teka and his music was often heard in every Maori home during the 1970s, 1980s and onwards, so as children we grew up listening to aunties, uncles and everybody in between singing songs like: Ei Po, Walking in the Sun, For the Life of Me and the infamous Mum…

Prince Tui Teka originally from Ruatahuna in Tuhoe territory has an interesting story because it was in Australia that he found his niche in the entertainment world…

In Sydney he joined bands such as the Samoan and Maori Royals, the Maori Trubadours and the Maori Volcanics and with them he toured Japan, Asia, the Middle East, United States and the Caribbean. When he returned to Australia he decided to go solo and began to entertain audiences in Australia. They loved him. But in 1981 he was homesick for Aotearoa and soon returned to Tokomaru Bay where he continued to make influential music that infiltrated our homes and indeed our hearts. There is a lot to learn from this story. For example, the footprints left behind (he would probably call them holes in the ground) in the sand can help us to see, ponder and learn about the potential of crossing the Tasman in our day as we embark on excursions to explore the world beyond home. Today I can still sing his songs word for word and while each rendition conjures up feelings of laughter, fun and connectedness hidden between the lines are underlying messages to step back, watch listen and learn from the choices we make and the outcomes that unfold…Ititahi.

In a practical sense this song is a reminder that life is about asking questions, sharing ideas and reflecting on the answers found in the stories we create amongst ourselves. They challenge us to think carefully about the choices we make, as the consequences encountered along the way can be life changing, placing an emphasis on the aphorism “isn’t it funny how one decision can change a million after that”.
As I sing along with *Tui Teka “there are more questions and answers”* the conversation with my mum about my own migration trip across the Tasman returns to my thoughts as I think back to what she said…

Why you going to Aussie, why you taking my mokopuna there? This is their whenua, this is their home and their whanau are here. Who will look after them there? ..Nannyma.

There are so many ways I could answer my mum’s questions today, but back then the desire for adventure and economic opportunity was all we had in mind. Moreover, the drive to conquer the world and achieve our dreams had us believing we could do anything. So with our babies in hand, we crossed the Tasman and set to work making a new life for our family in Australia.

As I look behind us and reflect back to when we first arrived in Sydney I have fond memories of our baby riding his toy trike through customs and our older boys giggling with excitement as they walked through the airport terminal. I also remember being surprised, amazed and stunned all at once when I saw, for the very first time Muslim women dressed in the traditional black burqa. The reality of being in another world made me realise not only were we on an interesting adventure in a new country, but our family had just stepped into the global arena. As we walked along busy streets and through shopping malls there were white faces everywhere I looked. It was scary. In Aotearoa most of the faces you see are brown so the change was really weird. But our adventure in Australia was every bit exciting, just as I had imagined it would be. Everything and everybody was different. We went to the markets and shopped in Cabramatta and Auburn just to see all the different cultures. We ate kebabs, falafel, vine leaves and we sipped Chinese tea. The discoveries we found in this new global community were so interesting, but hectic and busy. We spent lots of time exploring our new abode, but at the end of every day we returned to our whare where pictures of our papakainga adorned the walls.
The hum of Maori music could be heard throughout the house and home videos had the kids glued to the television laughing and pointing at whanau back across the ditch. It was so nice to be able to retreat to our own Maori world and while the adventure was fun and exciting, the ongoing yearning for home and whanau kept Aotearoa in our sights every day…Ititahi.

**PHASE THREE: PHASE TO PHASE – PLACE TO PLACE**

For a lot of Maori our place in the eternal circle is unquestionable and in many respects we take it for granted until of course our whanau leaves Aotearoa and the Maori way of life is no longer the main system in place. Whilst this is a concern for some of us, our apprehension is often short lived as we remind ourselves continuously the shift to Australia is only a temporary move. That the close proximity between the two countries means a brief three-hour journey home is fairly easy to manage. Furthermore, by keeping in close contact with whanau the distance between here and there can seem insignificant as borders are blurred, when written letters and telephone banter keeps our long distance connection alive.

The trans-Tasman Maori constantly works to maintain their place in both countries to keep their Maori identity and culture strong and succeed in the Australian mainstream system in which they now live. This highlights how important it is for people in Aotearoa and Australia to remain interconnected by simply engaging in the coherent conversations that link them to shared storylines and draw them into phase space regardless of the tangible borders or boundaries between countries.

Within the lives of Maori living in Australia we can identify three stages. Stage one, “I am/We are living in Australia as a migrant/s keeping contact with whanau/at home.” Then we move to stage two, here, “I/Maori/we readapt to this new environment/maintain links to whanau/home”. At stage three, “I/We/Maori emerge as being competent to navigate Australia with skills and confidence/and I/We/Maori then keep my/our ongoing relationship to whanau/home strong and alive at the same time”.
This depiction of stages in the lives of individuals and groups illustrates fractality in the connection between Australia and Aotearoa. As an individual fractal at stage one, I live in Australia, at stage two I reconnect with whanau in Aotearoa (through conversation, stories and home visits) and at stage three my Australian sense of being and place becomes a new part of our Maori world, which is located in the homeland.

Now consider how fractality is reflected and illustrated in the different group settings. For example, the whanau can consist of an immediate family and it can also be used to describe the extended family and Maori community as whole parts. As an individual Maori I participate as a single part of a system that also participates as a collective part of the whole. I merge in and out of these different spaces, positions and places of being. By following the simple movements between the spaces, patterns are created and within these are useful indicators to help articulate and explain how we function as individuals and collective members of a group or organization.

Briggs and Peat (1999) reminds us, fractal principles have been used to construct imaginary mountain ranges and entire imaginary landscapes. This prompts us to think back to Babbie’s (1995) hologram metaphor where he reminds us that a whole is made up of many smaller parts that can be enfolded into lots of layers. For example, the trans-Tasman relationship between Australia and Aotearoa is built upon many different stories in time, therefore a picture of our family, say at our home in Sydney, not only represents our own phase space, it merges into the bigger trans-Tasman narrative and becomes a fractal part of our overall story. The potential for fractal connections are endless and just like our place in the eternal circle connects us to whanau hapu and iwi from the past in the present and indeed into the future we are a smaller part of a whole. Reconnecting to whanau at home through conversation is special. However, making the trip back across the Tasman to our papakainga where we can reaffirm our place in this Maori world, we share with so many others is incomparable. In phase space there is so much to share and even more to learn…

In our early migration days I returned to Aotearoa regularly and each time I went back, one of our boys came too. We stayed at the old homestead, visited our pop and other family members in our whanau urupa and just hung out with all the uncles, aunties and cousins. If there was a tangi we went and when an important tribal meeting was on we attended that too. Going home always reaffirmed my relationship
to people and place, so it was important that we take our boys to ensure they could see how they too were connected. It also gave them the opportunity to experience living in a traditional Maori world, even if it was only for a short time. When we landed back in Aotearoa, our children hooked up with whanau and soon disappeared into the landscape.

Being home was magic and in so many ways there was more reason to be here than out in the world looking for adventure and riches. My mum and me sat up night after night making use of every precious moment. We talked, laughed, remembered and reviewed our plans for the future making those important questions about who we are and why we even exist more relevant to us as a whana. In these tender moments I wished we had never left here and soon those “if only thoughts” filled my mind. But like the trooper she was, my mum quashed those doubts by simply reminding me that the big picture was all about giving her mokopuna the best we could even if that meant taking them overseas to live. I loathed the thought of this visit ending and wished that time would stop and perhaps I would not have to return to Australia. However, the thought of my other boys and their dad waiting for us on the other side of the ditch was good reason enough to move beyond this wishful thinking. Furthermore, those reconnecting hugs and kisses waiting for us in Sydney were my reality check that life is about our family and the future…Ititahi.

A BALANCING ACT

Life in Australia for many Maori soon becomes a balancing act as whanau strive to live between the two worlds. What is important in this context is that how we live our lives in both of these spaces will then determine what unfolds for our whanau in the future particularly the children.

Cultural experts Atkinson, Morten and Sue (1983) argue that changing patterns in some immigrant populations often occurs in three stages across several generations. First, there are the parents who endeavour to perpetuate a separatist approach by retaining a strong affiliation to the traditional or birthright culture. Then there are the children of these parents who are more likely to adapt to the host culture. Finally, there are the grandchildren of the parent group who by birth become a part of the host culture, but find a renewed interest in their inherited culture, customs, values and behaviours. This proposition may be true for some migrant groups, but in the case of our Maori families, they are more likely to move
between the homeland and Australia in an effort to live between the two worlds and so they become dual citizens with a sense of place in both countries.

What is interesting to note at this point is that according to our traditional creation stories we are the children of Papatuanuku and Ranginui; therefore, the earth is our home and boundaries simply do not exist. We also believe that with this freedom to roam our earth mother comes a responsibility to care for her with kindness, respect and dedication. When we think about Aotearoa we are reminded of our obligation as kaitiaki or caretakers to look after Papatuanuku in this place so that generations to come may enjoy the benefits she has for them too. This understanding helps us to know we have a responsibility to respect and acknowledge the kaitiaki or caretakers of this land, Australia and the First Nations people who have the same stewardship role as we do. We must continuously remember that they know this whenua or land better than we do so we have an obligation to be guided by their direction to care for country when we are here…Itiati.

Many of the people’s stories from the field expressed a connection to their Maori identity or culture through the links they have to people, place, shared stories and genealogical alliances, which are not always understood by outsiders. In most of the conversation and storylines I gathered throughout my fieldwork there were connecting links between both Aotearoa and Australia found in almost every individual and collective conversation or narrative. Some were standout and visually apparent like the mokopuna whose mother is Australian. Others are understated like the yarn about a famous Maori singer who developed his or her career in Australia then returned home. And then there are the faint stories that were hidden between the lines that come to the fore when conversations are shared, exchanged and probed again and again. In these yarns we learn about our connection to the First Nation people and how our links from the beginning of time can be brought into our modern day. Many of these storylines remind us that the boundaries between Aotearoa and Australia are blurred and that we enable a sense of interconnectedness and totality each time we talk about our parents, grandparents or children who still live in the homeland or Australia.
Similarly we enable a sense of interconnectedness when we remember our children’s experiences and indeed our own loss and sadness when we had to send them home to be with whanau or attend school because they struggled in this country. Many Maori consider a return to the homeland at some point in time, even in death so they keep the connection strong until then.

