Capturing the Kiwi Spirit: An exploration into the link between national identity, land

and spirituality from Māori and Pākehā perspectives

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the

Degree

of Master of Arts in Sociology

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2009

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Acknowledgments

Firstly and most importantly, I wish to acknowledge and thank Sr, Jenni, John, Albro, Rāwiri, Pamela, Āwhina, Rev, Grace, Pānia, Michael and Earle. Collectively, your thoughts and beliefs on spirituality, New Zealand and land have opened me as a person and an academic. Without a doubt or exaggeration, it was your stories that sustained me through the tough times (and there were many). Thank you all for participation and thank you, sincerely, for believing in this project. Sr: I wish to thank you additionally for taking part in the pilot study for this thesis and for your personal support for this project. John: I also wish to thank you for the loan of your books.

Dr. Alison Loveridge: you have remained a steady hand, teaching me the beauty of simplicity and providing me with a much-needed calm voice. Your belief in this project has given me constant support. Dr. Ruth McManus: I am indebted to you for taking supervisory responsibility on at such a late stage. Associate Professor Rāwiri Taonui: I also thank you for taking on my project at such a late stage to help me through the wonderful complexity that is a Māori worldview. Dr. Anne Scott: thank you for taking the initial interest in my thesis topic.

Professor Patrick Evans: academically, you have simply transformed me. Your critical insight into issues I hold so dear has greatly informed this thesis. In your high rank and busy position, you have continued to support me, across Schools, without reward. Your published word corresponds to your personal character: witty, funny, brilliant, insightful and thoughtful. Dr. Carolyn Morris: your interest in my thesis produced some incredibly engaging discussions and helpful guidance. Thank you for your

Alone we are born
And die alone,
Yet see the red-gold cirrus
Over snow mountain shine.

Upon the upland road
Ride easy, stranger.
Surrender to the sky
Your heart of anger.

(Baxter 1962: plate 42)

Abstract

People telling stories of national identity, land and spirituality contribute to the local formation of the nation. I explore this view of nationhood in Aotearoa/New Zealand from Māori and Pākehā perspectives. Theorising this exploration, I form my own national identity concept for guiding analysis, that of *locally narrated roots*. Locally narrated roots is, essentially, a way of looking at national identity through the everyday narration of land, spirituality and history/ancestry by individuals. Supporting the production of this term is Smith's (2003) theory of revised *ethno-symbolism*, which links religion, nationalism, land and history/ancestry, and Thompson's (2001) grounded, everyday approach summed up as *local production of national identity*. Research methods draw upon Thompson's people-focussed approach in conjunction with a narrative approach inspired by life story and Kaupapa Māori Research practices, which informed the conducting of twelve semi-structured interviews. From these interviews, six Māori and six Pākehā stories of history, ancestry, spirituality, land and identity were generated. These narratives revealed that colonial settler society, romanticism and whakapapa (genealogy) are central to this research and vital for further exploration on national identity. I close with the suggestion that participants' stories enact a process of locally authenticating one's national identity. I also suggest this *local authentication* is a *secular spirituality*, an idea that combines both patent secularism and spirituality, and is expressed through land, history and ancestry in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

1. Introduction: The Way In

"Where I got born
the South Pacific
a place called home
the Promised Land
the grass so green
the green of jade"

(Little Bushman 2007: 'Where We Get Born')

Commonly used building blocks in the formation of a nation are people's spiritual stories of its land. The Little Bushman's story is one such example. The band sings a narrative about a particular spiritual connection to a land they call home, Aotearoa/New Zealand. Countless more narratives such as this in a more ordinary and everyday sense contribute to New Zealand's existence and meaning. Whether it is through skiing, fishing, visiting ancestral places, mountain climbing, lying on the beach, flax weaving, bush walking, driving through mountainous landscapes or gardening, Kiwis on an everyday level narrate Kiwi-ness from these meaningful encounters with New Zealand's landscapes and places.

To explore this view of nationhood, I examine twelve meaningful Aotearoa/New Zealand stories in detail. As a Pākehā partner of the founding narrative of this nation, the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), I consider it my responsibility to conduct this exploration of Aotearoa/New Zealand from the perspectives of both Māori and Pākehā, the two Treaty partners.[1] Therefore, I aim to explore how Aotearoa/New

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[1] Pākehā are defined in this research as the descendants of European, particularly British, settlers from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is in line with Gilroy's (2004:204, see also Barlow 1996:87) definition: "The New Zealand descendants of the nineteenth and early twentieth century colonists from Ireland, Scotland, England and parts of Europe." This limited definition is because of

Zealand identity, land and spirituality link for six Māori and six Pākehā, all of whom have widely different spiritual beliefs.[2]

This exploration comes at a time when the existence of national identity, land and spirituality are all in contention. In the midst of globalisation, it is arguable that nations are in decline as they continue to lose power to multi-national corporations and institutions. On an individual level, it may seem that national identities are becoming meaningless in a world of global citizenship. Moreover, the very idea of land and place may be under threat as over development persists and the abstract nature of global spaces and virtual realties become more dominant in our lives. Underpinning these ideas is (increasing) Western-dominated, secular, global economic capitalism.

However, there is evidence of a countermovement. Stenhouse argues that the increasing secularisation since late/post modernity has provoked counter-secularising moves (2005:8). Berger (1999) famously dubs this *desecularization*.[3] Furthermore, Smith argues from the position of nationhood that since the 1980s a revival of religious nationalism has occurred (Smith 2003:viii).[4] In addition, there are anti-globalisation movements linked to global warming issues, for example, radical

the focus on the distinct relationship that has grown between Māori and European New Zealanders throughout New Zealand's history. It is a definition that I concede is contentious but one I, and my 'Pākehā' participants, use.

[2] Māori were the first people to arrive in, and have been the indigenous population of, Aotearoa/New Zealand since around 800 AD (Walker 1990:24). They have been collectively known as 'Māori' since European arrival, a term that offers them a way of defining themselves as a people as opposed to various iwi (tribe/s) (L. Head 2004 pers. comm., 24 September).

[3] In his book *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, Berger famously recants his earlier assertion that the world is undergoing a 'secularization' and argues that the world is in fact undergoing a religious resurgence, which is what he means by desecularization. In his introduction he gives examples such as Catholicism, Pentecostalism and Islam.

[4] For example, the political mobilisation of American conservative Christianity (Coleman 1996, Juergensmeyer 2006), the emergence of the New Christian Right in Western politics in general (Evans 1992), the reinvigoration of modern Islamic nationalism and the creation of India's Hindu Bharatiya Janata (political) party (Smith 2003:14, 16, Juergensmeyer 2006), to name just a few.

environmentalism and localvorism.[5] Exploring locally diverse forms of national identity from the view of land and spirituality positions this thesis between the 'secular economic globalisation versus radical countermovement' debate, providing a much-needed balance to the often extreme arguments either way.

New Zealand is an ideal nation to choose for this global debate, as it is renowned for international diplomacy and a considerable lack of nationalism, and it prides itself on a 'clean green' image, land being central to the national psyche. However, New Zealand is also a country well known for its secular (and increasingly so) nature.[6] In fact, New Zealanders commonly express suspicion if not complete distaste towards anything vaguely religious (see Bluck 1998:18). This sentiment, at least in part, derives from the fact that New Zealand as a nation state formed in the nineteenth century, which was a direct product of Enlightenment principles, secularism and progress. Hence, secularism has been a defining feature of New Zealand-ness since colonial inception (Stenhouse 2005:1-2). It is this secularism, though, in conjunction with the strong presence of popular romanticism (Evans 2007), that I argue produces an everyday, inclusive spirituality in New Zealand.[7] In fact, it is this nation's unique

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[5] Localvorism is the practice of eating only locally grown and produced food, a movement that has informally sprouted in the past five years in response to a food supply that has become increasingly global.

[6] Latest census results (2006) say the 'No religion' percentage increased to 34.7% from 29.6% in the 2001 census. However, there were dramatic increases in Christian and non- Christian religions: Orthodox Christianity (37.8%), Evangelical Christianity (25.6%), Pentecostal Christianity (17.8%), Sikhism (83%), Hinduism (61%) and Islam (52.6%). Christian affiliation percentage declined to 55.6% from 60.6 % in the 2001 census. There has been a numerical rise in Catholic New Zealand, based on a small (1500) gain in Catholics between each census for the past twenty years (Abraham 2006: front page) but with a significant 4.7% rise (485,637 from the 2001 census to 508,437) in 2006. (Retrieved 4 October from http://www.stats.govt.nz/NR/rdonlyres/5F1F873C-5D36-4E54-9405-34503A2C0AF6/0/quickstatsaboutcultureandidentity.pdf p.11-12.)

[7] Romanticism in this thesis refers to two different but very connected ideas. The first is Romanticism from the Romantic era, which spanned the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was a literary and artistic movement that will be explained in further detail in this thesis. Secondly, I refer to romanticism that derives from this original era, which uses Romantic philosophy, but not in the pure sense, and is not confined to literary or artistic use (this is what Evans (2007) means by popular romanticism, and, in

combination of secularism, absent nationalism, romanticism and Māori spirituality that opens the gateway for a distinct everyday Kiwi spirituality, or an everyday spiritual Kiwi-ness, with land at its centre.

This argument began inspirationally for me as a child in my home, Banks Peninsula, where I daily experienced the hills, the harbour sea and the mudflats that I lived next to. It was such a banal, integrated part of my life as a child that there was little chance of me questioning its existence or significance

It was only painful dislocation from that place that provoked me to realise that I was intrinsically linked to it and that separation from it caused spiritual loss, displacement and the feeling of being only a partial self. Until recently, I framed this link to Banks Peninsula as simply a spiritual connection to land. As years went by and I experienced similar spiritual connections with other New Zealand landscapes, albeit never quite the same, I also simply understood these connections as spiritual connections to land. I was a child of an anti-government-and-all-capitalist systems-amateur communist father and a mother who worshipped England, so Kiwi patriotism or pride did not exist as I grew up and hence never became available to my repertoire of self-awareness.

Then I went to live in India for six months. Despite falling in love with India, I realised I was also already in love. Thousands of miles away from my mother (my father had long gone from this world) and separated from New Zealand itself, I had an uncontrollable desire to express my Kiwi-ness. The smell, sound and feel of the

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his mind, sentimentalism). These two forms are often discussed but not related to each other, but this thesis strongly connects the two.

Indian landscape was so different that it propelled me to link land to nationhood. I finally realised the ineffable, powerful feeling of being in the New Zealand landscape all these years and that my bond with Banks Peninsula was actually linked to my Kiwi-ness. Therefore, one of the aims of this thesis is to explore my story by exploring similar stories to my own.

For example, Cowley (1989, 1996), well-known New Zealand author and converted Catholic, has written indigenous versions of the book of *Psalms* to make them applicable to Kiwis by locating God in features of the landscape such as mountains, rivers, seas and forests.[8] Fitzsimons (1996), author of the introductions in Cowley's books, explains the importance of this indigenisation by claiming New Zealanders have indifference for the Church and organised religion yet hold a strong belief in the spirituality of the land.

Bluck (1998), a prominent New Zealand Anglican bishop, argues New Zealanders' close relationship with their gardens is an example of this un-churched spirituality. He maintains they have replaced the traditional Church as a source of spiritual connection (1998:68-71). In his book *Long, White and Cloudy: In Search of a Kiwi Spirituality*, he reiterates Fitzsimons' (1996) argument by conceding Kiwis are generally non-religious, and alternatively, more spiritual.[9] His argument is that Kiwis are suspicious of anything "officially" religious, believing Kiwi spirituality is more located in the everyday rather than a separate religious space (1998:18). Bluck cites a Massey

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[8] *Aotearoa Psalms: Prayers for the People* (1989) and *Psalms Down Under* (1996).
[9] Ellwood (1996:144-157), the author of 'Esoteric Religions,' argues New Zealand has a particular preference for 'alternative' spirituality, whether it is theosophy, spiritualism, the spirituality of the counterculture movement of the 1960s or the 'New Age.' In sum, he argues that although church membership is low in New Zealand compared with the rest of the world, 'alternative' spiritual practice is high.