They travel back for holidays and family visits and in the event a family member dies they return for the tangi. Generally the close connection we have to our land and extended family in Aotearoa can make it difficult to disconnect from that traditional Maori world we belong to across the Tasman, so Maori in Australia attempt to create our own fractal branch as a way to manage our human need to live, as we should, Maori first. In this position we can then continue the long distance relationship to whanau and still maintain the expectations of this host country, only in this way, we do not lose ourselves to another world; but rather, we create a way of living well in both. The greatest concern raised by most of the participants in this research study was the importance of maintaining some form of connection to our heritage culture for the sake of the children and grandchildren. So Maori parents, grandparents and leaders alike in this land have genuine concerns that our children may lose those crucial links to the storylines that will help to shape their identity and enable their sense of being and place as Maori. That is not to say everyone in our Maori world does this well, it is an ongoing work in progress. When we engage in our cultural activities here in Australia we are also reaffirming our connection to people and place: sometimes these people are in Aotearoa and sometimes they are here in Australia, but either way the process validates our identity and sense of being as Maori. The following fractal connection helps to explain this sense of place in the “me I am” and the “me I must become” who moves, merges and morphs into all of the different phase spaces in time and place to enable my sense of being in multiple and multidimensional localities: I, me, we, us, our, Maori, trans-Tasman Maori, global citizen, human being and so on…

**LIVING IN TWO WORLDS**

As I reflect back to our own family’s resettlement experience and ponder the steps we took to live this double life there is a great deal to share with others about what we did right and of course what we got wrong. In our Australian home we encouraged our children to participate in different cultural activities at school, church and in their sports clubs as a way to learn about how other families lived. We taught them to be patient and
encouraged kindness. I also reminded them to watch, listen and learn so that they could see that other people sometimes were different and that’s because the world is full of interesting people.

The caution “we would not like others to be mean to us just because we are Maori because that would be really unfair and unkind; do you think others know about us and our culture enough to be mean to us”, helped our boys to become an important part of the conversation because they were encouraged to have a say and share their ideas and opinions. Part of our family strategy to fit into this new system was to spend lots of time having conversations with our children about fitting into this new country, whanau back home, their dreams and goals and our plans as a family. This excursion to Australia was a decision we made with our children and so the greatest strategy for us was to maintain the collective effort and keep the lines of communication open. This approach helped us all to work through the migration and resettlement process and encouraged us all to be more considerate, teachable and understanding of the differences found in other people’s cultures and religions. The value of coherent conversations helped our family to maintain open and honest dialogue and in that context share and raise important issues to facilitate conversation about how we can live in this new world successfully. This is complexity at its best.

Sadly, during our family’s early migration days here Australia, we faced regular bouts of racism. In Aotearoa racial discrimination never really occurred like it did here, so not only was it a new learning experience for our children, we had to teach them how to deal with this unpleasant reality in a constructive way. Not easy, but we did. We set aside one evening a week to discuss and role-play strategies to overcome some of these difficulties and we also incorporated other problems as they emerged. Most times we laughed and had lots of fun together. The happiness helped to turn a negative topic into a positive experience for us all. We taught and they learned. Then they shared and we listened. But together we all understood that by understanding we could find a way of coping and in this be contented. At the end of each lesson and on a more serious note our children were reminded about how important they were to us and to their whanau in Aotearoa. That they were very lucky to have a place to call home in both countries and no matter how hurtful people were when they said mean things to them they were loved by their whanau and that was all that mattered. This exercise helped our children to feel good about themselves and it gave them the courage to face some of the harsh
realities found beyond the safety of our own home. Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2001) suggest that successful immigrants will acquire the functional skills that enable them to succeed in their new social environment, but their attitudes and values are generally more resistant to change. Again this relates to a generational view as they claim that children usually maintain a more traditional style of interaction with their parents, but use a more modern style when interrelatedness with their peers. This is an interesting proposition because it rings true in my experience with our own children. For example:

Not long after we moved here I visited the local school to see how our boys had settled in and found they were doing very well. When I looked at their work I was horrified to see they were learning at a level far below their ability. Having worked closely with them as a stay at home mum I knew how hard they had worked to achieve the standards they kept. When I enquired as to why they were put back the teacher explained that according to their age this was what was expected of them and even though they had learned above this stage they would be encouraged to blend in with the other children over time. Six months later I attended a parents afternoon tea to watch our boys present their work. As the children stood one by one to read their stories and show their pictures I was surprised when my two boys took their turn. They read their story about going back to New Zealand for a holiday where they had fun at the farm with all their cousins. But what was startling for me was that after only nine months in Australia these six and eight year old boys had mastered the art of speaking like an Australian. I decided to watch, listen and learn and soon found they had learned to adjust to the space and speak according to the environment they were in, that is at home they spoke like we did with a New Zealand accent and at school or when they were with their Australian peers they spoke like Australians.

In an interesting comparison some years later our twelve-year-old niece was sent across to Sydney to stay with us for a while. We enrolled her at the same school our children attended and counseled our boys to help her fit in and to look out for her until she had made friends and found her way around the system. After about three days the boys told us that she spent most of her time sitting outside the classroom on her own and she did not like her teacher. We suspected some thing was wrong when she became withdrawn and retreated to her bedroom,
each time she returned home from school. After careful thought and a long discussion with our niece I realized she had been educated since she was a small baby in a Kura Kaupapa or total immersion Maori language school in New Zealand. So by putting her into this mainstream Australian school without support was distressing to say the least. Not only was the space foreign to her, so was the language, education and social system. How could we have been so ignorant? She stayed on a few more months before we decided it was unfair to expect her to adapt, when the school was not resourced to support her in the adjustment process. She returned to her Kura in Aotearoa, happy to be back where she belonged.

I wondered how other Maori children coped knowing full well that migration statistics were showing a continuous increase in our people moving to Australia indicating many children, who like our niece were educated in Kohanga Reo or Kura Kaupapa, would soon be enrolled in mainstream schools. Such children may not integrate well into the education system and therefore may struggle at school. Some years later, the effects of this difficulty unfolded as truancy, suspensions, expulsions and youth crime emerged in our Maori community.

I worked crazy hours teaching families and negotiating re-entry into school, but with very few resources the problems escalated and soon an over representation of Maori youth in the juvenile justice system emerged. Sometimes the most valuable lessons come from trial and error, but almost every time it is at a cost…Ititahi.

FIT IN OR MISS OUT
Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2001) claim that children of immigrants when exposed to a host culture often take on the influences they see and learn as a way of fitting into the new system. They learn to speak and act like the children from the host culture, however when they return to their homes they revert back to their own heritage, culture or way of living. The example of our own children changing their accents to fit into their new school environment demonstrates how this adaptability occurs and indeed emerged to help them manage their own transitional process into the Australian education system. This simple act of switching the way they spoke to suit the environment they were in, helped them to blend into the
landscape and become just like the other children in the space. The comments their teacher made “don’t worry they will become just like the others because children don’t like to be different” rings true. However, if we explore this “fitting in” example a step further we can see how Bateson’s (1979) proposition to look for the patterns that connect will help us to understand how such a small act like changing an accent can indicate step by step how our children are managing to adjust in their new environment. If we look through a complexity lens we can distinguish how and where these dynamics unfold. For example, we can reflect on how our children self-organize around specific enablers or attractors like behaviour such as (talk like them; act like them) are dynamic in how they manage themselves to accommodate for the change (work willingly/go with the flow approach); and enable emergent outcomes as they adjust to their new surroundings (they fit into the existing system by speaking like their peers). Complexity metaphors are used here to illustrate how this self-organizing, dynamic and emergent behaviour unfolds in groups and organizations.

Take for instance the example of a school of fish and the way it moves in a synchronized way until an obstacle suddenly appears in its path. The fish change their movement patterns to get past the obstacle, by moving around or splitting into two parts. Then once they have moved beyond the obstruction they regain a sense of order and return to their normal movement patterns. A flock of birds does something similar when they change direction in flight to encounter sudden winds and like the school of fish the flock regains a sense of order once it has passed beyond the obstacle. Our children adapt to change in a similar fashion to the fish and birds. For example, they self-organize around key attractors interacting and adapting to the dynamic of the group and in time emerge having adjusted to the new system with the others. As I thought about my children’s ability to adapt I wondered if teaching them to watch, listen and learn had any bearing on their ability to see how they might fit into this new group structure. Did they learn to imitate the others and therefore assimilate without fuss or were they motivated by the fear of alienation, ridicule or being different? Interestingly, when our children returned home from school at the end of every day they reverted back to their usual way of speaking and became part of the whanau system again. Over the years, however, they have mastered skills and competencies to be Maori and also live effectively in mainstream Australia. Today they exist bicompetently in both worlds.
BICOMPETENCY ENABLES THE FIT

Moving between two very different and often competing spaces can sometimes be chaotic and difficult to manage however, by stepping back into a neutral space one can see where simple approximations between the two positions lie. Let us pause for a moment to consider the value of this neutral position as it enables one to move away from the dynamic and reflect on what is happening and why. It also provides a space to review progress and to ascertain where adjustments are needed. This neutral position is often referred to as the grey area or in complexity terms, fuzzy logic. Kosko explains fuzzy logic using the following definition:

Fuzzy logic is a concept derived from the branch of mathematical theory of fuzzy sets. Unlike the basic Aristolian theory that recognizes statements as only true or false or 1 or 0 as represented in digital computers, fuzzy logic is capable of expressing linguistic terms such as maybe false or sort of true. In general fuzzy logic when applied to computers, allows them to emulate the human reasoning process, quantify imprecise information, make decisions based on vague and incomplete data, yet by applying a defuzzification process arrive at definite conclusions (Kosko 1994, p.157).