University study where 70 percent of New Zealanders believe somehow in a God, yet fewer than 15 percent are committed to any religious institution (1998:11).[10]

Catholic theologians Bergin and Smith (2004) co-edited *Land and Place: He Whenua, He Wāhi: Spiritualities from Aotearoa New Zealand*. Linking Pākehā and Māori identity, land and spirituality, the book, which was produced for lay and academic audiences, reiterates Cowley's and Bluck's arguments. The two Māori contributors to the book, Cadogan and Ulrich Cloher, describe how identity, land and spirituality link from a Māori perspective. Belonging to Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Poutini Kāi Tahu, Cadogan explains that the link between land and identity is fundamental to the Māori perspective (2004:31). More specifically, to claim to be tangata whenua one must be able to identify with a particular region, ancestral mountain and river (2004:31). Ulrich Cloher from Ngā Puhi and Ngāti Kahu reiterates Cadogan's views by discussing early Māori relationships with land, using Māori proverbs as illustrations (2004:47).

Theorising this link between national identity, land and spirituality is Smith's (2003) concept of *revised* ethno-symbolism.[11] Smith argues land, sacredness, ancestry, ethnicity and history are all intrinsic facets of the establishment of the nation (2003). Originally focused on ethnicity, Smith revised his ethno-symbolic approach to nationhood in his 2003 book by positioning religion as a focus of national foundations, sparked by the aforementioned global revival of religious nationalism

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[10] This survey is comparable to a recent survey presented by TVNZ's *Close Up* during their "Good Friday: Religion Special" (6/04/07), where 55.2 percent said they believed in a God and 56.8 percent identified as more spiritual than religious (see http://tvnz.co.nz/view/page/1051073, retrieved 11 April 2007). Interestingly, recent UMR research found that 56 percent of Kiwis believed in God (Todd 2007). For 2006 census data see 'Literature Review: A Pākehā New Zealand.'

[11] The word "*revised*" is my own addition to the term.

(2003:viii).[12] However, Thompson, Day and Adamson (1999:54), who cite this resurgence of nationalism, warn of the need to explore this through a local, everyday method, preferring to focus on national identity as opposed to nationalism and thus reiterating Bluck's (1998:18) approach.

Smith's emphasis on religion also needs reconsidering because of the above argued secular and un-churched nature of Aotearoa/New Zealand and my desire for inclusiveness. Thus, 'spirituality' replaces the idea of 'religion' (propounded by Smith) in this study. The idea of spirituality used here is not exclusive to religious or non-religious faith. Rather, it is broadly defined here as anything that conjures meaning.

However, the idea of "everyday mystical" experiences (Rahner 1983:57-64, 67-70 in Schmidt 2007:28) is also helpful. Rahner (1983:57-64, 67-70 in Schmidt 2007:28) defines "everyday mysticism" as mysticism that is accessible to ordinary everyday Christians, reiterating Bluck's (1998:18) argument of everyday spirituality.[13] I suggest an extension of Rahner's Christian focus would open up his idea of mysticism to include both Christians and non-Christians.[14] This is to ensure the concept can apply to both Christians and non-Christian participants, Māori and Pākehā. One example of everyday mysticism, relevant to this project, is the feeling of awe in the presence of nature (Rahner1983:57-64, 67-70 in Schmidt 2007:28).

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[12] *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity.*

[13] Mysticism is described in the Christian tradition as a "special kind of union with God" (*Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Religion* 1979:2476).

[14] This would of course extend the definition of a mystical experience as a special union with God to include any kind of special kind of sacredness. Catholic theology is helpful up until a point here as it has done the 'hard yards' over the centuries, developing the concept of mysticism. This is why I chose a Catholic definition and adapted it as it is Catholicism that is most well known to have thoroughly researched and explored the term.

The feeling of awe and the attribute 'sublime' are both common to the experience of

beautiful, grandiose landscapes and are helpful terms in relation to this thesis, as they

pertain to both spirituality and land. These terms originated in the Romantic era and

were imported to New Zealand during colonisation (Evans 2007).[15] The sublime was

a descriptor of "negative pleasure" that described, for example, any "powerfully

frightening natural force" (Bell and Lyall 2004:5). "English writers located the

sublime in nature: mountains, oceans, vast wilderness, cosmic space" (Bell and Lyall

2004:5), inspiring awe pertaining to both wonder and fear (Bell and Lyall 2004:5).

The comparable Māori concept to this feeling of awe is 'wehi.' Translated by Barlow

(1996:161) as the feeling of "fear, awe, respect," wehi is experienced in the presence

of a power greater than one's own, such as in the company of gods. The expression of

spirituality inherent in wehi illustrates, in one way, the inseparability of spirituality

from tikanga (custom) Māori, as to follow tikanga Māori is implicitly to acknowledge

ancestral connection to divine creation (Barlow 1996:173). Therefore, for a working

paradigm one can understand spirituality as an inherent aspect of Māori culture,

acknowledged implicitly and explicitly.[16]

Acknowledging divine creation is one way Māori also view whenua (land) (Barlow

1996:173). For this research, land can also mean 'landscape,' 'nature,' 'place' or

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[15] Adapted from Burke (1756) by Kant (1790), the term 'sublime' is known to be first used in a publication by Dionysius Longinus, who wrote *On the Sublime*, in which he referred to the 'sublime' as greatness of literature. However, it was not until Burke's *Philosophic Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* in 1756 that the term gained "wider currency" (Bell and Lyall 2004:5).

[16] I am aware that since the modernisation of Māoridom atheism does occur among Māori, so not all will agree with this statement; consequently, I recognise it as evidence of my subjective positioning and an appropriate one given my participants take this view also. Another common example of the inherent nature of Māori spirituality (and an important form of spirituality for this thesis) is the belief of the presence of deceased ancestors around living descendants.

'region' (see Smith 2003:36). A related concept to these ideas is 'homeland,' a helpful definition of nationhood (Smith 2003:36). This is because I am less interested in the nation-as-state and more focussed on the nation as an identity and homeland for individuals. However, as participants primarily direct definitions, these definitions are only beginning frameworks for these amorphous ideas of national identity, land and spirituality.

To examine these ideas further, the theoretical literature review, Chapter Two, theoretically links national identity, land and spirituality. It begins with thorough examination and a New Zealand adaptation of Thompson's theory of the *local production of national identity* (2001), Smith's (2003) theory of *revised ethno-symbolism* and Kaufmann's and Zimmer's (1998) theory of *naturalising the nation*, crucial theories of national identity for this thesis. History and ancestry emerge from this examination as pivotal to the link between national identity, land and spirituality. Through a theoretical discussion of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the self, Māori and Pākehā identities, everydayness, localness, narration, romanticism and whakapapa arise as themes that build the thesis. These combine to create the idea of *locally narrated roots,* a concept for understanding national identity that is developed by myself.

Chapter Three links this literature and theory to analysis by recounting research methods. I begin this chapter by outlining the rationale for using stories as data for analysis by drawing from the principles of life stories and Kaupapa Māori Research. I ground myself, epistemologically, in Haraway's (1991:183) "situated knowledges." Then a description of participant recruitment and interviewing follows. I also trace the

process of the post-interviewing stage, which involved transcription, narrative writing, theorising and analysing. To lead into the ensuing analysis chapters (Four, Five and Six), I briefly introduce my participants.

The first analysis chapter, Chapter Four, focuses on Pākehā ancestry. Using the idea of locally narrated roots principally through romanticism, I theorise the analysis from Pākehā participant narratives about the United Kingdom (U.K.) and colonial settler society. I broadly suggest the connection participants have to the U.K. and colonial settler society are ancestral connections that serve as national identity building tools. Linking the connection to the U.K. with colonial settler society establishes colonial settler society as a fundamental building block of Pākehā New Zealand-ness.

All six Māori participants narrated their view on European colonisation at greater length than their Pākehā counterparts. This theme constitutes the first half of Chapter Five, a chapter focussing on Māori ancestry and history theorised through the idea of locally narrated roots. Māori participants' colonisation narratives were historical as opposed to personally ancestral stories. A central concept arising from these narratives is *spiritual colonisation*. This term identifies how participants saw the colonial project colonising pre-European Māori spirituality, primarily through missionaries. The second major theme of Māori participants' local narration of roots is whakapapa and tīpuna (ancestors). This examination of Māori and Pākehā participant ancestry and history in Chapters Four and Five links nationhood, land and spirituality and leads into a focussed analysis of all participants' views on land and identity.

Land and identity are central to the concept of locally narrated roots and are expressed specifically in Chapter Six through, firstly, the alpine. In interviews, participants used the alpine as the central way to connect spiritually to land in New Zealand. I primarily analyse these narrations through the concept of the sublime. Then I move to the narratives about land produced by my Māori participants, whereby the Māori creation story emerges as central to the idea of whakapapa. Lastly, I look to the *idea of ancestral place identity*, a concept that highlights the intimate link between identity, land, spirituality and ancestry for Māori and Pākehā participants. This reintroduces the concepts of whakapapa and romanticism, producing a culmination of the idea of locally narrated roots, highlighting land and the wider concept of roots as symbols of unity in diversity.

Chapter Seven confirms that history and ancestry are pivotal to the link between national identity and spirituality for this research and that they, along with land, are vital for authenticating participants' sense of Kiwi-ness. I frame this authentication process as *local authentication* and further frame this as a *secular spirituality*. This is an idea that argues land and history authenticate national identity on a local level, and this incredibly meaningful imbued experience serves as an everyday, worldly, non-religious spirituality. I show how participants illustrate this concluding idea and point to further research ideas. I conclude this chapter and this thesis by highlighting certain failings of this thesis and personally reflecting on exploration of the link between national identity, land and spirituality from Māori and Pākehā perspectives.

2. Theoretical Literature Review: Setting the Scene

"Theory can be a dew that rises from the earth and collects in the rain cloud and returns to the earth over and over. But if it doesn't smell of the earth, it isn't good for the earth" (Rich 1986:213-214 in Shope 2006:178)

Aotearoa, rugged individual,
glisten like a pearl
at the bottom of the world
(Finn 1982)

Setting the scene for this exploration requires theoretically discussing how national identity, land and spirituality are linked. Theorising national identity, I discuss Thompson's theory of *local production of national identity* (2001), Smith's (2003) theory of *revised ethno-symbolism* and Kaufmann's and Zimmer's (1998) theory of *naturalising the nation*. Indigenising their arguments creates a theoretical foundation for this thesis as a whole, producing important sub-themes such as localness, narration, whakapapa and romanticism. Using this discussion as a foundation, several sections follow. A brief theoretical discussion of the self, then a longer, fuller theoretical discussion of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Pākehā and Māori identities, further highlight localness, narration, romanticism and whakapapa as crucial concepts for this thesis. Weaving these themes in the context of linking national identity, land and spirituality produces the concept of *locally narrated roots,* a unique, self-created view of national identity.

National Identity

Local production of national identity

Thompson, Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Glamorgan, is concerned with "putting people back into nations" (2001:18). Central to his theory of the "local production of national identity" (Thompson 2001:24) is human agency (2001:18-19).[17] It is a people-focussed, *how* approach, crucial for this research, as I am investigating *how* individuals narrate their national identity. Individuals are not, as Thompson puts it "cultural dopes" (Thompson and Day 1999:38). They in fact possess significant agency in determining what their national identity means to them (Thompson and Day 1999:28). Thompson is curious as to how people interpret, experience, and interact with national narratives and symbols (Thompson 2001:27). This "view from below" (Thompson *et al* 1999:50) demonstrates how individuals themselves are actively involved in constituting nations in daily life (Thompson 2001:29).

Exploring the concept of the everyday, Thompson draws on Billig's *Banal Nationalism* (1995 in Thompson 2001:19). Billig examines national identity through "banal routines," contending that in daily life we are reminded of our nationhood by the national news or descriptions of the national weather (Thompson 2001:19).[18]

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[17] This is the only direct use of this term in his work that I have read. However, the term in practice is illustrated throughout his research. So, I use it throughout this thesis as both direct quotation and general concept for his work as a whole, illustrated most thoroughly in his article 'Nations, National Identities and Human Agency: Putting People Back into Nations' (2001).

[18] Matthewman argues New Zealand has a weather culture and a culture of weather watching (2001:23-25), a Kiwi example of local production of national identity. This everyday encounter with nature, Matthewman argues, is an active one, also illustrating Thompsons's theory of agency in local production. Matthewman describes the connection between Kiwis and weather as an "ongoing relationship" since Māori first arrived (2001:24, 20) in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Thompson believes this gives attention to the ordinariness and everydayness of national expression as opposed to the nationalism witnessed at grand, national spectacles (Thompson 2001:19, Thompson *et al* 1999:53). Thompson believes nationalism is intrinsically political and concerned with organising and mobilising people; therefore, it is inclined towards suppressing differences rather than observing them (Thompson *et al* 1999:53). Focussing on the everyday and the "view from below" (Thompson *et al* 1999: 50) avoids these tendencies by allowing for "alternative" and "competing" views of one's nation (Thompson et al 1999:52).

Bluck (1998) is also interested in national identity on the everyday level. He links New Zealand identity to spirituality by arguing Kiwis have a distinct sense of sacredness that is located in the everyday (Bluck 1998). Located in the everyday, both spirituality and national identity can become grounded, concrete realities (Bluck 1998:13), for example, when gardening (Bluck 1998:68-71), as mentioned in the previous chapter. Gilroy (2004:201-215) agrees from a Pākehā Catholic Sister's perspective that gardens are vital for Pākehā Kiwi spirituality, expanding on Bluck's everyday argument by focussing on Pākehā women's identity and spirituality. She argues Pākehā women are enriched by ordinary life: for instance, the daily experiences of motherhood, homemaking, health and service in the community (2002:161).

Hunt, a Christchurch Presbyterian Minister and practitioner of Celtic spirituality, is also, like Bluck and Gilroy, committed to locating Christianity in an everyday New

Zealand context.[19] This primarily centres on the experience of the New Zealand landscape and nature in daily life (1998, 2003). A similarly themed prayer book by local Anglican minister Coleman, entitled *Koru Christianity* (2005), solely focuses on adapting Christianity to New Zealand culture and is dominated by features of the New Zealand landscape. These local spiritual figures of New Zealand are active agents of local national identity production (Thompson 2001). They expand Thompson's (2001) idea of the local, including narration, land and spirituality in their local practice and conception of the nation.

As indicated, this local focus on nationhood is a response to nationalism produced at the 'top.' Two national identity theorists whom Thompson describes respectively as "widely cited" and "prolific" and who contribute to this top down nationalism are Smith, Professor of Ethnicity and Nationalism in the European Institute at the London School of Economics, and Gellner, Smith's former Ph.D. student (Thompson 2001:26).

Smith (1991:16 in Thompson 2001:26) and Gellner (1983 in Thompson 2001:26) contend the national education system is crucial for creating a unified, homogenous national culture. Thompson (2001:26) agrees that the education system and additionally the mass media are central to national socialisation. However, Gellner and Smith perceive that this common culture possesses the power to shape individual self-identity, effectively informing citizens of their individual sense of nationhood

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[19] John Hunt is also a participant in this thesis who chose to use his real name. He was generous enough to lend me the two books he has published: *We Spirited People: A Personal, Enriching and Uniquely New Zealand Guide in Celtic Spirituality* (1998) and *We Well People: A Celtic Spirituality of the Senses, of Awe and Wonder and Delight* (2003). For a New Zealand rural example of local production of national identity (Thompson 2001), see Warburton's (1997) "A Theology of Life for rural New Zealand".

(Thompson 2001:26-27). This patently denies individual ability to interpret and make sense of their nationality and assumes homogeneity, which disallows for "alternative," "competing" nationalities (Thompson et al 1999:52). Gellner and Smith do not account for the interaction between the individual and national narratives and symbols (Thompson 2001:27).

The inevitable result of the belief in a common culture, which informs citizens of who they are, is that an objective nation exists separately from the people (Thompson 2001:21). This in turn produces the notion that the world unproblematically and naturally orders itself into nations (Thompson 2001:21). A central problem with Gellner's and Smith's belief that nations unproblematically and naturally occur is that there is no accounting for the "untidy processes" (Thompson 2001:26) that take place in the process of nation building. Similarly, there is no accounting for whether people adhere to official national culture or how they come to an understanding of what their nation means to them (Thompson 2001:26). Key areas in which Thompson identifies an assumption of unproblematic, natural nation building are the connections to land, history and ancestry (Thompson 2001: 22), all of which are central aspects of Smith's revised ethno-symbolism.

Ethno-symbolism *revised*

The community of people itself (divinely chosen), the holy land in which the people reside "with its memories, heroic exploits, monuments and the resting places of ancestors," the past and sacrifice/martyrdom are sacred symbols or sources of a nation in Smith's revised theory of ethno-symbolism (2003:VII). This argument is an expansion of his self-created theoretical approach to nationhood, ethno-symbolism.

Ethno-symbolism is a theoretical understanding of nationhood through ethnicity and its symbolic elements, namely, myths, memories, symbols, values, traditions and ritual (2003:18, 2005:98, 2007:33). To aid his definition of ethno-symbolism, Smith describes three levels of ethnicity.[20] Firstly, he describes *ethnic categories,* "whose members share some elements of common culture and perhaps a common terrain, but possess no collective proper name, no myth of descent and no shared memories or solidarity" (2005:98). He then describes more complex ethnic groupings, *ethnic networks* which have "a collective name, a myth of common ancestry and some measure of elite solidarity as a result of shared activities" (2003:98). Thirdly, Smith describes the most complex and developed grouping, which he calls "ethnic communit(ies)" or *ethnie,* the focus of his research and what he defines as a "named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, common elements of culture and a measure of solidarity" (Smith 1986 and Eriksen 1993 cited in Smith 2005:99). It is this ethnic grouping that Smith (2005:98) argues forms a *nation*, which he defines as "a named and self-defined community whose members cultivate common myths, memories, symbols and values, possess and

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[20] On levels, the production of which Smith attributes to anthropologists, see 'Ethnicity and Nationalism' (Smith 2006:171).

disseminate a distinctive public culture, reside in and identify with a historic

homeland, and create and disseminate common laws and shared customs."

An ethno-symbolic approach is a response to what Smith (2003:10) calls the

"modernist" approach. A firm critic of the claim that nationhood is a product of

secular modernity, Smith (2003:10) positions himself against prominent national

identity theorists such as Gellner, author of *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), and

Anderson, author of *Imagined Communities* (1983).[21] These modernists, as he calls

them, emphasise issues of the state, ignoring the prominence of both religion and

ethnicity as sources of nationhood (Smith 2003:10). Initially emphasising ethnicity,

Smith later theorised a revised ethno-symbolism that emphasises religion as the

reason for the "durability" and "strength" of national identity (2003:4); in doing so,

Smith employed the Judeo-Christian tradition to illustrate his central argument.

Smith introduces his revised ethno-symbolic approach in his book *Chosen Peoples:*

Sacred Sources of National Identity, where he defines national identity through

nationalism (see his chapter 'Nationalism and Religion' 2003). This is what,

Thompson claims, contributes to a top down homogenising view of nationhood

(2001:25-26). Moreover, his definition of a nation demands common myths,

memories, symbols, values and laws (2005:98), which, Thompson argues, produces

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[21] Initially I considered using Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of imagined communities for
theorising nationhood because of his seminal status. His central argument is that as citizens of a nation
we will never meet or hear every member, so imagination is necessary to understand and perceive
one's nation. In his chapter 'Cultural Roots',' he develops his argument, aligning the concept of
national imagination and community with that of religious imagination and community, arguing the
latter is the former's cultural heritage. However, although he addresses the concept of the link between
religion and national identity, it is done, as Smith says, in an ultimately modernist fashion which
relegates "religion and the sacred to the pre-modern past" (2003:21). Therefore, Anderson, despite his
status, for this project remains on the theoretical periphery.

the belief that an objective nation exists separately from the people (Thompson 2001:21).

Smith throughout his book also interchanges religion with sacredness, which means that the exploration of spirituality in its own right is absent. There is an assumption that the sacredness of nations depends on institutionalised religion. The assumption of the existence of a common national culture to which people passively and unproblematically adhere parallels the assumption of the existence of a homogenous religious institution to which people passively and unproblematically adhere.

This immediately presents issues for this project, as it examines twelve very different, individual, subjective views on the link between national identity, land and spirituality. Furthermore, relating Smith's *revised* ethno-symbolism to Aotearoa/New Zealand highlights additional concerns. Smith fails to address the complexities of nation where one or more ethnicities occur. This is a problem when examining a bicultural nation such as Aotearoa/New Zealand. The avoidance of ethnic plurality in *Chosen Peoples* is, I suggest, driven by Smith's over emphasis on mono-ethnic nations, particularly those in Europe. This avoidance in turn produces a tendency in Smith's book to interchange *ethnie* and nation.[22]

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[22] Regarding immigrant nations such as "America, Australia or Argentina," Smith argues that the dominant culture is what provides the nation with the ethnic core (Smith 1986:216). In Aotearoa/New Zealand, this would be Englishness. This superficial discussion of the complexities of ethnic plurality illustrates Smith's existing agenda of interchanging *ethnie* with nation and confinement to a top down analysis of nationhood. A closely comparable example that he briefly addresses is Australia. Discussing the sacred communion of the people, Smith cites Australian tribes as an example of a religion (2003:26) and then argues modern day Australia is a "nation as a sacred communion" (2003:33). What religious or ethnic origins do Australians draw upon to form this unified sacred nation? It is certainly not aboriginal religion, as one might presume Smith is attempting to argue. Perhaps it is European Christianity, present in his discussion of Anzac Day in his chapter 'The Glorious Dead (2003:218-253)? This over-generalised and uncritical account of Australia and its sacredness produces completely ineffective observations. Centrally lacking is the discussion of the politics

Land, ancestry and history

If Thompson does not attend to the connection between land and spirituality, Smith's (2003: VII) theory of land, ancestry and history as sacred symbols of the nation may aid this theoretical gap. In his chapter 'Sacred Homelands' (Smith 2003:131-165), Smith introduces the concept of "naturalisation of history" (2003:135-136), a term that theoretically links the idea of homeland, landscape/place and spirituality.[23] Naturalisation of history occurs when a community regards its history through the land, a belief ensuring that history is a natural extension of the landscape itself (2003:136). Four processes define it: the shaping of the community's history by the land, the role played by the terrain for certain events, the land as provision for dead ancestors and "naturalisation" of historical monuments such as churches, mosques and pyramids (2003:136).

A central issue with this position is that Smith presents ethnic and national relationships towards land as spiritually harmonious and homogenous. He suggests people of a given territorialisation think, feel and act in the same way, explicitly arguing nations are "sacred communions" (Smith 2003:19). This develops from his assumption of an unproblematic, homogenous process of nationhood (Thompson 2001:21), highlighting his belief that the world naturally orders itself into nations (Thompson 2001:21).

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between Australian indigene, early colonial settler and recent migrant, and the palpable lack of unity between the three cultural groupings, politically, religiously or otherwise.

[23] "Naturalisation of history" is a concept that comes from Smith's concept of the "territorialisation of memory" (2003:134), an idea that explains how memories are rooted in landscape and/or place and handed down through time, either through the wider history of the ethnic community or by personal ancestors.

Localising this term in the context of a Māori worldview disrupts the Western assumption of homogeneity present in Smith's work though, as Māori identity is inherently formed through heterogeneity, complications, internal diversity and contradictions (Smith L 1999:72-74). Pre-eminent Māori scholar, Walker, of Whakatōhea, argues the origin of Māori attachment to land is the belief in Papatūānuku, Mother Earth (1990:70), which all Māori genealogically link to through their whakapapa. In turn, this attachment intensifies during history through subsequent generations. Walker describes how, "The bones of buried ancestors, and blood spilt in the defence of territory, hallowed the land as a gift from the ancestors to their descendants" (1990:70), illustrating how the existing sacredness of land for Māori intensifies through human ancestral burial in Papatūānuku's "bosom" (1990:70). This process is a Māori version of the naturalisation of history, as history is born from the landscape, a specific example being Māori burial sites, the sacred resting places of ancestors (Mead 2003:170).