Having the ability to articulate this sense of ambiguity or uncertainty between something and nothing allows us the freedom to negotiate across a broad space and between large numbers of people. Kosko (1994) claims that a fuzzy view is common sense made up of fuzzy patches. These patches he argues are pockets of knowledge that contain different shades of grey, which can help to articulate and explain blurred boundaries. The following example is an illustration of this fuzzy notion - there is night and day and also dusk, meaning the layers in between remind us there are many different shades of day. Fuzzy logic is a very useful concept for Maori because in many ways it helps us to articulate all of the different shades of grey in our storylines. Indeed, this includes our connection to the eternal circle with no beginning or end. Creating a neutral space allows one to step back and look where potential movements, partnerships or approximations can be negotiated. From this position it is also possible to see where to move, gauge potential adjustments and adaptations or enable change. This includes movement from one position to another, space to space, place to place, culture to culture and so on. Fuzzy logic provides a space to ‘see.’
Let us return again to the term bicompetency and consider the following working definition: the *bi* meaning two and *competency* meaning to have skills, knowledge, experience and expertise of something. This concept comes from two important ideas that have influenced how I see our Maori world in the wider New Zealand context. The first is based on an old saying by my grand uncle Sir James Henare who would constantly remind the New Zealand government and our Maori people that until we as a collective nation achieved a true bicultural partnership, the claim to be a multicultural society was no more than a myth. It seems to me the term bicultural is nothing but a word to describe or name two very different worlds that exist in the same space side-by-side. Taken a step further Aotearoa has always been seen as a country where race relations between Pakeha and Maori has been the example of how two cultures can live together in a partnership. This has lead many to believe biculturalism is perhaps the antidote for positive race relations. In reality the term at best only describes two worlds and does very little to explain the so-called partnership that is suppose to exist under this notion. Furthermore people who live in these two worlds do not exist on an even plane and therefore inequalities in all sorts of ways can and do emerge. This includes the gap between Maori knowledge and non-Maori knowledge, Maori worldview and non-Maori worldview and rich (middle to upper class white New Zealanders) and poor (Maori living far beneath the poverty line), which in time intensifies the disparities between Maori and non-Maori in our homeland. Embittered people emerge in the process and the struggle for equity continues. Some stay and fight while others catch a plane and leave suggesting the ongoing flow of our people into Australia maybe an emerging consequence of this predicament. Perhaps this is reason enough to think about a change in the way we think about the partnership we have between Tangatawhenua (Maori) and tauiwi (non-Maori) and the need to review this term bicultural and perhaps reconsider bicompetency as an alternative option. This new term challenges us to think more about how we approach cross cultural relations by considering a working partnership that stems from a neutral space and from this point moves to a shared outcome between two parties. This term bicultural is useful for the most part to describe at best the difference between two cultures or worlds that share the same living space; however, to close the gap between disparity, bicompetency represents a fresh approach to the task.

In this thesis bicompetency is the binding substance that enables the emergence. It challenges Maori to consider the most applicable strategy and skills needed to achieve a successful result. In this process bicompetency highlights the point of negotiation and elimination based around a set of
rules and protocols that determine “what we do” and “how we do” keeping in mind the proposed, potential and intended outcome. To provide an explanation of this notion I draw on the analogy of whangai,5 which in Maori translation means to feed a child and in European terms is referred to as Maori adoption. When Maori speak about whangai they are often talking about a child who is raised by other members of the family, usually grandparents or aunties and uncles. Sometimes this whangai relationship is carried out in conjunction with biological parents and from time to time it is not. My own experience involved living between grandparents and parents since a baby so I learned how to live in and between two worlds at an early age. The ongoing need to negotiate and renegotiate relationships and strategies to adapt to the different spaces helped me to learn how to adjust and find interconnecting patterns to enable ways to fit in. The main goal in my case was to live harmoniously in both spaces and while it took a huge effort, “sometimes I did it well and sometimes I did not”, the desired outcome was always to become competent in both spaces.

In time the ability to live effectively between two worlds set a bicompetent precedent to 1) earn a place in another person’s space by learning to be competent in what is expected of them as a participant therein and 2) to continue ongoing dialogue and negotiation to ensure an outcome based on a mutual goal is achieved even as change occurs over time. When bicompetence is attained the ability to move between the two worlds with confidence and self-assurance enables us to live and participate fully in either spaces. This includes our capacity to exist as Maori in an Australian society.

**INCOMPETENCY DISABLES**

If Maori are not able to achieve bicompetency in the move between the two worlds cross-cultural problems can emerge. Whanau who have struggled to integrate are often referred to other Maori families who in turn connect them to specialists in our network who can help. Sometimes being invited into the Maori system we have through the churches and culture, sports and womens groups can resource them enough to manage this fitting in process better and for most they manage the movement a lot easier. Unfortunately, there are those who do not get the prop up necessary and as a result social problems can occur. Children or young people often suffer the most at school and out in the wider community. In

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5 Whangai means to feed a child. The equivalent in Pakeha terms is adoption.
many cases the mainstream social sector is unable to assist when these problems emerge and so children and families can be left unsupported. The establishment of the Maori and Pacific Island Resource Service in early 1995 to resource young people and their families involved in escalating youth crime is an example of this problem unresolved. A closer look at the client group and the issues they brought to the fore highlighted problems at school, families in financial hardship and realistically whanau unable to live between their own traditional worlds and mainstream Australia. This is clearly described by some of the participants in this study who were articulate about the problem areas and issues they faced. One mother said her teenager was a good kid, but after ongoing problems at school she just could not work out what was going wrong. She punished her and it made them all angry. In the end she began to think her daughter was a bad child, until she attended the program and realized her lack of understanding about the child’s inability to cope with fitting in problems at school escalated behaviour problems. She learned that our Maori children are raised at home in a way that is not understood by their teachers at school and this could cause major problems all round. Learning how to navigate home and school became the solution to their ongoing heartache, but unfortunately the negative education experience left them disillusioned with the system and a reluctancy to return to any form of learning.

Many families tell a similar story and even the young people themselves had a great deal to say about these issues. For example, Tama said there was only one other Maori at his school and so he felt out of place and did not like it there. He was sure they did not like him either because he probably looked a bit rough. Tama said he felt judged and then used ‘the Zoo’ as a metaphor to explain how he felt each time he went to school. My aroha for these young people and their whanau as I listened, saw and felt their maemae of the struggle to fit into this Australian world as Maori. I wondered how we could expect our children to succeed in this society if they felt inadequate, alienated and had no sense of place or belonging in this land. I returned to the words of Durie (2001, p.3) quoted at the beginning of this thesis said, ‘in order to acquire a secure and meaningful identity, and to enjoy good health and a sense of wellbeing Maori people must be able to live comfortably as Maori and as citizens of the world’. I thought about what kind of experience they might have if they moved into the global arena. I thought about Maori as global citizens.

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6 Maemae is to hurt or be in pain.
Globalization has changed our world considerably. The Internet has brought the world into our homes and suddenly global boundaries that were once millions of miles away are no longer beyond our reach. Multinationals traverse the world paying poor communities for the rights to take more and more natural resources creating an unstable and unsustainable environment for us all. The world is changing rapidly and we are in many respects being forced to adapt as globalization comes in and out of our worlds. Toffler (1970) argues that:

A great deal of human behaviour is motivated by attraction or antagonism towards the pace of life enforced on the individual by the society or group within which he is embedded. Failure to grasp this principle lies behind the dangerous incapacity of education and psychology to prepare people for fruitful roles in a super-industrial society (Toffler 1970, p.49).

Durie (1994) claims that globalization is creating a new environment and is providing the means for more people to participate in a worldwide forum. Maori, he says, can and are participating too as they seek education, work, business ventures and economic opportunities beyond the homeland. The message here, however, is the need to be cautious about how one navigates this new global world. For Maori, Australia was often seen as the first step into the global community, but that changed when the internet showed our people the world was just as accessible as the country closest to us. Now Maori catch a plane with no second thought to America, Europe and other world destinations beyond Aotearoa, but for most, Australia still serves as that first step out into the global arena. It is therefore important to examine closely how our people navigate their way around this country to understand how well they navigate the globe. We must ask ourselves then what does that say for whanau left at home who are often expected to remain on the land, to ensure our Maori world remains in tact for new generations still to come. Having an understanding about who we are as people certainly helps us to navigate the world with confidence but perhaps what is most important is knowing that we can return home to Aotearoa in the end of the day.
Chapter 8. Do you see what I can see?

**METHOD HELPS US TO SEE AND TELL**

In this section I review the research process and the methods employed to conduct this study and begin with a critical reflection on the research process and the learning of undertaking the fieldwork inquiry. There is a comprehensive discussion about how different methods were used in the field, the responses by the participants and an overview of what unfolded or the outcomes. My intention here is to illustrate the versatility and value of using specific research methods to elicit the stories by providing a safe and enabling space for our Maori people. There is a great deal to learn from this undertaking. Managing all the different parts of this research study requires a special way of thinking, seeing and understanding and so it is useful to reflect back to Babbie’s (2005) hologram theory, presented in part one of this thesis. He reminds us, using the hologram idea, that if you cut pieces from the special negative used in this kind of photography, the photo when printed will still show the whole picture. This helps to depict phase space. Furthermore, as each phase space brings its own unique account a picture story soon emerges. This explanation simplifies the interconnected relationship between those smaller parts and the big picture.

Let me then begin the discussion by thinking about bicultural acceptance, scholarly rigour and emerging storylines as they play a significant role in the organization, appearance and conclusions made throughout this section of the thesis. This includes the links between research and Maori, method and emerging dialogue, Te Ao Maori and the western world, Aotearoa and Australia, Maori identity and global citizenship. Communication between Maori people can be a very complicated affair and often emotions play an integral part in how the engagement process occurs. It is therefore imperative that researchers are well prepared before any contact is made, particularly in regard to a formal meeting, such as a research interview or focus group. Applying the following Kaupapa Maori principles (Te Awekotuku cited in I.T Smith 1999, p.120) ‘aroha ki te tangata (a respect for the people) kanohi kita (present yourself to the people face to face) kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of people) is crucial’. This ensures a safe space is established between the giver (participants) and practitioner (researcher) so that free-flowing conversation emerges. Moreover, as the ongoing interchange continues between the two parties another dynamic unfolds; emerging storylines.
Creating this enabling space requires intuitive knowledge, people skills and a knack to connect the different parts and patterns to allow the information to flow in sync. There are challenges too, including the need to gain people’s trust. This can often take time and skill to make participants feel confident, enough to openly engage in conversation or share their stories on the spot. In the beginning of this study people were excited to participate, but often this was as a passive observer. Gaining their trust took time. On the odd occasion I came across someone who had no problems telling stories or opening up about almost everything including personal and private experiences. Sometimes it was a slow and drawn out process and there were moments when the conversation did not move beyond the initial meet and greet stage. Still, my determination to enable open and safe dialogue required patience that in time led to the emergence of reality-based stories, bursting with helpful insights. Many of these narratives are typically the stories that are kept close to the heart and usually left untold. They are uncensored and shared in privileged circles only. We sometimes refer to this information as the “real story Hori”, which is an internal joke we share with our own Maori people. While we laugh about it amongst ourselves there is a serious aspect to this saying too. It is: “I don’t trust you! So I will tell you, only what I think you need to hear. A bit of this and a bit of that! Maybe?”