Walker expands his demonstration of the relationship Māori have towards the land by explaining how each successive generation traditionally buried the placenta of a newborn, significantly also known as whenua (1990:70, Mead 2003:270). This act spiritually and physically bound people to their respective territories, emphasising the significance of identity with place to Māori, or in Māori terms, *tūrangawaewae*. Walker translates *tūrangawaewae* as "standing" or "identity" (Walker 1990:70, see also Mead 2003:272), which effectively refers to one's standing, or rights of residence to a particular region or marae.

Tau T.'s, Goodall's, Palmer's and Tau R.'s (1992) account of the history of Aoraki (Mt. Cook) according to Ngāi Tahu Whānui illustrates a regional version of the theory of the naturalisation of history. Tau et al explain how all Ngāi Tahu Whānui history originates from Aoraki, their sacred ancestor. In fact, Aoraki is Ngāi Tahu Whānui's most sacred ancestor. Therefore, in a Ngāi Tahu Whānui creation story, as opposed to that of any other iwi, Aoraki is the centre point, with Papa being his step-mother[24] (Tau et al 1992:4/34). Thus, history is born from the landscape. As personal, sacred, natural ancestors, Papatūānuku and Aoraki are both *locally naturalised whakapapa*.

Another spiritual tradition linking land and nationhood that Smith examines in his chapter 'Sacred Homelands' (2003:131-165) and which relates to Pākehā New Zealand is romanticism. Romanticism, which encapsulates the concepts of spirituality, landscape, place and homeland, is a tradition that, at its core, expresses belief in the spiritual natural nation (Smith 2003:36). For Romantics, the concept of a sacred homeland became central to nationalist principles during the Romantic era (Smith 2003:13). Smith observes how land during this time, previously seen as a physical and economic subject, was conceptually transformed into a moral and aesthetic subject, namely landscape, a key identifier of the sacred homeland (2003:36). This "return to nature and roots" (Smith 2003:36), as Smith calls it, was a countermovement to the

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[24] According to Ngai Tahu, the history of Ka Tiritiri o te Moana and Aoraki begins with creation itself. Aoraki, son of Rakinui (the Sky Father), and his brothers decided one day to visit their stepmother, Papatūānuku (Mother Earth). They set off in their mighty waka and sailed around the southern oceans but soon became hungry, so started to fish. They were unsuccessful, though, so decided to return to their father, Rakinui. Aoraki began the karakia needed to launch the enormous waka into the sky. Distracted by his brother's fearful cries, though, he wavered in his speaking and then faltered at the crucial moment of the karakia. To Māori, such a mistake in a serious karakia results in disaster. Only the bow of the waka began to lift itself up and then eventually crashed back down and smashed into pieces as the karakia failed. As the bow smashed, the waka upturned itself and to save themselves from drowning Aoraki and his brothers had to climb onto the broken mess. With no way to return home, the severed karakia eventually turned the entire crew to stone. These bodies formed into the Southern Alps, Aoraki being the highest, and their waka became the South Island. Therefore, Aoraki and his fellow peaks are Ngāi Tahu's sacred ancestors, Aoraki being the most sacred (Tau et al 1992:4/34-4/35).

Enlightenment. It was a reaction against the undermining of natural nationhood and land by universalism and commercialisation in a growing modernist, capitalist society (Kaufmann and Zimmer 1998:7).

However, Evans (2007) argues that in the New Zealand case both Enlightenment and Romantic ideals worked in unison, each fuelling the New Zealand colonial project. Dubbing this collaboration "the colonial sublime" (Evans 2007:47, 57), Evans explains that by the mid-nineteenth century Romanticism had become popularised. In fact, it was so prolific, Kaufmann and Zimmer (1998:8) argue, that hardly any country in the Western world during this time remained uninfluenced by the Romantic view.

This popularisation of Romantic philosophy, Evans (2007) argues, diluted the original philosophy, producing a somewhat superficial version. However, this was the fundamental way colonists conceptualised nature—so much so, Evans argues, that this aestheticising of New Zealand nature by colonists was an essential phase in the "naturalising" and "normalising" of European occupation and identity (Evans 2007:60).

Bell (1996), another cultural insider, also critically address this colonial romanticism in New Zealand. Reiterating Evans' argument of popular romanticism, she argues Wakefield's company and other settler associations drew upon Romantic ideals and applyied them to the dramatic New Zealand landscape. They sold land to settlers, promising them "a land of milk and honey" and inevitably producing the "New Zealand Arcadia myth" (Bell 1996:34-35, see also Belich 2006:302-304). In turn, she contends, this focus on New Zealand as beautiful and fertile from the outset laid the

foundation for Pākehā national identity, which has flourished throughout New

Zealand history and which continues to thrive to the present day (1996:34-35, see also

Davidson 2002:45). One way to encapsulate this process of Pākehā identity formation

and belonging through land, ancestry and history, drawing on Smith (2003), Evans

(2007) and Bell (1996), is the theory of *romantic-colonial naturalisation.*[25]

Naturalising the nation

The theories of *romantic-colonial naturalisation* and *locally naturalised whakapapa*

both illustrate how land and history are pivotal to the formation of the nation. A term

that enables us to theorise deeper about land is Kaufmann's and Zimmer's concept of

naturalising the nation, an adaptation of Smith's (2003:135-136) theory of the

naturalisation of history. Kaufmann and Zimmer argue that as the (Western) world in

the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries was socially unstable, a situation that was

attributable to the decline of traditional forms of religion and social solidarity,

geography and nature provided a degree of "calm and purity" (1998:2). As such, from

the eighteenth century, they argue, as nature became engaged in meanings of national

identity (1998:2), landscape became a source of national authentication (1998:3-4).

The concept of naturalisation of the nation describes how nations abundant with

wilderness employ that wilderness as a source of sacredness, morality and national

unification (Kaufmann and Zimmer 1998:6). Kaufmann and Zimmer contend this

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[25]Effectively, my take on Evans' (2007:47) "colonial sublime." The main difference between his concept and mine is that I am exploring meaningful identity building using Romantic philosophy and its tools, such as national identity, land, spirituality and ancestry. By contrast, Evans' focus is on how colonists superficially used Romanticism as a tool to conquer New Zealand by sentimentalising the landscape and Māori. In a sense, we are explaining different sides of the same coin and I owe much of the development of my concept to his work in this area.

view is about more than perceiving the natural environment as reflecting particular

national virtues and characteristics; here geographical features *shape* national virtues

and characteristics (1998:6). Illustrating this primarily through Switzerland, they

employ the Swiss Alps as an example of nature naturalising the nation. In the

eighteenth century, the pre-Romantics turned these mountains into the "ultimate

symbol of sublime and virtuous," conflating them with Swiss nationhood (1998:9-8).

This in turn led to popularisation of the Alps, particularly with the advent of Schiller's

Wilhelm Tell (1804), and, in turn, a focus on the alpine in Swiss art (1998:11-12).[26]

Kaufmann and Zimmer (1998:28) argue this term exists in Switzerland for two central

reasons: Switzerland's rugged wilderness and its ethnic plurality. Bell (1996:30-39)

argues that since early settler society, the dramatic landscape (particularly mountains)

in New Zealand has served as a source of national distinctiveness and identity for

Pākehā because of the diversity of settler ethnic identities. Relating further to

Kaufmann and Zimmer is the natural reality that mountains cover over sixty percent

of Switzerland (1998:8), akin to Aotearoa/New Zealand's South Island's sixty percent

of mountainous land.[27] Thus, naturalisation of the nation, an argument of unity, is an

interesting concept to explore in a New Zealand perspective and in the context of

Thompson's theory of "alternative" and "competing" views of one's nation

(Thompson et al 1999:52). Adding Thompson's ideas to those of Kaufmann and

Zimmer illustrates how the alpine can both unify yet allow for diversity, as there are

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[26] This naturalisation of the Swiss nation grew from what Kaufmann and Zimmer argue to be a "nationalising of nature" (1998:9) formed during the Enlightenment. During the sixteenth century, Swiss humanists rejected the perception that mountains were grotesque and began promoting them as a significant part of natural history. By the end of the eighteenth century, a "cult like enthusiasm" existed towards the Alps together with the belief that they expressed Swiss characteristics (Kaufmann and Zimmer 1998:9).

[27] See http://www.natureandco.com/land_and_wildlife/landforms/mountains/idx_mount.php3 (retrieved 29 April 2007).

countless ways the alpine can be viewed and understood; it is a symbol of unity in diversity.

Self-identity

Central to the notion of diversity of the nation and Thompson's (2001) theory of the local production of national identity is the individual. Smith also briefly argues that at the heart of a nationalist belief system is the "cult of authenticity" (2003:37). At the heart of this cult, he explains, is the quest for the true self (2003:37). Therefore, affirmation of one's nation is a simultaneous affirmation of one's self.

Kinnvall (2004:742) expands on this argument from the perspective of the self. She argues nationalism and *religion* are more likely than other identity to answer the fundamental questions of self-identity, 'Who am I?' and 'Where do I come from?' In short, Kinnvall (2004) argues that national identity and religion are core components of developing a sense of self, drawing on Giddens' (1991:38-39 in Kinnvall 2004:746) use of narrative as a tool for self-identity maintenance in order to substantiate her argument.[28] Giddens argues the maintenance of one's sense of self lies in the "capacity to keep a particular narrative going" (1991:54), a process that is similar to the production, I argue, of a nation (see Smith 2005:98).

Cheney (1989:126), a bioregionalist, discusses narrative and self-identity through nature, arguing, "self and geography are bound together in a narrative … "

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[28] I would extend religion to include spirituality here.

Narrative in this form is not a "linear, essentialised narrative self" (1989:126) but grounded in geography. Schama (1995 in Franklin 2002:5) reiterates this position, arguing nature is central to Western selfhood. Milton (2002:105) expands this, arguing that any cultural positioning employs the natural environment to inform self-identity through locality (2002:105-106).

Place theory theorises this relationship between locality, nature and self-identity. Holmes (2003:29) argues that identifying with nature through the idea of the planet is too abstract. Instead, he argues, people find intimacy with nature through specific places. When discussing the importance of place in bioregional theory, Berthold-Bond emphasises the interactional relationship between person and place, concluding they are inseparable and describing it as a "reciprocal interaction with nature" (2000:15). Place, then, is essential to self-identity (2000:19). Extending this to nationhood, this reiterates the argument that nationhood informs the self, including land as an inherent part of the nation. This reciprocity suggests the nation may inform the self (Kinnvall 2004:742), but the self also informs the nation (Thompson 2001). This cyclical relationship shows how an individual recounting an experience of Kiwi pride in the New Zealand landscape is at once developing a meaningful sense of self and producing a meaningful sense of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Aotearoa/New Zealand identity

The production of Aotearoa/New Zealand formally began with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) by the indigenous population, Māori, and the colonising British.[29] Although this is the nation's founding document, official recognition of it only emerged since 1986 as the government formally adopted biculturalism (Fleras and Spoonley 1991:232-237). As an official bicultural nation, Aotearoa/New Zealand theoretically functions on a partnership between Māori, as indigenous, and European, as colonial settlers. This does not preclude the rights of later or early non-European settler immigrants.[30] Rather, it prioritises the official founding peoples and acknowledges the multicultural reality (Fleras and Spoonley 1991:237).

Despite this latent and, I argue, inadequate governmental recognition of the Treaty and Treaty issues, Fleras and Spoonley (1991:238) contend evidence of official biculturalism presents itself in a variety of ways, with moderate success, particularly in public service and law. In addition, institutional modifications include Māori (Te Reo) becoming an official language and the increasing incorporation of Māori protocol into national events (Fleras and Spoonley 1991:237).

Examining Aotearoa/New Zealand as a nation from this top down position enables a broad understanding of New Zealand, which has the ability to complement a more individualised, personal and localised view (Thompson 2001:29). Furthering this top

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[29] Signed by 500 Māori chiefs and representatives of the Queen, the Treaty of Waitangi marked the moment when New Zealand officially became a colony of the British Empire. In 1856, the country became self-governing and in 1907 a dominion, which is its present status (Wilson 2007).
[30] For example, Chinese and Indian New Zealanders, some of whom migrated here in the nineteenth century.

down understanding is Smith's definition of nation (see the concept of ethno symbolism revised), which Aotearoa/New Zealand fits. Aotearoa/New Zealand is a "named and self-defined community" (Smith 2005:98) and members certainly "cultivate common myths, memories, symbols and values, (and) possess and disseminate a distinctive public culture" (Smith 2005:98). New Zealand institutions (such as the media and the government) also "disseminate common laws and shared customs" (Smith 2005:98), and many Kiwis reside in the land-as-home, which is becoming increasingly historic despite his comparative youth (Smith 2005:98).