Even as an insider the effort to prove myself and gain access to this space was laborious. My intuition worked overtime trying to understand other people’s mind-sets and in tandem managing and re-adapting myself to accommodate for the changing landscapes emerging between the giver (participants/s) and taker (practitioner) me. Moreover, keeping this information and the participant safe required a carefully planned strategy, particularly when presenting the data back to our people and the wider Maori community. Again the Kaupapa Maori principles cited in LT Smith (1999) prompt researchers kia tupato (to be cautious) kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (and do not trample over the mana of people). They serve as a constant reminder about the responsibility researchers have to keep our people free from disparagement. Babbie (1995) repeats these sentiments suggesting that as social researchers we have an obligation to report the shortcomings and failures in any rigorous study to readers. But special care must be taken to ensure people’s integrity is maintained and the research study is not compromised in any way. Still, the question about what is acceptable and what is not remains an interesting thought. Richardson (in Ellis 1992, p.125) claims that, ‘sometimes we write about the consequence to others but less often do we reflect upon the consequences to ourselves’. Finding a balance between what is ethical, culturally
acceptable, accurate and informative is a continuous work in progress. Keeping the conversation dynamic and telling stories helps us to work towards achieving that equilibrium. Narratives in research are a powerful enabler for change. In the past the tradition has been that Pakeha undertook ethnographic studies of Maori as “the other”. The research undertaken for this thesis develops a broader ethnographic perspective in that the investigation was conducted by a Maori person, into her own (my) culture. Further, by incorporating a strong personal narrative (an autoethnographic perspective) the work transforms ethnography from a study into “the other” that largely ignores or “assumes as neutral” the perspective of the researcher, into a study that seeks to illuminate and enrich, rather than explain.

COHERENT CONVERSATIONS ENABLE

Coherent conversations Kuhn and Woog (2006) have an important role to play in this process because for us as a people it matters what we see and hear, and through dialogue with others, we are able to connect all of the different parts, establish a perspective and then gain a sense of understanding. Conversation and telling stories is a valuable communication tool and whether it is used for good or bad purposes, it has the potential to transform a community. Some people are often attractors and influence how others connect or are involved in discussions. Such people share beliefs about a certain idea or issue and motivate others in the space to share genuine thoughts rather than sit quietly or respond to questions with a simple yes or no. Sometimes people attractors may choose to remain silent. In this context their presence is often a sign they are interested, support the study or simply do not agree. Knowing which of these positions they choose can often influence how the conversation unfolds. Then there are people attractors who react in a detrimental way because they disapprove of just about everything and criticise and condemn anything. Managing these variables is difficult. Leaning on the wisdom of mentors can be useful, but sometimes it pays to just let the negativity dissipate before pushing on.

The experience nonetheless becomes a valuable learning opportunity about how coherent conversations might transpire, emerge and unfold. In most instances the emergent discourse that flows from reciprocal conversations enables key themes, which are then drawn out, explored further and utilized to create fractal narratives. Maturana (2000, p.460) claims that, ‘in our attempt to understand the world we live in, we generate
explanations based on the following three aspects, truth, operational coherence and mythical causes that stand beyond our ordinary experiences’. This thesis is created upon clusters of narrative and conversation, woven together to form a picture story. Understanding what we know is empowering, but knowing how to see what we know can lead to great discoveries and change.

LOOKING BACK TO SEE AHEAD
As a result of living in Australia working between two cultures (culture of origin and new cultural context) can enable interesting discoveries, however, potential vulnerabilities also loom so practitioners must pay special attention to how they deal with likely obstacles. I found the best strategy is to be proactive and well prepared, but sometimes being forewarned does not always work especially when our people associate research and colonization. It raises that awkward question about the role formal research plays in our Maori world and the lessons we can learn from the past.

LT Smith reminds us that:

…the term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories and it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful (LT Smith 1999, p.1).

This quote is an aide memoire about the indigenous research space and how important it is for the practitioner to recognise that it may take far more than ethics and a basic research method to conduct a useful or rewarding investigation. Even an insider like myself, who in many ways has a head start, must be strategic in how to contend with trust and confidence issues. Smith’s quote is a reminder about the strength underlying those influential words offered by Sir Arthur C. Clarke (cited in Laszlo 2006, p.ix) who said, ‘anyone who attempts to write about the future should take warning from all the failures of the past’. Clarke’s sentiment reminds me to consider the effects of colonization on the psyche of our people and to
bear in mind the failure of many western-based research methods, practices and practitioners to assist indigenous people improve and develop our communities in a way that are empowering for us. It is important to consider too, the challenges indigenous researchers face, knowing full well that research can be a catalyst for development, but then finding that to conduct a formal investigation with our people in mainstream Australia can be near impossible. In this context my research highlights two central points. The first is that our Maori people are now a well-established migrant population in Australia and in order to understand what this means for us as a community it is necessary to define and present through formal research our position in this land. The second point recognises the difficulties our people encounter when we attempt to develop our community from within a mainstream system. It also reminds us that we must make every effort to be heard even if we are avoided, shunned, challenged or simply dropped into the too hard basket in the process. This brings to mind a personal experience I had at university when I inquired about continuing study beyond my first degree.

I can still remember the odd looks and the sceptical gatekeepers who stood between my chances to gain additional skills and qualifications or leave and be contented with a basic degree. To develop our community further required more. I wondered if they thought I was too dumb to advance or perhaps they were sick and tired of hearing my culturally loaded arguments about not being heard as a minority group in this country. Nonetheless, whichever the case, those cynical looks turned into doubt and then the doors closed, so I took a step back to think, ponder and reflect. I soon understood that rejection often drives a person harder and encourages them to think smarter. But it can also hurt a whole lot too! I thought hard about what worked for me in times of uncertainty and realized that my own ways of knowing were perhaps my best way forward. I started to think like I do when I am in the whanau, hapu or iwi system. I looked for people who were sensitive to the needs of others, who might be instrumental in empowering whanau. I connected patterns as a means to find allies and to be forewarned about who to avoid and where to be careful. Making the links and negotiating a pathway became a powerful catalyst for change.

It has been well over a decade since that first door closed and as I look back now one thing is for sure, new ones have opened and with each a fresh opportunity has emerged. This thesis is evidence of that and as Australian songwriter and musician Paul Kelly sings ‘from little things
big things grow’ I am reminded about the potential of a dream, the commitment to empower others and the determination to make a change. When the heart speaks the kindness of many makes the pathway bright…Ititahi.

The message here is simple. If Maori continue to be in the shadows we will remain in the dark and if we want opportunities for our people living in Australia then we need to be willing to step forward and make the effort to find allies, develop initiatives and seek out resources in spite of the challenges we may face in the process. My own experience illustrates how difficult it can be navigating a mainstream system that is not Maori friendly. It also highlights how important it is for those who hold authoritative positions in mainstream organizations to be considerate and sensitive to our needs as indigenous people, who also happen to be migrants to Australia.

KNOWING HOW AND SEEING WHY

This research aims to give voice to Maori and in this process it plays a critical role in helping to understand how we navigate this system as Maori. As LT Smith (1999, p.176) points out, ‘research in itself is a powerful intervention, even if carried out at a distance, which has traditionally benefitted the researcher, and the knowledge base of the dominant group in society’. The appropriate engagement process from first contact is a critical feature for any indigenous based inquiry. In many aspects this connection can determine successful engagement, what information is shared by participants and even the outcome of a study. Furthermore, one must bear in mind the animosity and deep resentment some indigenous people feel towards research and practitioners alike and so this must be managed with care and sensitivity. Even the insider is not exempt from this antipathy. In many ways most insiders stand to lose a lot more because they usually belong to the communities they study. This is particularly applicable if participants or people in the research community become upset or disgruntled in anyway as it could lead to problems for the practitioner or his or her family down the track. Care must then be taken to ensure support mechanisms are implemented and people relations are managed carefully and competently. Sometimes this can be simple and other times it is intricate and extremely complex, but either way it is a work in progress with a need to be adaptable to the people and the space. This situation reminds me about some of the philosophies we were taught from a very wise uncle who has since passed away. He used some of the most confusing philosophies to teach us important concepts or to prove a
point during our conversations. His explanation about the grey area was no exception. Uncle Sarge told us stories, made up propositions and pulled apart his ideas to teach us. One of his favorite lessons was helping us to understand uncertainty, which always left me thinking for hours, sometimes days after our conversation. To explain his ideology he would often say:

There’s right and there’s wrong; either way our wairua reminds us which-is-which. From time to time it’s not really about what is right or wrong, sometimes it’s just about being different. Difference brings new learning. We should always remember sometimes we have to learn from the wrong way to understand the right way, and you also have to be open for something different too. So if you think about it, to some it may not be wrong and to others it may not be right, but whatever the case and whichever side people believe the choice is theirs to make. We can argue and debate all day, but sometimes that’s not enough, so then we have to make a choice and that’s that! So sometimes it’s just different, not wrong or not right. But we must remember whatever we choose, we must always keep in mind that every part of our thinking whether it’s big or small makes a difference, somewhere, or to someone. And you know what Bub, each contribution we make, big, small, right, wrong or different, has an important place in the big picture…Uncle Sarge.

Teaching through conversation and story has always been an integral part of learning in our Maori world. Ranginui Walker (1987, p.153) reminds us that, ‘while parents in the whanau had some part of the nurture and education of children, their particular mentors were grandparents’. These elders told stories, shared genealogy and taught cultural values and traditions. Vygotsky (1978) claims that children taught with the guidance and assistance of teachers are likely to mature and learn faster. This idea is based on his Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) ideology, which has two levels of understanding with the first indicating that children reach a certain stage of learning by working independently. The second level called the upper limit recognizes the point of responsibility that a child can accept when learning is done with the assistance of an instructor. This theory supports the view that indigenous children born into large extended families, and who are mentored by their elders have well established learning capabilities because both stages of this ZPD model are simultaneously incorporated into their regular learning regime. For example, Maori children are taught to learn by watching and listening to adults. They are then encouraged to reflect quietly on their own. This challenges the child to use
visual perception, memorize stories and scope the world we live in holistically. It also promotes thought and reflection. Those of us who grew up in the whana system were quite familiar with sitting quietly and listening to those who were older talk about our ancestors and how we are all interconnected. Most times it required being still and reflecting during talks and usually even forfeiting the opportunity to ask questions or clarify points just to keep the stories unfolding. For many of us we would answer our own questions silently and in doing so create mind maps in our heads. As we grew older the lessons became more complicated and metaphors were added to the conversation. The privilege to contribute to the discussion also came as we got older and with this input the capacity to build our own stories around what we had seen heard and understood from our mentors evolved. Maori, like other indigenous people, often use symbols and metaphors to communicate information so learning about these communication tools helped us to navigate multifaceted language systems. We were also taught how to read and understand body language and intuition, which are important skills to help determine whether engagement with others is a good one that is based on true generosity or troubled and clouded by negative undertones. These competencies are critical for the research practitioner who seeks to establish a productive partnership with any indigenous research community. It is empowering to know that these skills and ways of knowing are shared. Mason Durie (2001, p.78) provides a useful perspective on reciprocal relationships suggesting that, ‘reciprocity is an integral part of Maori custom and philosophy and continues to guide thinking and interaction in contemporary times. He also claims that ‘vertical hierarchy can often take second place to relationships that are premised on mutuality and reciprocal obligations’ (p.78). The conversation between uncle Sarge and me is an example of how Maori philosophy can be transferred from one generation to the next. Uncle fulfils his Kaumatua responsibility to the next generation and I learn how to navigate uncertainty by embracing his thoughts and philosophies. There is a great deal to be achieved through this type of learning particularly in today’s climate where uncertainty is a permanent fixture in our modern day. I often chuckle to myself when non-indigenous people describe us Maori as very laid back, when in fact many of us are multitasking. For example, we can be lost in personal reflection connecting patterns and thoughts, asking questions finding answers and all whilst we are having a simple conversation with somebody. This ability to move between the different spaces adapting and adjusting where necessary is natural because like other living things we too are an organic part of the world in which we all exist, and as Bateson (1979) reminds us ‘everything is connected to everything’.
Our Maori ancestors, both past and present, have an important role in connecting our people through the whakapapa storylines that take us back through the generations to our first parents - Papatuanuku our beautiful earth mother who provides the sustenance that we may live and Ranginui our sky father who brings us night and day and watches over us from above. Sadly, when everything becomes disjointed or broken into parts, labelled and then put into individual boxes these simple ways of knowing become difficult to understand.