For example, there are common historical memories more than that of the Treaty that constitutes this nation's *grand origin narrative*. For example, Captain James Cook's arrival in 1769 and the Musket Wars were defining moments pre-Treaty. By contrast, the New Zealand Wars that resulted from breaches of the Treaty and the prolific settlement of Europeans later in the nineteenth century are central moments of the national narrative after the signing (Belich 1996).

Colonial settler society is one of the most pervasive themes of this grand origin narrative, serving as a foundation and explanation of New Zealand identity (Willmott 1989:2, Bell 1996). English colonisers campaigned to build a 'Better Britain' where Protestant Englishness was prized, advertising the landscape as an Arcadian paradise (Belich 1996:302-304). Thus, settler society is not only a national building block but a symbol of nationhood built on Englishness, despite biological evidence to the contrary (Belich 1996:315). This cultural dominance, part of the colonial project at large, created an irrevocable relationship between Britain and New Zealand. Britain,

particularly England, has, wanted or not, since served as a source of *cultural ancestry* for New Zealand, biological realties notwithstanding.

This did not prevent New Zealand from forming distinct traits from Britain since this time, though. For instance, the physical, masculine pioneer, formed in settler society because of the ingenuity and hard labour needed in settling uncultivated land, is a symbol that continues to define what it means to be a New Zealander. In fact, it routinely plays out among modern day Kiwis (Bell 1996, Abdinor 2000).

New Zealand's participation in the World Wars is a central example (Phillips 1989) of an event that assisted in the development of a national character. Phillips (1989) discusses the mythology that developed out of the World Wars and how it has informed the New Zealand national character. The culture of mateship and the mythology of Kiwi soldiers as taller, stronger and tougher than their English counterparts reaffirmed their pioneering origins (Phillips 1989). The war represented a space in which all classes worked together, reiterating settler New Zealand's ambition of a classless society (Fougere 1989, Phillips 1989). According to the mythology, the war was also a time when Māori and Pākehā differences were permanently cast aside.(Phillips 1989:97). Phillips suggests these crucial national mythologies present themselves annually at Anzac Day (1989:103).[31]

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[31] Relevance of this annual national commemoration is increasing. The anniversary of when the Anzacs (New Zealand and Australian soldiers) landed on Gallipoli Peninsula on the 25th of April, 1915, is now a day that remembers all New Zealanders and Australians who fought in the World Wars. Most recent commemorations (2008) saturated the media (Wichtel 2008:16). Attendance at Anzac Day dawn services in New Zealand, particularly among the young, is on the rise (NZPA 24/4/08). In response to anecdotal evidence that the day is becoming more relevant for young people, Research New Zealand conducted a poll to gauge whether Waitangi Day should be replaced with Anzac Day as New Zealand's national day; 38 percent agreed while 52 percent did not (NZPA 24/4/08). Wichtel (2008:16) argues that Anzac Day over any other public holiday in New Zealand "unites us all"; she authenticates the idea of racial unity by including in her article a photograph of and discussion about New Zealand's most recent war hero, Corporal Willie Apiata of Ngā Puhi and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui. A reaffirmation of

The pioneering spirit, egalitarianism and racial harmony also present themselves in the national game, rugby. Although the sport originated from elite English sources, in New Zealand it quickly cut across ethnic and class lines (Fougere 1989:113). It also, like war, created a culture of mateship (Fougere 1989:114, Phillips 1989:101). Fougere (1989:113) argues rugby, an iconic national symbol, reflected national characteristics. In fact, "In an important sense the New Zealand rugby nation predated, and in part facilitated, the emergence of the New Zealand nation itself" (Fougere 1989:113). Abdinor (2000:15) argues rugby and war play a crucial role in defining the archetypal New Zealand man or Kiwi Bloke; the Anzac and the All Black epitomise New Zealand's pioneering identity and national identity at large (Abdinor 2000:2).

Pervasive as this mythology may be, however, Phillips (1989) and Fougere (1989) argue that not all New Zealanders adhere to the national devotion to war and rugby. In fact, soldiers themselves during the inter war period contributed to the formation of a distinct New Zealand identity by *resisting* the war (Davidson 2002:52). The horror of the Great War and the enormous loss of Kiwi lives made Kiwi soldiers question their identification with Britain. In the 1930s, this questioning led to an effort to discard things that were Victorian and British and an identification with the landscape and place around them, leading people to find more comfort in it, in the face of a devastating Depression, than in a foreign land (Davidson 2002:51-52). In addition, Phillips (1989:92, 103-104) observes that many communities in New Zealand, such as

New Zealand's pioneering spirit, egalitarianism and racial harmony, Anzac Day is an annual reaffirmation of New Zealand identity.

Christians, women, anti-war protestors and certain iwi, resisted the war from the outset. These complexities illustrate what Thompson means by the "untidy processes" of nation building (2001:26).

A more specific example of the untidiness of New Zealand nation building (Thompson 2001:26), now part of our national history (Smith 2005:98), was the 1981 Springbok tour.[32] Challenges to the Protestant, Pākehā masculine national image (war and rugby) had already been emerging with the advent of the Māori Renaissance and feminist and counterculture movements (Phillips 2007), but this event divided the nation (Fougere 1989:111). The tour of 1981 was not just a battle over rugby and racial politics in South Africa, but a battle of New Zealand gender and ethnic politics (Fougere 1989:119). It was a battle between those who wanted to maintain the traditional image of what it meant to be a New Zealander and the many Kiwis who desired to reconceptualise that identity; this battle also examples Thompson's notion of "competing" nationalities (Thompson et al 1999:52).

In addition to the Māori Renaissance, second-wave feminism and counterculture movements, though, protests mounted against visiting American nuclear ships throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. This resulted in the Lange government in 1985 declaring New Zealand nuclear free.[33] This—what Thompson would call an "alternative" (Thompson et al 1999:52) nationality—became institutionalised. Further, institutionalisation of this alternative Kiwi image plays out militarily, as New

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[32] The South African rugby tour, which was allowed by the then Prime Minister Robert Muldoon, caused immense controversy due to South Africa's racial apartheid system; the result was protests that led to 56 days of conflict (Phillips 2007).

[33] In the same year the *Rainbow Warrior*, a Greenpeace vessel, was sunk in Auckland Harbour by the French government, who was scared that it would call attention to nuclear testing by the French at Moruroa Atoll. A photographer, Fernando Pereira, was killed in the attack. This incident has since become a defining point in New Zealand history and identity.

Zealanders now are well known internationally as military peacekeepers (Phillips 2007).

Another example of Thompson's (Thompson et al 1999:52) concept of alternative nationality is Kiwi arts (Bell and Lyall 2001). Bell and Lyall (2001), drawing upon a survey by Creative New Zealand, argue the arts are a part of our national character. The survey claims seventy percent of people questioned believed that the arts and cultural activities help define who we are as Kiwis (Bell and Lyall 2001:152). Swarbrick (2007) reiterates Bell's and Lyall's argument by contending art, music, literature and film are central to New Zealand's identity.[34]

Demonstrating Thompson's idea of the daily production of national identity (2001:29) is the everyday activity of turning on the television (TV), which informs and reminds Kiwis of their New Zealand identity (Bell 1996:128). A powerful example of this is advertising (Bell 1996:128, see also Thompson 2001:19), which in recent decades has increasingly reflected national consciousness (Hope and Johnson 2001:138).[35] Perhaps the most common and pervasive theme in national identity-focused advertising is the *clean green* or *beautiful New Zealand* myth which has occupied the centre of the New Zealand psyche since settler society (Belich 2006:297-312, Bell

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[34] Literature and art have had a long and prolific history in New Zealand, producing national icons such as Katherine Mansfield, Colin McCahon, Janet Frame, James K. Baxter, Sam Hunt, and Margaret Mahy, to name just a few. The film and popular music industries have boomed in recent decades, aided by the government-funded New Zealand Film Commission, established in 1978 (Kiwi film maker Peter Jackson is arguably the world's best known New Zealander); the New Zealand Music Industry Commission, established in 200; and the annual promotional New Zealand Music Month. Musicians such as the Finn brothers have become an integral part of the national psyche. In addition, New Zealand has a strong tradition of classical, instrumental and operatic music, producing opera singing Kiwi icons such as Dame Kiri Te Kanawa (Swarbrick 2007).

[35] For instance, The America's Cup campaign emphasised 'Kiwiness,' while the Adidas sponsored All Blacks have incorporated the iconic haka into their promotion (Hope and Johnson 2001:138). Most recently, a proliferation of national identity focused TV advertisements has emerged, such as the NZI (New Zealand Insurance) advert depicting 'stolen' Kiwi icons that explicitly attempts to remind "us" "who we (Kiwis) are."

1996:28-54). For instance, Meridian Energy's rata tree flower, AA's (the Automobile Association's) *101 must do weekends*, the New Zealand Tourism Board's *100% Pure* campaign, and Air New Zealand's 2007 commercials all explicitly reproduce Bell's "nature myth," displaying romanticised, dramatic, beautiful landscape that is uniquely New Zealand and central to our identity (Bell 1996:28-54, 158).[36]

A specific landscape that is particularly popular in the (Pākehā) New Zealand imagination is the high country. Dominy (1993:319-320) argues that non-residents mythologise this region as a mystical national symbol, believing it should be uninhabited. This contradicts the beliefs of residents who claim deep cultural, historic and ancestral ties to the place. Both views here respectively illustrate Bell's nature myth; non-residents view it as dramatic and beautiful scenery and the latter view it as land for cultivation. These are opposing yet contributing meaning imbued views of (Pākehā) New Zealand identity through land.

These myths are narratives, central descriptors of Smith's (2003) and Thompson's (2001: 27) ideas of nationhood. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, there are *origin narratives* such as societal classlessness, beautiful New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi and the pioneer, all of which are part of New Zealand's grand origin narrative. Recreation then occurs. For instance, the Anzac mythology, a recreation of the pioneer and egalitarianism, recreates itself annually, becoming a *symbolic narrative.* In addition, there are *symbolic narratives of dissent*, formed through dissent, such as the Māori

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[36] See http://youtube.com/watch?v=LQxjxFkClP8&feature=related (retrieved 13 May 2008); http://vids.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=vids.individual&videoid=31416935 (retrieved 13 May 2008); http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9sEZ-wdFegU (retrieved 13 May 2008); http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2qOHTbd_yhA (retrieved 13 May 2008).

Renaissance, the Tour, and the idea of being nuclear free, which are rooted in *origin narratives* such as The Treaty of Waitangi and beautiful New Zealand.

A complex origin narrative worth exploring here, linking national identity, land and spirituality, is the beautiful New Zealand myth (Bell 1996:28-54). As argued, it has existed in Kiwi consciousness since settler society (Belich 2006:297-312). According to Smith's theorisation, this myth or narrative simply exists to define the nation. Bell (1996:54) argues belief in beautiful New Zealand, well established in institutionalised and commodified forms, fosters the delusion that nature and people are in harmony resulting in a harmonious history, economics and politics included. The "nature myth" (Bell 1996:28) fuels the belief that New Zealand is unproblematic, and literally possesses natural order (Thompson 2001:21).

However, Thompson argues, citizens are not cultural dopes but have significant agency in determining their nationhood (Thompson and Day 1999:38). An individual Kiwi residing in Christchurch who feels a sense of national pride while experiencing the grandeur of the Southern Alps on his or her way to work is not a passive cultural dope simply recalling the aforementioned TV advertisements. Rather, the individual is actively interpreting the advertisement through lived experience. This is an example of a citizen daily and actively interpreting the (albeit in this case, colonial) national narrative (Thompson 2001).[37]

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[37] Kiwiana is another example of Thompson's (2001) argument. For instance, playing with a Buzzy Bee, eating hokey-pokey ice cream, ashing cigarettes in paua shells, baking scones with Edmonds baking powder, eating pavlova, eating fish 'n chips with Watties tomato sauce (see Barnett and Wolfe 1997) are all active nationalised narratives produced from the ground up every day by New Zealanders.

These meaningful national encounters illustrate how individuals interacting with national narratives produce the nation. They also demonstrate the previous section's argument that national identity informs the self in the way that the individual is developing a meaningful sense of self through the nation (see Kinnvall 2004:742). This sense of meaningful nationhood is profoundly produced when nationhood is narrated from the perspectives of land and spirituality. As mentioned, however, Māori and Pākehā narrate this link differently. For example, Māori whakapapa is a (meaningful) spiritual genealogical link to the land that informs a Māori self as much as the Māori nation. Conversely, romanticism provides a meaningful way of belonging to land and nation for Pākehā, individually and nationally.

Pākehā identity

The word 'Pākehā' in this thesis refers to descendants of early European, particularly British, settlers (Barlow 1996:87 and Gilroy 2004:204), as mentioned in Chapter One. The motive for this exclusive identification is to specify and explore the cultural uniqueness of colonising European settlers and their descendants. Fully aware of the contentious nature of the term and definition, it is important to highlight that the use and definition stated here are the subjective view of the researcher.

From discussion of Aotearoa/New Zealand identity, it is patent that Pākehā were and are the dominant cultural producers. The institutionalisation of Pākehā culture, despite official biculturalism, continues to disenfranchise and suppress Māori and non-European New Zealanders. Pearson (1990:217 in Barber 1999:35) argues that because

dominant groups perceive the nation to be their own, and enact their identity through the state, Pākehā interchange their identity with the nation-state.

The term 'Pākehā' came to prominence in the nineteenth century as a way of describing colonial settlers arriving into the country (Barber 1999:34). Dominance of colonial settlers soon became apparent, as Pearson (1990 in Larner and Spoonley 1995:43) argues, even though they were immigrants and the state they instituted acted as host. This intensified through increasing settlement; by the 1870s, Pākehā outnumbered Māori six to one (Larner and Spoonley 1995:43).

With this increasing dominance came increasing anxiety throughout the twentieth century over what it meant to be a European New Zealander. Bhabha (1985:150 in Dugdale 2002:1) describes the position of settler colonies as a "double inscription of colonial space," meaning colonial settlers are simultaneously at the core of and not at the core of the colonial centre; in effect they are both coloniser and colonised (Ashcroft et al 1998:211-212 in Bannister 2005:11). Belich (2001:279-309 in Bannister 2005:11) argues this cultural anxiety was perhaps more acute for Pākehā than for other settler societies because of the close relationship New Zealand had with the Mother Country.

The anxiety created from the indeterminate state of not being European and not being indigenous lead to a quest for Pākehā identity in the 1980s (Spoonley 1991:154). A response to the Māori Renaissance, this Pākehā self-reflection soon called into question the idea of Pākehā as an ethnicity (Larner and Spoonley 1995:40). Pearson

(1991) and Spoonley (1991) from slightly differing positions use Smith's (2005) definition of ethnicity to address this question (see ethno-symbolism *revised*).

Pearson (1989:70 in Spoonley 1991:164, 1991:208) concludes Pākehā do not constitute an ethnic community/*ethnie*, or even a network, but exist as a category, Smith's most elementary ethnic grouping. Focusing on the Pākehā response to the Māori Renaissance, Spoonley is more liberal with the term: "The idea of a bicultural society, one that centres on the two dominant cultural groupings, inevitably raises political and other questions about the nature of Pākehā ethnicity" (1991:167). However, Spoonley argues that the lack of research into the subject leaves the question unanswered. Nevertheless, he suggests Pākehā is perhaps *emerging* as an ethnicity (1991:166).

One indication of this emergence is the increased self-labelling of Pākehā, which is an outcome of the quest for Pākehā identity in the 1980s. Acknowledgment of biculturalism, a symbolic narrative of dissent, has been central to this process. Larner's and Spoonley's (1995:40) idea of "locally focussed (Pākehā) identity," an indigenous version of Thompson's theory of the local production of national identity (2001), encapsulates the idea that many Pākehā are deciding for themselves to identify as Pākehā. For many this inherently includes acknowledgement of the politics of Māori sovereignty or Tino Rangatiratanga (Larner and Spoonley 1995:40).[38] Innovative examples of this occurred within mainstream churches. Adams (1991:5-6) explains how by the 1980s mainline denominations had embraced biculturalism,

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[38]However, this does not mean that identifying as Pākehā is to be sensitive to Māori issues (see Barber 1999:35, Laws 2008:A9).

which triggered a quest for understanding of what it meant to be a Pākehā Kiwi amongst the churches.

In secular (middle New Zealand) circles, it is Pākehā historian King (1945-2004) who is credited with popularising this quest.[39] Specifically linking his Pākehā nationhood, land and spirituality, he draws on traditional Māori spirituality and his own Celtic heritage (King 1991:21-22). Aligning his Celticism with Māoridom, King employs the romantic notion of authenticating belonging through aligning oneself with the "other" or the indigene (Evans, P 2008 pers. comm., 19 January). This Pākehā romanticism examples a meaningful way of belonging to land and nation, developed through the individual, an example of romantic-colonial naturalisation.

An example of someone who utilises religious romantic-colonial naturalisation is Julian, a Catholic theologian, who believes the way to finding a uniquely Aotearoa spirituality is to look to the land. Further, Julian suggests, as New Zealand is so abundant in natural landscape, it could even serve as a "core component in our (Catholic) spirituality" (2004:99). In addition, fellow Catholic theologian Bergin (2004) uses the New Zealand waters as a symbol for the Holy Spirit.

These narratives downplay the effects of colonisation. King idealises the Celtic and Māori relationship, ultimately denying the violence of settlement. Julian and Bergin, too, transplant European Christianity onto a New Zealand landscape, facilitating the

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[39]With his book *Being Pākehā: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Māori Renaissance* (1985). King is famous for suggesting in the book that Pākehā not only have a distinct culture but are an indigenous people to New Zealand. Although King is an academic historian, the book is a popular styled personal account, as the title suggests. Despite its popularisation though, identifying or reflecting upon being Pākehā is still not a fully accepted position in mainstream New Zealand (see Barber 1999:36-37).

belief that Catholic spirituality or the Holy Spirit naturally came to being in New Zealand and New Zealand waters. These are examples of Evans' (2007:41) "Forgetting." For Evans, "forgetting," in effect, describes the denial or the dismissal of the violence unleashed by European colonists and the subsequent denial of the "untidy processes" of nation building (Thompson 2001:26). He argues memory loss is inevitable for a sense of Pākehā belonging. This bypasses the reality that Celticism/Christianity came into this country via Christian missionaries, an intricate part of the "civilising mission" (Head 2005:58), who imposed their spiritual reality onto Māori and the New Zealand landscape.

Māori identity

Māori believe that land and Māori are intrinsically connected (Walker 1989, Tau et al 1992, Tāwhai 1996, Grace, Grace and Potton 2003, Cadogan 2004, Urlich Cloher 2004). This illustrates the inherent connection for many Māori, between identity, land and spirituality (Walker 1989, Tau et al 1992, Tāwhai 1996, Cadogan Grace, Grace and Potton 2003, 2004, Urlich Cloher 2004). Beginning with the creation story, this link arises from a complex set of spiritual beliefs that situate Māori as descendants of the land.

Whakapapa, commonly translated as 'genealogy,' is the biological and spiritual way in which Māori claim this descent (Walker 1989, Walker 1990:63-65, Tau et al 1992). The specific genealogical connections between people manifest from the ground up (Thompson and Day 1999:28) through whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe), then iwi (tribe). Thus, whakapapa speaks of family, hapū/iwi identity, personal and tribal

relationships, speaking and leadership rights and identification with the land (Tau et al 1992:3/3). It is a statement of both genealogical and geographical identity (Tau et al 1992:3/3).

Therefore, a fundamental way to understand Māori identity is through whakapapa, which in turn, as indicated, may be understood through the creation narrative.[40] The formalised acknowledgment of the importance of whakapapa is on the marae when the mihi from the host and whaikōrero from the visitors involve recitation of their whakapapa, inherently acknowledging their descent from creation (Walker 1989:46, 1990:73-74, Tau et al 1992:3/3-3/5).[41]

Māori fit Smith's (2003) definition of both an *ethnie* and sacred nation, mirroring Smith's contention that nations draw on prior ethnic groups to form nations (see ethno-symbolism *revised*). Māori identity also reflect Thompson's (2001, Thompson and Day 1999:28) argument that nations are formed from the ground up. There are complexities with the arguments of both theorists, however. Firstly, I argued above, Māori disrupt the assumption of essentialism and homogeneity evident in Smith's (2003) work.

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[40] In fact, Awatere (1984:58), Walker (1989:36, 1990:11-14), Tau et al (1992:3/3, 3/5) Tāwhai (1996:14-17), Smith (L 1999:172) Grace, Grace and Potton (2003:40) Cadogan (2004:32-35, 38) and Urlich Cloher (2004:47-48) all draw upon this Māori creation story to illustrate Māoritanga.

[41] Many versions of the Māori creation story exist. For instance, the Ngāi Tahu Whānui version has been already mentioned. However, a brief summary of a well-known version follows. Ranginui and Papatūānuku, the primeval husband and wife, lived in such a tight embrace they prevented any light from entering into the world. Their sons Tānemahuta, Tāwhirimātea, Tangaroa, Tūmatauenga, Haumiatikitiki and Rongomātāne were trapped inside, so they eventually plotted against their parents to separate them. Once separated, light came into the world and life began on earth (Papa), while Rangi became the sky. Their six sons then ruled over various natural and human elements. It is said that when it rains, Rangi is crying over his forced separation from his consort Papa (to read a full version see Walker 1990:11-14).

Smith (L 1999:72-74), of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou, addresses the concept of *indigenous* essentialism through her concept of the "'Authentic, Essentialist, Deeply spiritual' other." She argues the Western concept of essentialism, like that of authenticity, colonises, homogenises and serves racist agendas when applied to indigene. However, Smith argues, these concepts have vastly different meanings when looked at from the indigenous position, serving as descriptors of a person's authenticity and essence (Smith L 1999:72-74). Therefore, as mentioned, Māori are heterogeneous, complicated, internally diverse and contradictory.[42] Their narrated diversity and complexity formed from the ground up align with Thompson's (2001) theory of nationhood. However, Māori disrupt Thompson's focus on the individual as Māori locally form nationhood *collectively.* Thus, Māori identity is a *locally narrated ethnicity*.

This collective narrated formation of Māoridom from the land positions Māori as belonging to their land. The land does not belong to Māori (Tau et al 1992). Land loss for Māori then is an attack on taha Māori (Māori identity), or as Cadogan (2004:31) puts it, "a landless Māori is literally a non-person; there is no place to belong." However, land loss was the inevitable result of European colonisation and its consequences. The effects of colonisation caused irreversible damage to Māori and their way of life (Walker 1989:39, Smith, L 1999:21, Evans 2007:47). From catastrophic pre-Treaty (pre-1840) occurrences such as imported diseases and the Musket Wars[43] (Walker 1989:39, Evans 2007:49), to the Treaty of Waitangi itself

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[42] Bell (A) (2004:132), a Western social constructivist, also discusses this issue, resolving it through what she terms "descent as a minimalist essence." This, she argues, is required for strategic purposes; Māori require a descent-based (whakapapa) essentialism in order to claim indigeneity, to prevent cultural appropriation and to allow autonomous development (Bell 2004).

[43] When muskets were introduced as a trading item (for example for sex, "on a bang-for-bang basis" as Evans's calls it 2007:48-49), it in turn logically exalted the effects of physical violence between

(1840), the breaches of the Treaty, and the ensuing New Zealand Wars[44] (1845-1872) (Walker 1989: 40-41, Belich 1996), there took place what Evans is right to sum up as "one cultural disaster after another" (2007: 47). Indeed, this conquest rendered Māori not only culturally assimilated, spiritually imperialised by missionaries (Walker 1989:39, Head 2005:58) and systematically outnumbered by settlers, but left with only a marginal amount of land (Walker 1989:46, Smith, L 1999:19-22).