Parts of the system become fragmented and sometimes they no longer matter, then before long these factions are left along the wayside with no connection. One could say this is also what happens to our people when they leave the homeland. Nevertheless, the main point to consider here is to encourage us all to think about how simple it can be to adapt to difference or uncertainty by being open, listening, reflecting and sometimes not speaking. This helps one to understand the space and the people therein and what each has to offer the process and why. It also provides a point for the person looking in to determine where they fit in the picture and how the negotiation for change can begin. This process is especially useful when navigating uncertain places, emotional minefields, indifference and some of the unusual ‘landscapes’ found in this thesis.

KNOWING AND SEEING CAN HURT TOO

It is also instructive to reflect on the opportunities that have come from engaging candidly with different sections of the Maori community. Some experiences have been positive and others very challenging. Nonetheless, by creating a safe space it was possible to view, explore and discuss some of the social dynamics in our Maori community that are normally dismissed or pushed aside because they are controversial or leave people feeling uncomfortable. This part of the thesis highlights some of the contentious topics, experiences and lessons found in the discussions, debates and focus groups. Some themes have emerged from reading between the lines or being a member of the research community in general. At this point let me remind readers, and in particular our Maori people, that it is not my intention to make people feel uncomfortable or to be divisive in any way. My aim is to simply provide another learning opportunity. My hope is that we can develop and implement new and useful ways of doing things in our Maori world and perhaps the wider community. My research experiences highlight how enquiry within our cultures can sometimes lead to conflict and contention amongst our own people. To illustrate this I offer a reflection on an experience I had in the field.
A few months after I started my fieldwork, a group of Kaumatua and Kuia nominated me to stand as a chairperson on the board of a Maori women's organization. I was told urgent improvements were necessary or the association might close. Reluctant to offend them and eager to keep a resource open for our community I began to redevelop the organization. The board scrutinized every move and they followed the change process step by step.

In hindsight, however, something about these people made me feel uncomfortable. I had grown up with our old people so I understood my place, but I also knew what to expect from them in return - patience, respect and a love for our people. Feeling a sense of uncertainty I began to think about the lessons I had learned from my own Kaumatua and Kuia over the years. And before long the teachings about the grey area from uncle Sarge became my guide. His philosophy about the wairua and how it can remind us what is right or wrong, kept me in good stead as I went about redeveloping the organization. Then as recruitment goals were achieved and new faces began to appear some of the elders on the board became uncomfortable. Various people in our community cautioned me to be careful. I wondered why. Naïve and unassuming I continued to instigate changes. We held open days and I facilitated numerous focus groups. This development project juxtaposed my research study, endorsed of course by the board. I met with seasoned leaders, keen to share their expertise and resources. Together we worked on creating new and exciting programs for our women and their families and we also explored ways to celebrate the transfer of knowledge between the generations. Excited about how well the community had embraced the new changes, I asked the board if we could establish an honour roll. I explained to them that each year a Kuia from the NSW Maori community would be chosen and then acknowledged for their contribution to our people and their area of expertise. Questions about who were likely candidates followed and as I began to name people the mood of the meeting changed. Immediately a Kuia intervened and said loud and clear, NO WAY!

I was then reprimanded for even suggesting we consider inviting some of these people to join the organization. Her disgust and anger was overwhelming. I was speechless, shocked and sad all at once. Then I got mad. These people I replied are Maori who have helped many in our community. They have made changes that no other could and their leadership skills have proved that. What is the problem, I asked? Short of
spelling it out word-for-word one of the people on my list of likely candidates was an icon in the Gay Lesbian Bisexual and Transgender (GLBT) community here in Australia, back home in Aotearoa and even internationally. She was also one of the most successful Maori women I know in Sydney whose leadership style was validated by a huge following of people. I had met with this wonderful aunty on many occasions and each time we talked about our Maori world and the community here in NSW. She never said an unkind word about anyone and always wished the best for our people.

How could this board be so horrid? And to our own!

They simply would not entertain the thought of discussing this issue any further. I tried again. I questioned their motives and soon realized the matter was non negotiable. I felt so ashamed to be on this committee. With one last attempt, I told them how sad it was that people in this organization could have such contempt for another human being. I reminded them that to run a community group such as this, we had an obligation to be inclusive rather than exclusive. I also said perhaps this is why the numbers have dwindled. The angry Kuia responded by saying – you are too contemporary for this group. The conversation ended at that point. Soon after I was removed from the board and of course the organization. What is more, this incident soon became the vehicle for some of the most divisive politicking ever. Even uncle’s philosophy about the grey area was not enough to wade through the malicious behaviours that followed, which included a request made to the university to stop my research. An academic on this board of Maori elders informed the university that I could be put to death for speaking out against these Kaumatua and Kuia.

Speechless! Gobsmacked! Embarrassed…

In my view, not only was this proposition by various people on the board discriminatory, it was absolutely ridiculous. How could these people who sat on a community organization board in an important leadership role be so foolish insensitive and exclusive. Embarrassed by
the whole absurdity I gathered my literature and with the backing of my Whanau Support Group attended meetings with university executives to address the issue. As soon as it was sorted, I withdrew from the community as a helper to concentrate fully on completing my thesis. Furthermore while this experience was extremely unpleasant to say the least, it is a valuable lesson for researchers, the NSW community as a whole and indeed Maori...Itiati.

INFLUENCES AGAINST UNITY

There is a great deal to learn from this experience. Particularly important is an awareness of the emotional minefields we must navigate each time we attempt to develop or improve our community. This includes managing the face-to-face drama that comes with different leadership styles, gender issues, and traditional and contemporary values. The need for careful thought about how to navigate the chaos is paramount.

If we keep in mind what Kuhn (2009, p.57) says ‘small input can have dramatically, disproportionate consequences and slight differences in initial conditions can produce different outcomes’, we can at least be forewarned about the likely effects. Knowing that small ripples can often travel far and wide and then take some time to dissipate can forewarn us about what we might expect. At first I was concerned, worried and then annoyed. I wondered what people would think, and then pondered how they would react. By reflecting on my initial reasons for doing this research I was reminded that this was not about me or the people who had caused the problems, it was about our children and theirs. The problems soon seemed small and in due time my fears subsided.

Uncle’s philosophy soon became the strength to push on - “there’s right and there’s wrong; either way our wairua reminds us which-is-which”.

Taking the time to review my literature about the position of the insider I also realized the strength of creating a strong support base and the necessity of having a strategic plan that considers human behaviour and relationships. My experience also showed that sometimes the way people behave in our Maori world can often follow its own trajectory. Furthermore, this experience suggested to me that our Maori system in which we have existed for generations has become ineffective or flawed since our move to live in Australia. Left by the wayside this can have damaging effects on our people in the long term and any attempt to develop our community now or in the future will almost certainly fall short.
Complexity theory draws our attention to self-organization as a way to describe how chaotic activities can be seen and even managed. Often when we become immersed in a complicated situation and there is a fear of loosing ourselves to the chaos of it all; taking a step back to allow the disorder or confusion to run its course until it dissipates can be extremely helpful. This strategy was extremely useful in my own experience with discontentment. For example, by stepping aside and allowing the destructive behaviour to run its course I was able to reflect, review and then readapt my approach to accommodate for the necessary changes. This highlights the versatility of complexity to describe and illustrate how chaos emerges, what one can do to manage it and the benefits it provides for reflection and adjustment. The guiding hand of Maori elders, leaders and whanau provided counsel and support and the value of autoethnography to include what I saw and to tell it as it was seen and experienced by me, provided opportunities for important learning. The effort of these three methods working together shows how an eclectic methodology can be resilient enough to navigate challenging spaces.

In hindsight it could have been far easier to bury my head in the sand and take the easy way out because the hurt and emotional anguish cut very deep. But then it occurred to me that the stand taken by the board was one of the greatest obstacles we faced in trying to transform our community and the worth of our children and mokopuna was reason enough to persevere. In a practical sense the advantage of a Kaupapa Maori approach proved invaluable because not only did it provide hands-on advice and cultural guidance to university leaders, but it also helped me to overcome the emotional hurt by prompting ‘the me I am’ to return to my sense of place to be inspired by the wairua of my tupuna. This story about my experience with the Kaumatua and Kuia also highlights important leadership issues and challenged us to think about the role our elders play in management positions. Again we need to be cautious as we encounter yet another emotional minefield, which this time reminds us about the consideration and responsibility each of us has to safeguard our elders and to ensure they are granted the respect they deserve. However, in terms of the issues outlined in the story shared, the question must then be asked who determines the guidelines that Kaumatua and Kuia follow and how will these affect our community or be passed on to the next generation.
Cleve Barlow (1991) claims that the word *kaumatua* often refers to a male tribal leader who is elderly and who acts as a spokesman on the *Marae*. *Kaumatua* are usually designated as keepers of the knowledge and traditions of their *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi*. *Kuia* on the other hand are the elderly women of a family or tribe and often they play a central role in welcoming visitors onto the *Marae*. Many assist their husbands in their *Kaumatua* roles and so they too can have an extensive knowledge about our traditions and culture. A woman usually achieves *Kuia* status after she has completed her years of childbearing and passes the menopause stage. Another perspective and indeed a more modern take on the role of a *Kaumatua* is presented by Matua Hohepa Kereopa (cited in Moon 2003, p.18) who claims that ‘to be a *Kaumatua*, you must first wade through life…that’s what the word means: to wade through something’. He suggests that as you progress through life, gain experience and get older you are in the process of becoming a *Kaumatua*. You must also walk through the *Maori* world and learn all of the traditional concepts too. Many of these teachings are found on the *Marae*. Some people, Matua Hohepa says ‘don’t get there, even though they think they have’ (cited in Moon 2003, p.118). A *Kaumatua* has to have age, life experience and traditional knowledge to do the things that are expected of him in this role. Matua Hohepa also claims that there is a need for *Maori* to be clear about how certain systems work. For example, running an organization designated for some specific purpose such as a *Runanga* should be kept separate to what happens on a *Marae*. This does not mean that the *Runanga* cannot come to the *Marae* it just indicates the two entities should be kept separate in the way they operate and are managed. He also claims that a *Rangatira* needs to be open-minded. There are two fundamental points to consider here.

First, there is the notion that many of the traditional teachings occur on the *Marae* where people come together and discuss, debate and share ideas and knowledge about how things in our world operate. On the *Marae* our people also talk about new ways of doing things and they have a say about important changes made to our systems. In Sydney, the tangible *Marae* as many of us know it does not exist. Consequently, our people gather in homes, public buildings, churches and other meeting places, but often a variety of restrictions can place limits on what we can achieve in terms of community development. There have been many attempts to establish a *Marae* in Sydney, but most of these have fallen by the way side leaving a disheartened and often disillusioned community along the way. It is equally important to note that the level of traditional knowledge varies among elders, leaders and the general *Maori* population here in NSW and this can have a huge bearing on how our community as a whole
operates. This fieldwork experience stands as a reminder that more discussion needs to be had amongst our Maori people about leadership, contemporary issues, Maori traditions and our place as migrants to Australia. Matua Hohepa (2003) has a very useful suggestion about the realities of leadership in our Maori world. Challenging leaders he claims is ‘a part of the whole leadership thing…but tikanga will tell us who is right and who is wrong’ (2003, p.120). Being able to discuss issues in an open and honest way has many benefits thus tikanga has a valuable place in all Maori activities including the most trying of circumstances. The challenge, however, is having the relevant knowledge to facilitate and implement these principles and guidelines. Good leadership therefore begins with a commitment to seek after these principles and to be inclusive of our community as a whole.

If we reflect back on some of the suggestions made at the Leadership Hui in Newcastle a common theme expressed by many was the importance of working together for the benefit of the Maori community and in particular our children and theirs. Leaders also expressed a need to teach the next generation about Maori traditions, culture and identity. It seems then to succeed in doing this we must develop strategies that are inclusive, built upon strong principles and relevant for our young people who are not only Maori by descent, but live in multicultural Australia.

TELLING US WHAT WE SAW

The last part of this discussion aims to create a picture story using themes gathered from the people who shared their narratives. Some of these are about Maori identity and culture and others about the research process. To begin, consider the following quote from uncle Sarge who would always say to me “what do you see?” He would often ask this question when he wanted to have a conversation about the world and our place in it. Each time this occurred my mind would go into overdrive creating all sorts of ideas and pictures to help me understand my response to his question. For Maori it is often important to have a visual point when one is trying to comprehend or understand something or someone. This may well be connected to that early childhood learning many of us grew up with when adults would say, “kaue korero, whakarongo, titiro ako or stop talking, listen watch and learn”, encouraging and enabling education through visual and experiential learning.
During my fieldwork I asked a group of people what was important to them in terms of how the study was conducted. An elderly gentleman in the group stood up and said:

**Matua:** Yeah…can you let us know what happens or what you found out! You know when you are finished.

**ME:** Yeah, cause – Ill bring you a book like this one (holding up a copy of a thesis). Whoever wants a copy can have one.

**Matua:** Umm can you tell us! – I don’t want to read a book I’ll probably use it for a doorstop (every laughs including me). It would be better if we had another meeting and you told us about the outcome.

**ME:** Oh, ok…

This excerpt from my research demonstrates how important it is to be receptive to the needs of our people particularly in face-to-face meetings. As our Matua pointed out he will not read a book and would prefer to be told about the findings of the study vocally. Qualitative research literature argues that if the community’s needs are seriously considered the practitioner will include a strategy that includes a return to the people to share the research findings in a way that works for them. This technique also provides an opportunity for reciprocity, reconnection and to continue the conversation, only this time the focal discussion points will be around the findings. Not only is this an important learning milestone for researchers, it empowers the community to explore and discuss what these results mean for them, their whanau our iwi and the wider community as a whole. This is a good example of how a commitment to a fair and equitable relationship between participants and practitioners can lead to empowering and self-determining outcomes for the community. It also suggests to formal researchers, institutional leaders and academics alike that for Maori research to be effective it must involve our people from the beginning to the end in a way that works for us too. Not only do Maori appreciate oral feedback and the opportunity to respond, the aesthetic use of symbolism, pictures and photos help them to locate themselves in the
space and connect to people and place. This is vital because it is their story first and foremost. For these reasons the presentation and feedback process must be participant friendly. This gives the people a chance to endorse the research, validate their participation in the process and facilitate closure for themselves. The following recommendation by LT Smith (1999) on feedback and the way research should be reported back to the people is valuable and must be taken into consideration if Māori research in Australia is to be effective at all. LT Smith claims that:

There are diverse ways of disseminating knowledge and of ensuring that research reaches the people who have helped to make it. Two important ways not always addressed by scientific research are to do with reporting back to the people and sharing knowledge. Both ways assume a principle of reciprocity and feedback. Reporting back to the people is never ever a one-off exercise or a task that can be signed off on completion of the written report. Some of my students have presented their work in formal ceremonies to family and tribal councils; one had their work positioned amongst the wreaths, which have surrounded the casket of a deceased relation (LT Smith 1999, p. 15).

Smith makes an important point here in that she argues research can be presented back to the community in a variety of ways. The example where her students reported back to the tribe is not only about sharing knowledge on a particular issue it also represents the obligation we have to our people as a whole. More importantly and certainly related to the way this thesis was conducted is her case in point, which indicates how research can often have an important place at tangihanga or funerals. Unfortunately for this research study, interaction with the community at tangihanga became problematic after University Western Sydney protocol directed me to stop all engagement at these meetings in response to a complaint made by the member of the Māori organization who had earlier raised concerns. While this decision was made with the university’s interests in mind, for our Māori people the implications were not so positive. In Australia and certainly in New South Wales the vast distance between places and the scattering of our people can mean gatherings at tangi are when Māori from all over the region gather not only to grieve but come together and discuss community issues. This becomes an important gathering time when issues are discussed and concerns are raised. Sometimes, however, people are not so willing to make a worthy contribution and if the politics of our Māori community is not fully understood by outsiders it can be to the detriment of our people as a whole. This is a critical learning point for mainstream leaders who are in a position to make ethical decisions about
how Maori research is conducted here in Australia and the need for more understanding on both sides. Our gatherings are places where community issues are discussed and shared amongst our people and this includes tangihanga or funerals. We have clear guidelines about how we do things in our community, including how we care for a bereaved family and so when outsiders do not know about our ways of being, knowing and doing there is the potential for unhelpful decision making that can be detrimental for Maori researchers and our community as a whole. The following example presents my personal reflection about this matter.

When I think back to the incident I had with the disgruntled member of our community, and the direction by university leaders to stop my research conversation or discussion at funerals or gatherings I wondered how they could make this call when most if not all of these people had no knowledge of Maori culture. This is a shame because our tangihanga is an important gathering place for Maori to discuss the affairs of our people, in our own space and in our own way. We explore issues, debate ideas and even talk politics here. It is also at these gatherings that contacts are made and people are engaged. I touched base with the members of my research whanau and updated them about the progress of my fieldwork. When the decision to stop all research conversation was made by the ethics committee, my research whanau raised their concerns and asked why they were not consulted. I responded by saying it seems they were not interested in what you had to say. They were disappointed and so was I. Still, this decision changed my research study in the following two ways:

1. It stopped my conversation with a major part of the research community and in that context disconnected us from any collective dialogue that had already been established over the duration of my study.

2. It isolated me from my own community. For example, several requests for me to speak in these forums by leaders, elders and family members made it difficult to attend these gatherings so I stopped going to avoid being in this uncomfortable position. I soon became disconnected from my own people and in many aspects was pushed to the very edge of our Maori community.
Understanding our Maori world is important, but being prepared to deal with the wrath of internal politicking requires an in depth knowledge of the community and a strong support system. Being ill equipped has its consequences as the example above clearly illustrates the whole research study can be compromised if decision makers are uninformed or misguided. The likely outcome is often to retreat in fear of the unknown, which is unfortunately what occurred in this case. As an insider, navigating the different pathways in our Maori world it is extremely uplifting. It can also be perfidious so I recommend that before any Maori research in Australia is carried out a pre-investigation study is essential to scope the community, establish whanau support and gather resources to ensure proper protocols are followed. It also helps to find key gatekeepers and make connections to people and groups, which can take considerable time. Community members need to be involved, but this should be negotiated with the practitioner and supervisors to ensure everyone works together to achieve the goals of the research study. University leaders must also be prepared to open the lines of communication to our people and listen to their input if research is to be fair and useful to Maori in Australia. Sometimes it is often easier to retreat because as we have seen from examples in this research, the negative politics can have devastating effects on people. Still, sorting through some of the challenges can become stepping-stones towards improving opportunities for our people living here in Australia.

Uncle’s philosophy that “sometimes we have to do the wrong thing to learn what is right”, is certainly a lesson to be learnt here. Let us also reflect on the rest of his teaching, “sometimes it is not wrong it is just different”, to create a pathway towards a more cohesive understanding of how Maori and non-Maori alike can work towards understanding and perhaps learn how to be more accommodating of each others ways of knowing and being. The experience of breaking my connection to the wider Maori community left me at a loss and so a return to the 'still and quiet' to ponder what would work from here on convinced me to revisit my complexity tools and in particular self-organization.

In time I saw how simple and straightforward adapting my approach could be if I embraced the idea that change is organic and each of us has the innate capacity to manage this process. Self-organization reminds us that as humans we have a natural ability to adapt when the world around us is changing. Adjusting my approach to become a passive observer watching, listening and learning during tangihana and other similar community gatherings allowed me to continue learning and processing information and data at such opportunistic meetings. So in summary an important part of my information gathering was based on personal observations at public gatherings as well as specific research activities (focus groups and
coherent conversations as formally organised and reported on above in this thesis). It is important to note that this change to my initial research approach was not helpful for gathering storylines and collective conversation so I decided to attend tangihana to observe and listen to the dialogue where insights and patterns could still be seen. As an ordinary Maori (not as a researcher) I attended meetings, but rather than participate in conversation with others and jeopardise this research study I soon found retreating to converse with my inner-self about the issues and patterns identified in the group discussions helped me to stay informed and connected.