Walker, argues that the most "destructive and alienating effect" on Māori was Pākehā land legislation (1990:135-136). In particular, he cites the establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865, with the passing of the Native Land Act in the same year (1990:135-136). The Court existed to fragment Māori collective ownership, hence making it available for individual Māori to sell communally owned land to settlers (1990:136). This disregard by Pākehā of Māori land ownership philosophy and the subsequent disastrous results triggered Māori opposition and protest from the outset.

During the nineteenth century, protest principally manifested as socio-political-religious movements. Converted to Christianity yet quickly rejecting missionary imperialism, many Māori during this period began reading their own story into that of the Holy Bible (Elsmore 1985). Identification with the land loss of the Israelites in the Old Testament produced Māori Judaeo-Christian religions (Elsmore 1985). Some emphasised Judaism, some Christianity (Belich 1996:221). Evans (2007:172-173) theorises this syncretism with his term "resistance and adaptation." He argues local

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warring iwi. One estimate is that these wars took 20, 000 Māori lives (Walker 1989:39, Evans 2007:48-49).

[44] The New Zealand wars were caused by legislative violations of the Treaty by the Crown (see Evans 2007:56, also http://twm.co.nz/Tr_violn.html). These wars were essentially over disputed land sales that led Māori to defend land that the Crown and settlers had encroached upon (Belich 1996:204-211, 235-246). For an in-depth understanding, see Belich (1986) *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*.

culture must resist and adapt simultaneously to survive in a world governed by "modernity-globalization" (in the Māori case, by European colonisers), a process that seeks to homogenise culture and undermine locality (Sabbarwal 1999:80, Evans 2007:172-173).

Well-known illustrations of these syncretic religions were the Age of Prophets and the establishment of the King Movement (Te Kīngitanga) in the Waikato (1990:129-130).[45] Te Kīngitanga was a religious nationalist movement that formed in an attempt to defend land from the Crown and establish a united Māori nation. This movement promoting a Māori Kingdom founded on genuine, committed Christian faith (Head 2005:58) still strongly features in Māoridom today.[46]

An example of a contemporary secular version of this Māori protest was carried out by Cooper (1895-1994) of Te Rarawa (Walker 1990:212). The introduction of the 1967 Māori Affairs Amendment Act, known as the "last land grab," further legislated the eradication of Māori land custom and law by individualising ownership (Walker 1990:212).[47] This triggered the famous hīkoi (land march) of 1975, led by Cooper. Fuelled with spiritual impetus, Cooper organised the march to begin from Te Hāpua, in the far north, to Wellington City (1990:214). She led discussions throughout rural marae in the North Island while on the march, uniting and politicising Māori to an

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[45] The Age of Prophets spanned the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Just a few of the prophets associated with this movement are Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki (c.1820-1891) of the Te Rongowhakaata tribe of Poverty Bay; Te Whiti-o-Rongomai (c.1815-1905) of Taranaki and Te Āti Awa descent and leader of the non-violent resistance at Parihaka; and the early twentieth century Māori prophet, Tahupōtiki Wiremu Rātana (1873-1939).

[46] See for example http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/the-Māori-king-movement (retrieved 5 October 2008).

[47] Not to mention two Acts in 1953, the Māori Affairs Act that declared that Māori land that was unused could be declared 'wasteland' and be taken by the government, and the Town and Country Planning Act that prevented Māori from building on their own land and forced many Māori from rural to urban areas. See http://twm.co.nz/Tr_violn.html (retrieved 5 October 2008).

extent unseen in modern times (1990:214). Cooper's mobilisation epitomises the

protest during what history calls the Māori Renaissance.[48]

The Māori Renaissance, beginning with protest over land loss in the 1960s, became

increasingly politicised in the 1970s, a process that generated a reinvigoration of

Māori culture. It was not until the 1980s, however, that the Māori activist Donna

Awatere promoted the concepts of Māori sovereignty, which are outlined in her book

Māori Sovereignty (1984). To elaborate, Awatere argues that Māori should have

absolute control of Māoritanga and suggests living separately from Pākehā. Further,

she calls for a full return of land unjustly taken by Europeans and recognition of

equality between Māori and Pākehā. Despite the book being rather separatist, it served

as a potent political symbol of *Tino Rangatiratanga* or Māori self-determination

(1984) and an example of locally narrated ethnicity.

Aotearoa/New Zealand; identity, land and spirituality

Localness and narration have been the sub-themes of this chapter. Narration, arising

from both theory and New Zealand literature, is a natural ally of national identity,

land and spirituality, as it has the ability to hold together the amorphousness and

complexity of these issues. Two fundamental ideas introduced in this chapter that

express this alliance are romanticism and whakapapa. These themes have arisen

through an introduction and indigenisation of Thompson's (2001) theory of the local

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[48] Other famous protest movements that epitomise the Maori Renaissance that are worth mentioning include the Auckland based Ngā Tamatoa, a young radical Māori protest group that emerged in the 1970s, and the occupation of Bastion Point for 507 days (1977-1978). In addition, the Waitangi Tribunal was established in this period (1975) to settle Māori grievance with the government over land loss.

production of national identity, Smith's theory of revised ethno symbolism and

Kaufmann's and Zimmer's (1998) theory of naturalising the nation.

The examination of self, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Pākehā, and Māori identities

followed this theoretical discussion, confirming that localness, narration, romanticism

and whakapapa are vital ideas for this exploration. Romanticism is a literary term; a

narrative term by its very nature. In addition, Smith (2003:36) argues (as mentioned)

that Romanticism encapsulates national identity, land, spirituality and ancestry.

Hence, Romanticism links narration to national identity, land and spirituality. A

similar process is present in whakapapa. Whakapapa, as explained, is a narrative of

genealogy, history, land, spirituality and identity. A concept that links romanticism

and whakapapa, though, is that of "roots" (Smith 2003:36), a weaving tool that brings

together Pākehā and Māori perspectives on national identity, land, and spirituality and

pertains to (Māori) whakapapa as much as to (European) romanticism.[49]

Incorporating the essential local focus (Thompson 2001) to this link between

narration and roots produces a unique way in which to view nationhood, the concept

of *locally narrated roots*. This theorisation of nationhood encapsulates all the ideas of

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[49] 'Roots' also pertains to many other cultural movements, highlighting the themes of spirituality, nationhood, land and ancestry. Particular to New Zealand is the well-known music movement 'roots,' an adaptation of the 'roots reggae' music genre into a New Zealand context. Dominated by Māori and Pacific Island musicians using dub more than reggae style, there is a proliferation of musicians promoting social consciousness, spirituality, nationhood, land, ancestry, history and locality all summed up in what they call 'roots,' in many ways exemplars of the research exploration. These groups include, to name just a few, Trinity Roots, Fat Freddy's Drop, d-dub, Illphonics, Ladi 6, Little Bushman, Katchafire, Kora, The Black Seeds, Breaks Co-op, Salmonella Dub, Hollie Smith, Unity Pacific, Cornerstone roots, Tiki Tāne and Shapeshifter. An example of the recognition of this genre was the release of a 2004 album *Conscious Roots—The Awakening of the Aotearoa Roots Movement* and the subsequent sequels released in 2005, 2006, 2007 (see http://www.amplifier.co.nz/release/12900/conscious_roots.html); these albums are linked to the Kāikoura Roots festival, a once annual music festival celebrating roots music that was held in Kāikoura and hosted by Salmonella Dub. For an academic explanation of this idea of roots in New Zealand, see McIver (2007), *WaveShapeConversion—The Land as Reverent in the Dance Culture and Music of Aotearoa.*

this discussion and importantly serves as an overarching concept for the more specific concepts.[50] Therefore, the theory of locally narrated roots and its sub-concepts will direct and conceptually theme Chapters Four, Five and Six.

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[50] Romantic-colonial naturalisation, locally naturalised whakapapa, grand origin narrative, cultural ancestry, symbolic narratives, symbolic narratives of dissent and locally narrated ethnicity.

3. Methodology: The Inside Process

"When you are preparing for a journey, you own the journey. Once you've started the journey, the journey owns you" (African saying in Shope 2006:165)

"The process is as important as the product"
(Hood 1984: inside cover)

Recounting the inside process of this research journey moves this thesis from theory and literature, to analysis. I used people's stories to explore the complex and amorphous nature of national identity, land and spirituality. I drew on the narrative emphasis of two qualitative research methods, life story methodology and Kaupapa Māori Research, but not adhering to either method purely. In this chapter, I rationalise the use of these particular methods, including my epistemological positioning. I also trace, with the reflection required in a life stories method, how this research was conducted from recruitment to interviewing. I then recount my methods of theory and analysis, finishing the chapter by introducing twelve participants who narrated their stories to me.

Why people's stories?

People's stories contribute to the formation of nations. Thompson argues that to understand nationhood one needs to explore what people think about national identity from the bottom up (2001). Therefore, it was the stories of these twelve people that were the primary data for this research. What I define as a story for this research does not confine itself to linearity (Cheney 1989:126). It simply refers to anecdote largely through the recounting of experience. I first asked participants, can you tell me a story

about a spiritual experience you have had? This was a direct request to tell me a story and all recollected an experience they had encountered that was spiritual for them. Although none of the other interview questions requested a story, they were 'story invoking' questions and were subsequently answered by participants in a 'story like' way.[51]

Story telling is a cultural practice profoundly rooted in "everyday life" (Dawson 1994:22 in Grey 2003:107), yet "when humans make their lives meaningful they primarily do this by telling a story" (Polkinghorne 1998: in Liamputtong and Ezzy 2005:124). Therefore, narrative is key to eliciting everyday yet meaningful information, a concept that reiterates the previous chapter's argument of everyday meaning used as one way individuals narrate their nationhood, connections to land and spirituality.

Smith (L 1999:145), who advocates a Kaupapa Māori approach, argues stories teach culture and belief. I contend this signals stories as rich resources for understanding the complex nature of identity and spirituality. Moreover, specific to the topics of land, Cheney (1989:126) in "Postmodern Environmental Ethics: Ethics as Bioregional Narrative" argues that narrativity is "grounded in geography." This indicates narrative as a helpful way to also understand land.

Narrative is the key approach I draw from both life story methodologies (for example Ellis and Berger 2003, Roberts 2002) and Kaupapa Māori Research (Smith L 1999:145). However, these methodologies also emphasise the research relationship

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[51] See appendix for the list of interview questions.

(Aston 2001:145, Bishop 1996:215, H Hayward 2006 pers. comm., 8 May), a key aspect I used for my own process. Recognising the importance of this relationship can break down the rigid separation of researcher and participant (Ellis and Berger 2003:159). This can make it a more informal situation, requiring the researcher to be more empathetic (Ellis and Berger 2003:160), and, therefore, participants may "feel more comfortable sharing information" (Ellis and Berger 2003:159). This is particularly useful with the sensitive topics at hand, such as spiritual experiences, political views, bicultural issues, childhood encounters, existential ponderings and so forth.

The life stories approach also recognises the researcher as a subjective self in the process. Roberts (2002:87) argues, "As researchers we should … reflect on how our life experiences before and during the research affects our activities, assumptions, interpretations." This entails reflecting upon conduct 'in the field,'reflection, which form parts of this chapter. My hope in attempting this reflection is the production of more self-reflexive and self-aware analysis and to be more honest as a researcher. This ensures where the researcher comes from personally and academically is recognised as part of the research, a response to the modernist approach that claims the researcher is neutral and objective (Gubrium and Holstein 2003).

Situating the researcher's knowledge: epistemology

I am a young Pākehā woman, working class, lapsed Catholic, born and raised in Banks Peninsula, who now lives in Christchurch. I am a sociology MA student; an emerging academic. These descriptors frame my worldview and inevitably influence research outcomes. Shope (2006:163), paraphrasing Naples, contends, "if we fail to explore our personal, professional and structural locations as researchers, we inevitably reinscribe race, class, and gender biases into our work." Therefore, exploration of the self and realising my subjective positioning was an inherent part of this research (Roberts 2002:87 and Ellis and Berger 2003).

Haraway (1991) argues, as Roberts (1987) and Ellis and Berger (2003) do, that researchers should "recognise the importance of their location" (Jenner 2003:54). Yet Haraway argues this act of locating is an embodied experience; therefore, these partial views or "situated knowledges" are not simply social constructions (Haraway 1991: 183). They are, in fact, one's partial, but embodied location in the world (Haraway 1991:183-201).