It also illustrates how these innate skills we had as children were nurtured and developed in a way that has helped us to be intuitive to our natural ability in our adult years. This example also raises the idea often highlighted in complexity conversations that when one is pushed to the edge his or her most creative instincts and abilities emerge. Once this thesis is completed I will go back to the community to share my findings and so I look forward to reconnecting and continuing this participating once again in this shared conversation.
Chapter 9. A brief Synopsis of the Tasks

BE THE CHANGE TO ENABLE THE CHANGE

Inspired by the famous saying from Gandhi (cited in Salmon 2004), ‘be the change you want to see in the world’, this brief synopsis is a reflection of my quest to transform myself in the hope that I could gain the knowledge and skills needed to contribute to creating the changes in our Maori community here in Australia. This requires a commitment to fulfil a number of important tasks on a journey of learning and discovery. Employed in the helping profession I saw first hand the problems Maori children and their families faced when they lacked the skills to adapt to the Australian way of life. For years I worked with government officials, schools, counsellors and the justice, health and social services trying to fill this gap. The results proved positive as I worked across New South Wales, but the gaps grew bigger and soon I became overworked, cranky and disillusioned by the social sector. I left. But what stayed with me was the responsibility I had to do something even if it was to help our people in some small way. With determination the size of an ocean and resources that began and stopped with me, I set out to change our trans-Tasman Maori world by talking about the cross-cultural, integration and fitting in problems I saw and experienced myself. I had watched people from other worlds who had no idea about a Maori child or whanau make terrible decisions that produced dreadful outcomes for our people and no matter how much you proved time and time again their intervention was unsuitable, the madness continued. No one listens until you sit at the table with the decision makers and you get to have a say. Before this I had never seen the value in higher learning, but I did know that those who had the qualifications in the world of decision making had a great deal of power to say or change what happened in our community. This was my cue to seek an education and in that process I found Social Ecology. The 1999 Social Ecology undergraduate information package reads:

Social Ecology explores the relationships between the personal, social and environmental. It is premised on the view that everything we do as individuals impacts to a greater or lesser extent on our environments and on other people and their environments…we use the word ecology to emphasise the interrelationships, co-evolution and the emergence of patterns amid complexity within all systems. We find ecological thinking very helpful in guiding our explorations of personal, social and environmental issues and their interrelationships…if we see ourselves
as part of broader ecological systems and if we have been able to develop a sense of place then we cannot avoid the need for each of us to explore the consequences of our actions...ecological thinking leads us to the view that we are part of the systems in which we operate and we cannot avoid taking responsibility for the impacts we might have (even in action has a consequence). Because we cannot place ourselves completely outside our contexts, we need to also explore more subjective ways of exploring them, such as through feelings and intuition and womens and indigenous peoples ways of knowing (University Western Sydney 1999, p.9).

Fearful of having to succumb to the other world, I attended this learning space with much trepidation and uncertainty. I questioned how I would survive in a mainstream system without forfeiting my Maori way of being and for the most part found myself anxious and fearful I would change. I was wrong. I did change. After many years in this learning space I found out how to be better at being “the me I am”, a Maori woman and “the me I must become”, who lives confidently and participates bicompetently in this Australian world. With this knowledge in my kete whakairo I set to work gathering more knowledge to change the way decisions were made for me, my children and our Maori community here in NSW, Australia.

A WORK IN PROGRESS

Task two began in 2003 when I read Linda Smith’s book Decolonizing Methodologies and realised the potential of research and the power to speak through academia. I took a leap of faith and conducted a feasibility study to explore the potential of a Maori research investigation in Australia and in doing this I took my lead from the wise sages in Smith’s book. I wondered if I was capable of such a task. I was. The study gained me a place in the PhD class of 2005 where I began to explore my assumption that Maori identity would eventually be diluted as our people blended into multicultural Australia and indeed the global community. I wanted to know if Maori identity changed when our people migrated to live in Australia.

In 2005 task three began as I set about creating my PhD. I spent my first year building on the data I had gathered for my honours research and in time had established a framework that was flexible and resilient enough to bridge the gap between Maori and non-Maori knowledge. I wanted to create a research methodology that worked between the two worlds to create an understanding about what is required to move competently
between both spaces. Furthermore, I wanted to be inclusive of our people, by creating a thesis they could engage, understand and see themselves in every part and page. I wanted to give back to them something they could use to reciprocate their generosity of sharing because they cared. I wanted to develop a framework that scholars would value as new and useful knowledge and in time find ways to explore how this way of seeing, knowing and doing could influence their own thoughts and practices. In this endeavour a number of valuable methods were incorporated to build a unified effort to enable my very ambitious goals. Kaupapa Maori gave me tools to navigate our Maori world with confidence and it reminded me to keep my Maori eyes, heart and philosophical ways of knowing at the heart of my study. It gave me the strength to debate, the knowledge and references I had incorporated to support my study and the trust to know the ways I was taught from my tupuna were valid and an important part of this thesis.

I cannot resolve which part of the whole I shall relinquish, for I seek to show it all…
I am red and white and black
And green gold blue and yellow too
I was one before
But now I am many
Matted and twisted and tangled with others…
Sometimes I will follow red, and white and black
And green gold blue and even yellow too…
I cannot resolve which part of the whole I shall relinquish, for I seek to show it all…Ititahi.
FINDING ORDER IN THE MESS

I was challenged by the need to tell the micro and macrostory, but could not decide which I would leave aside. I discovered complexity and found tools to integrate stories big and small, moving and static and old and new. I learned the value of chaos and pushed the boundaries to enable creativity. Then I saw a language that told our stories and articulated Maori ways in the landscapes we created ourselves.

I attended workshops and listened to others who had travelled the research road. I debated, negotiated and learned with my peers and I spent my days and nights reading books and archival records at libraries in both Australia and Aotearoa. I spent time in Aotearoa looking for connections to other Maori academics. I wanted to belong to their system. I did not fit. I felt like a legal alien in my own homeland. I realised my system was within my own space. I debated, questioned and reasoned in my mind. I sat listening to conversation, lectures, speeches and stories. I learned from whanau who looked different to my own. They were concerned about people, all people. I began to ask questions, explore histories and find out about what worked in our community and what had not. I saw the gatekeepers and noted those who opened doors and those who also closed them. I moved beyond my whanau support system and invited community members to join. They were keen and accepted. But others were not so supportive and soon problems emerged. I then found myself at the edge of chaos when this negativity pushed me into a corner. I had the option to be quiet and conform to threats or use this experience as an opportunity to teach our people this behaviour needs to stop, and until we stand up to it, we will never address or overcome the negativity it produces. I chose both and negotiated a pathway on the back of autoethnography where I found the courage to say what I saw and talk about how that made me feel. I thought about how telling stories was a way of attracting people’s attention and by reflecting on what this experience could teach us all. Suddenly everything stood still and my world became silent, cold and dark.

I read the letter Ellis (1992) wrote about the death of her brother and the effects of this experience on her and I knew then it was acceptable for me to say, “I am not all right, someone has killed my brother and I am numb and struggling to cope.” He was brutally murdered in late 2007 and my passion for learning left with him. “I fought to stay focused, to remain sane in the grief. I failed terribly to stay in the space. I lost my mind, fell over the edge and kept falling. I could not stop. I stayed in the dark. I could not come back, I became engulfed in a wave of madness.”
Engulf'd in a Wave of Madness

Tis in my darkest hour I long to be at sea
To rest my weary heart from this awful misery
I scream beyond my breath to the tides that beat my soul
Engulf'd in a wave of madness the chaos consumes my whole...

Silly childhood stories not made for writing books
Come to me at night in oddly fashioned looks
Naive to think we all can see the story they bring for you and me
Engulf'd in a wave of madness its chaos I can see...

No air, mind spinning the world is moving fast
Can't see the flowers or the raindrops, just a very blurry past
Consciousness hypnotized in color, wild patterns catch my eye
Engulf'd in a wave of madness will this chaos pass me by...

Listen they say for the rhythm, the beat will lift you high
For all to see and on par for pretense and hypocrisy
Common sense retreats egoistic moment's rise
See them who dramatize sensationalize and capitalize
Engulf'd in a wave of madness chaos infused within...

Wrestle wild insanity to tame that beastly tide
Be still my soul and navigate the chaos it will subside
My will to win for goodness sake
Beneath my feet the wave does break
Dive into the darkness and swim towards the light
Then look into the stillness to make you feel all right
Must ride that wave to the heavens where all the stars look bright
Engulf'd in a wave of madness the chaos guides my flight...

Ititahi 2007
OUR MOKOPUNA IS THE LIGHT- A LETTER TO OUR MOKOPUNA

Task four saw a returned enthusiasm for my work as I sat for many days, nights and even years in the quiet, searching my mind for a reason to reconcile the desire, hope and determination to complete this thesis and enable the change that I had spent so long and worked very hard to initiate. Then a tiny voice in my mind whispered the book (my brother called my thesis the book) and in that moment I knew it was time to embrace the sunshine and move towards the light. I thought of our mokopuna.

I reconnected and completed the quest by creating a legacy in a letter I wrote for my mokopuna.

Photo 40. “Toku mokopuna i te mea nui o tenei ao”
My grandbaby is the most precious thing in the world
Dear Mokopuna

When I knew you were coming, my heart was filled with joy. I wondered what you looked like a pretty girl or handsome boy.
I couldn’t wait to touch you and hold your tiny hand then I thought about your birth and your place in this other land.

Who will you be my mokopuna and whose ways will you see?
This is your time to learn with every twist and turn.
And there are stories and yarns that will help you to see, exactly, where you fit into our family tree.
Nanny wanted you to know there is a place for you to go.
Buried under a special totara tree, your whenua connects you to Parpee and Me.
On this land your whanau lives, keep in mind the gifts it gives.
If you should find a need to be, just go back to that special totara tree,
Cos it will connect you to our eternity.

You came into this world on Darug land so be mindful how you behave and where you stand.
The people here have a job to do. It is to keep the land safe for me and you.
Be mindful then to do your part to keep our papatuanuku strong at heart.
There is much for you to see and do and it is all here, just for you.
Remember mokopuna whatever you do, and wherever you go
We love you bigger than the world and so much more than you will ever know…

Arohanui Nanny and Parpee.
One Last Look behind to see what lies ahead...

RESEARCH HAS THE POTENTIAL TO SHOW US THAT OUR MAORI WORLD CHANGES

Research has the power to inform. Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (1999, p.28) proposition that ‘indigenous peoples want to tell our stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes’, gave me the courage to share mine and to seek the skills necessary to tell stories for others who have something important to say. Being able to tell our stories in a way that helps us to see ourselves in the landscapes, between the lines and on the pages is empowering. Kauapapa Maori research then is about people who can change the world. It begins with us. Autoethnography can give power to the people. Ellis (1992) and Denzin (1989) showed me how to tell it like it is, and survive with a smile to live another day. The wise and forever giving community of complexity thinkers including Lesley Kuhn, Robert Woog, Vladimir Dimitrov and others in my space inspired me to feel alive in the chaos of my own thinking, to embrace the mess and madness until I found a sense of order amongst it all. Freire (1974, p.3) told us that, ‘to be human is to engage in relationships with others and with the world’. Our tupuna remind us to be apart of the whanau in and beyond the world is to maintain links with them in the eternities. Each day our mokopuna come into our hearts we remember about the future and our place in it with them.

Today as we take a moment to consider the needs of our world and the challenges of uncertainty it is vital that we are competent to engage others in conversation and dialogue about what we must do to ensure we are prepared for the future. Laszlo (2006) said the world is in need of a humanity that cares enough about our world to make breakthrough changes for a better future, for if we do not our global society will breakdown. I suspect ‘knowledge’ will help us to do either of these so the difference between doing something or nothing is based on what we know. We must therefore be capable of writing, speaking and engaging with everyone to communicate our ideas and knowledge, hopes and aspirations and fears and concerns about the future in this global space we share. Research in this context has the power to enable this process. Skills however give us the tools to walk our talk. Bateson (1979) taught us that by following connections we are likely to see pictures unfolding.
These pictures become bigger as we go. This is not to say, however, that it becomes so big we cannot see where we are heading. No these patterns and pictures tell us that there is the potential to see awesome horizons if only we stop and look carefully. By seeing the whole picture we have a better perspective about where we fit. It is like those simple but special teachings from my grandfather who said kaue korero whakarongo titiro ako or do not talk be still, listen watch and learn to understand where the patterns are and what they mean. Let me then conclude this part of the conversation with a quote by Gregory Bateson who said:

But epistemology is always and inevitably personal. The point of the probe is always in the heart of the explorer: What is my answer to the question of the nature of knowing? I surrender to the belief that my knowing is a small part of a wider integrated knowing that knits the entire biosphere or creation (Bateson 1979, p.93).

To inform is to empower others to know. By knowing, people become encouraged ‘to do’. By doing, they change and in change begin to understand what they know.

MAORI IDENTITY AND CULTURE IN AUSTRALIA

Now as I look back over this thesis and think about whether our Maori identity and culture changes when we migrate to live in Australia, I am convinced more than ever before, that the answer lies within each of us. That only we as individuals have the power to define our identity and in this context articulate whether or not we have changed. My model to understand how to know who we are in Australia works for my children and me. And it also works for our mokopuna. Perhaps it will work for other Maori. Remember, “the me I am and the me I must become is the same” we just have to understand how to move in and out of the different spaces to know how to navigate both places effectively. Once we have gained an understanding of how to do this between two spaces, we can step back and unpack the idea further and perhaps add more phase spaces and new phrase spaces to colour our portrait. Like uncle said, “its not wrong, its just different”, and as we know sometimes difference enables a change that we may not even know has occurred. But it has. Through change we grow and by understanding how we do this empowers us to know.
In knowing how, we become self-determined enough to choose for ourselves. As adults we are responsible to teach our children how to care for their physical and emotional wellbeing. We are also responsible to tell them about who they are and how they are connected to others. Sometimes this means telling them stories and taking them to special places. Being responsible is also about us sharing our knowledge and time with each other so that all of our children can enjoy the opportunities that come with understanding what it means to be connected to a whanau. We as Maori must be mindful that our children have been raised and born in Australia, so the experiences and stories they create here are important milestones that will help them to build their own perspective of the world and indeed their place in it. Connecting them to our storylines from home gives them those historical links to Aotearoa and in turn shows them how they belong in the eternal circle too. In this process they strengthen their sense of knowing about who they are and where they belong. By understanding this they will be confident to walk forward and into the future with two feet firmly on the ground.

Photo 42. He taonga tuku iho - A precious gift from God
Nga wae wae o Nyah toku mokopuna ataahua!!
Poroporoaki - Epilogue

Te oha a Ngati Hine

Tirohia nga taumata o te moana  
ka hoe ai to waka ki tua.  
Whakairihia o manako ki te tihi maunga  
ka piki ai kia eke.  
Hapaitia to wairua ki nga rangi  
kia rongo ra ano koe i te reo atua.  
Herea to ngakau ki te whenua  
kia mau ai i a koe te ha o te ora.  
Takahia nga ara o te ao  
kia u mai ano koe ki te kainga,

Ko konei tonu a Ngati Hine - Na Waharoi Hoterene.

Ngati Hine Legacy

Set your eyes upon the crest of the sea  
and row your canoe beyond it,  
Affix your hopes to the mountain peaks  
and strive to reach them,  
Raise your spirit to the heavens  
Until you hear the voice of gods,  
Secure your heart to the earth  
So you can feel the rhythm of life,  
Traverse the highways of the world  
until they bring you home,

Ngati Hine will always be here - by Waharoi Shortland.
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Whakaaro Rua
Two Ways of Knowing

UNDERSTANDING HOW IDENTITY AND CULTURE CHANGES
WHEN MAORI MIGRATE ACROSS THE TASMAN TO LIVE IN AUSTRALIA

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN SYDNEY
AUSTRALIA

ROSEANNA HENARE-SOLOMONA

2012
DEDICATED TO THE LOVING MEMORY OF
MY BROTHER JIM

E te tuakana kua ngaro koe ki te po
Pipiwharauroa e tangi nei rere pouri i konei
Pikia atu te ara ki te rerenga wairua
Takoto i runga i te aroha

My dearest brother you have disappeared into the night
Like the shining cuckoo I call, aimless in my sadness
Ascend the pathway to the departing place of spirits
And lie peacefully in my love
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The most rewarding thing about writing this thesis was the opportunity to engage and work with so many people who without fail believed in the importance of this mahi. Their aroha, tautoko and manakitanga gave me the courage and inspiration to bring our migration stories out of the shadows and into the light so that we may learn what the future holds for our Australian born mokopuna in the years to come.

It is difficult to acknowledge everyone because there are so many who have made a contribution to this work however, I would like to offer my thanks and gratitude to: the Darug, Gandangarra, Eora and Tharawal people for the opportunity to learn, work and live in your country; uncle Colin Gale, aunty Edna Watson aunty Gloria Matthews, aunty Pat Field and uncle Wes. To my dear friend and sometimes foe in the work we do with families, Winsome Ruth Matthews, who guided me through the unfamiliar terrain of her country making sure I was safe and supported along the way tino arohanui kia koe e hoa.

A large part of this thesis was informed by the conversations and stories shared by the NSW Maori community. To those who agreed to participate in this research I simply say thank you for your gift of knowledge and story. It has been an honour to hear your experiences and to interpret them so we might learn how to improve on what we have for the next generation. I want to acknowledge my dear friend Phil Smith whose enthusiasm to learn to lead and enable change became a constant reminder to me about how important we all are in the big picture takoto i runga i te aroha e hoa. I want to say a special thank you to aunty Te Ruinga Haeata for her part in this thesis. She made our beautiful kakahu that now stands as a reminder about our trans-Tasman history and the connection between Aotearoa and Australia. I also want to thank her whanau for sharing their beautiful mum with me. To the Kaumatua, Kui and leaders who guided my hand especially Uncle Hone Pita whose aroha in so many ways sustained and refreshed my soul. To Hori Purukama, Malcolm Karipa and Hineara Parata I am extremely grateful for your wisdom and unfailing support. I also want to acknowledge those who challenged this work and reminded me that without the darkness, we sometimes do not understand how lucky we are to have those who help to enable the light.

I want to pay tribute to two people who began this thesis with me and are no longer here to share in its completion. Firstly, the late uncle Bill Ngawaka whose outspoken opinionated challenges about Maori being second rate citizens in this country became an important attractor on this journey. He always had an answer for my barrage of questions, which often lead to conversations that were not always civil, but in the end the learning gained and the respect we built for each other was worth the drama. To understand uncle Bill was to know that he really did want the best for our people. I want to acknowledge my uncle Sarge who ensured that I had all the tools necessary to complete this mahi. His wisdom, strength and unconditional love for my whanau and me made this work possible. And while he is no longer with us in life I know that in spirit he listens to my thoughts and ideas in the still of the early morning.
I am indebted to the University of Western Sydney for its investment in me and to all the staff that helped to make this thesis doable; thank you.

Dr. Robert Woog and Dr. Lesley Kuhn supervised the research and writing of this thesis. I admire their courage and humility to come into my Maori world and to stick with me through the thick and thin of it all. They guided me with clarity and thoughtfulness that allowed me to operate in a way that was appropriate for me and indeed our Maori people. They trusted my ability to examine, evaluate and speak confidently about my ideas, concepts and dreams and in this space enabled me in ways beyond anything I ever dreamed I was capable of. When my heart was broken and I doubted my own capacity to finish this thesis they gently encouraged me to keep going. To them both I am forever grateful.

I want to acknowledge my nannyma who inspired our journey in so many ways. And to all the whanau both here in Australia and at home in Aotearoa who have always been interested, encouraging and happy to lend a hand - tena koutou mo o mahi manaaki i a matou tautoko i te kaupapa.

To my children Juran and his partner Holly, Harley, Levi and his partner Mercedi and Delamain: I would never have got this far without your patience, love and support, tino arohanui toku whanau. And to my husband John: I am finally finished! Thank you my darling for keeping the light at the end of the tunnel in your sights and steering me in the right direction when I got lost along the way. Uncle Sarge said, “you must be a chief and step up to ensure this mahi gets done” you have done him proud, and are, in every way that Rangatira he wanted you to be.

Finally this research study was inspired by my beautiful trans-Tasman mokopuna, who are for me, te mea nui o tenei ao. This thesis is for them and other mokopuna who are born and raised in Australia.

E iti noa ana na te aroha
Although the gift is small it is given out of love…
STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICATION

Whakaaro Rua
Two Ways of Knowing

UNDERSTANDING HOW IDENTITY AND CULTURE CHANGES
WHEN MAORI MIGRATE ACROSS THE TASMAN TO LIVE IN AUSTRALIA

I, Roseanna Henare-Solomona, certify that this thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, to the University of Western Sydney Australia, is entirely my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The thesis contains traditional Aboriginal and Maori knowledge, which I have taken care to record, transcribe, interpret and present with respect and in good faith to those who shared it with me. To maintain their integrity I ask that permission to use any of this information be sought from the traditional owners or copyright consent can be obtained by me.

SIGNED: Roseanna Henare-Solomona DATE: 5 June 2012