This epistemology for me comes from a discomfort with the tendency within constructivism in social sciences to ignore evident realities (such as land). It also comes from an opposition to the "totalising" effects of scientific objectivism (Jenner 2003:54). Situated knowledges is, in effect, a "feminist version of objectivity" (Haraway 1991:186). This theorising of knowledge allows the belief in real and embodied experiences while recognising them as partial truths. For this research, this allows a mountain to be real and objective but for all participants including myself to

have different socially constructed views of that mountain, akin to the alpine as a symbol of unity in the diversity argument laid out in Chapter Two. Entering into participant relationships, this approach permits me to believe in participant truths but simultaneously recognise them as partial, allowing all truths to be real and valid.

Recruitment

Finding participants began with guidance from the Kaupapa Māori Research principle of establishing relationships (H. Hayward 2006 pers. comm., 8 May). Thus, recruitment began with contacting all previous gatekeepers and participants from *Spirit of our Land,* a 2006 pilot study.[52] Through this, one previous participant from 2006 indicated interest.

Subsequent to this, I began a system of approaching gatekeepers of relevant communities to discuss the project, through email or phone. I then followed this discussion up with face-to face meetings, a key principle of Kaupapa Māori Research (Smith in Cram 2001:43). Once Human Ethics Committee (HEC) approval came through, access interviews were set up with the referrals obtained from gatekeepers.[53] However, a number of gatekeepers were interested in taking part in the project themselves; therefore, a number of meetings with gatekeepers essentially became access interviews.

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[52] A pilot study I conducted as part of my honours year in preparation for this MA. In this project, I explored the link between national identity and spirituality in four participant stories (both Māori and Pākehā). I broadly concluded, in an Aotearoa/New Zealand context, that there was a plausible academic link between spirituality and national identity, with land as a central component.
[53] Refer to section "Access interviews."

I employed a combination of personal and impersonal approaches. For example, a rather impersonal but invaluable tool used was the Christchurch City Libraries A-Z community directory (http://www.library.christchurch.org.nz/). This directory lists a wide range of cultural, spiritual and religious organisations and groups that are accessible online. This was particularly helpful due to the variety of participants needed for this project. At the outset, the intention was to recruit three Pākehā women, three Pākehā men, three Māori women and three Māori men. In addition, I felt it necessary to include a range of views from Christian and non-Christian, clergy and non-clergy, Protestant and Catholic. The A-Z community directory listed a number of organisations/groups whose members satisfied these criteria. I used a combination of emailing and phoning dozens of gatekeepers/potential participants from this list to set up a time to meet and discuss the project.

 A more personal manner of accessing gatekeepers/potential participants was insider access. A close friend of mine has many personal and professional Māori contacts interested in issues of identity, land and spirituality. Therefore, she was able to act as a gatekeeper in this way. Other recruitment techniques involved contacting organisations I knew of already and thought appropriate to connect with, and ideas and referrals from my senior supervisor Dr. Alison Loveridge. Times and places to meet were negotiated between gatekeeper/potential participant and myself.

Reflection

The first and easiest participant grouping recruited were Pākehā women; specifically, two were Catholic and one was, in her words, an "energy healer" and more specifically a "vibrational worker." As a Pākehā female with a Catholic background and New Age tendencies, I unconsciously related to these women through gender, culture and spirituality, a key reason I suggest recruiting these women was easier than recruiting the other participants. This highlights the inevitable subjectivities involved in research and reinforces the need to realise this unavoidable reality, particularly when conducting analysis (Roberts 2002:87).

The second easiest participant grouping recruited was Māori men. All Māori men I talked with were very generous with their time. I believe this is because many Māori I talked to believed this thesis topic to be a Māori topic, with many asserting that the link between national identity, land and spirituality is inherent in being Māori. The next participant grouping recruited were Māori women. Generally, recruiting Māori women was more difficult than recruiting their male counterparts as some gatekeepers and potential participants treated me with high suspicion and intolerance when they learnt that I did not have any whakapapa. I believe this is due to a political principle within Māoridom that only Māori can have access to Māori knowledge or, as Cram (2001:38) suggests, only Māori can interview Māori. This is important as it politically positions my Māori participants as *not* adhering to this principle.

The last and most difficult participant grouping that I recruited was Pākehā men. Response in this area was lowest overall. I still do not have any substantial answers as to why this was the case. However, although they were the most difficult to recruit,

the men who chose to take part were very generous with their time and supportive of this project.

Access interviews

Access interviews were the space where I met interviewees.[54] An access interview is where an introduction and informal discussion of the project transpires, a key tool of the life stories approach (R Du Plessis 2005, pers. comm., 21 March). I conducted them once I received HEC approval. With the exception of two participants, whose time constraints led them to request phone interviews, each encounter involved meeting potential participants face-to-face.

Interviews began with a briefing of the project. Important factors included in this explanation were the narrative version of the interview I would write for them, which was theirs to keep. In addition, I informed them that the narrative and analysis that would appear in my thesis would also be sent to them. I explained that this process was to ensure that I represented them correctly and that they were an active part of the research process.

A full explanation of these details was included in the project information sheet, which I handed to them at this point. After they had read the information sheet, I then handed them the questions for the main interview and, after that, two consent forms (one for me and one for the participant). In some cases, participants signed the consent forms at this stage. However, I later recommended that my participants sign

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[54]And with those who did not decide to participate.

consent forms at the main interview as I have concluded this gives them more time to process the information. Access interviews took anywhere between ten minutes and two hours. After our discussion, if participants did agree to take part, we then negotiated a time and a place for the next meeting.

Reflection

These access interviews proved crucial, as the first priority with participants is to generate good rapport; recording data is secondary (Hood 1984:16). Participants had the chance to meet me, digest the information and receive the interview questions in a relaxed and informal way without any pressure to perform. For me personally the access stage was a rare chance in the research process where I could also enjoy not having to perform, having a minimal researcher's role (the protocol outlined above became second nature after a couple of times). Most importantly for the project, this first meeting created a more relaxed and socially comfortable space for the main interview, as a relationship was already established. This made main interviews, in my view, much more successful (see Ellis and Berger 2003:159), even though it did not wholly comply with my written strategy.[55]

Moreover, in these access interviews it quickly became apparent this project was a collaborative event (Ellis and Berger 2003:159). Participants introduced their own opinions, insights, agendas, assumptions and needs, inevitably disrupting my worldview. These responses forced me to recognise this topic was not only important

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[55] It appears that when faced with real life people, the research strategy inevitably begins to change (Shope 2006:168). Unpredictability becomes central to the research and therefore, it becomes impossible to control outcomes (Roulston et al 2003:644).

to me but was also important to others. I was forced to look at my topic with new and varying perspectives. Suddenly the project became much larger than the researcher's own beliefs and assumptions. Young (in Shope 2006:164) contends, "transformation occurs when one encounters a different perspective that teaches one the partiality of one's own stand point and reveals one's own experiences as perspectival."

Main interviews

Main interviews took anywhere from thirty minutes to three hours. Locations varied from the participant's own residence, to their work place, cafés and, in one instance, the participant's car.[56] If participants had not already signed consent forms, I ensured this occurred before any interviewing took place (spare consent forms were available if participants did not still have their own). In the case of one interview though, the participant and I both forgot, but I posted one with a prepaid envelope with the University's address on the front and an apology note to him the next day.

I used a handheld tape recorder with a clip-on microphone to record the sessions[57]. In each interview, I always had spare batteries on hand and tested the equipment first by asking participants to say their name. They were all very compliant with this process. When I turned the equipment on, I informed the participant and then asked if they would like to start with the first question. However, as we both had a copy of the questions (I brought my own to the interview), some participants assumed control and proceeded to read the questions aloud themselves.

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[56] The room reserved had been double booked.
[57] I unintentionally purchased a clip-on microphone so decided to go ahead and use it anyway. However, it actually works very well because as my role is very passive in the main interview I only need a very clear voice from my participant, which this kind of microphone records very well.

In every full interview, I asked all six questions, but probes and follow-up questions varied according to the answers each participant gave. After each interview, I reiterated to participants what I had said in the access interview with regard to what will happen to their recorded accounts. Subsequent to leaving participants, I checked the interview was recorded properly using headphones.

Problems

There were two instances where I experienced equipment problems. The first instance was when batteries ran out during one interview. I quickly replaced them but for some reason still unknown, the new batteries did not work either. However, the participant I was with was generous enough to drive to the nearest garage. I was then able to purchase some more and we carried on with the interview. The second instance was with an interviewee at a café. We were sitting outside and about three-quarters of the way through the interview my participant's copy of the questions flew off the table so he jumped up to catch them. Neither of us realised until the end, that it was at that this point the microphone had fallen from his shirt and consequently did not record his voice. Fortunately, we both realised this when my participant was still at the table. Therefore, with his help, I quickly wrote down some notes from the interview and, in addition, he gave me his own notes, which he had brought with him.

Reflection

Despite equipment performing well overall, a central issue that continuously arose in every interview was the preoccupying thought of equipment failure at the beginning of each interview. I constantly found myself subtly but obsessively checking all the parts of my equipment to make sure they were working. This was a typical situation of appearing quiet and attentive, but being noisy in my head (Roulston et al 2003:652). I found the fear extremely exhausting and irrational, considering the equipment testing I went through at the start of each interview.

Nevertheless, interviews were a success and as I became immersed in each participant's story, fear and worry subsided. Tolich's and Davidson's (1999:119) advice for quelling such fear is to "assume that the tape recorder is malfunctioning" and to take notes. However, I felt taking notes was distracting for my listening, overwhelming (in terms of what to write) and inappropriate for my method. I felt like it re-inscribed modern scientific observation methods of research and was therefore unfitting for such an informal atmosphere.

I felt at ease with the level of informality in interviews. I felt capable of acting more genuinely and although interviews were semi-structured (using questions), they were in my opinion conducted with the informality of unstructured interviews (Opie 2003:220). This atmosphere arguably encourages participants to share more information and to become their own narrators (Ellis and Berger 2003:159).

My role in the main interview was passive, similar to a non-directive counsellor (Plummer 1983:95) and in accordance with the Kaupapa Māori Research principle of

watching and listening (Smith in Cram 2001:44).[58] This was in contrast with my access interviews, where there was more conversation, or what many feminist or life story researchers call collaborative or conversational interviewing (see for example Ellis and Berger 2003, Gray 2003, Opie 2003 Ribbens 1989). My passivity was important as I regarded my views as superfluous and my participants' stories and views as the priority. I suspect my participants appreciated this approach, as it appeared in most situations they enjoyed the space to tell their story and their view of the world with minimal interruption.

An element that worked extremely well was giving participants the questions in the access interviews. This idea I credit to my former senior supervisor, who made the suggestion during my 2006 pilot study *Spirit of our Land*. Most participants indicated their gratitude for this contemplation time, with a few even commenting on how they wished they had had this in previous interviews. However, even though participants indicated interest over questions at the access stage, as interviewing progressed, it became evident how 'Pākehā' the questions were. Fortunately, Māori participants were not so much offended with questions (with the exception of one participant, but his offence was not directed at me personally), but rather disorientated by some of them.

For example, most Māori participants expressed difficulty when asked to discuss spiritual experiences or spiritual practice as they found it hard to view spirituality as a separate phenomenon from life in general. In addition, one participant expressed offence at the word 'New Zealander' because of its homogenising and colonising

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[58] Kaupapa Māori Research does not strictly inform you to remain passive, it asks you to 'watch and listen' so you are able to learn when to speak. In my case however, I rarely sensed it was time for me to speak, apart from asking questions and supportive prompting.

tendencies. Shope reminds us that when interviewing, our "cultural lens" will inevitably influence our understanding of our interviewees (2006:171). I have learnt this also applies when constructing the questions. My Pākehā cultural lens/self undeniably moulded my interview questions. This experience has motivated me to be more aware of my Pākehā-ness and has helped to become more self-reflexive about my cultural assumptions.

A note on cross cultural research

Smith (1999:1) argues the word "research" itself "is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary." She explains there has been a long, brutal history of the modern West researching indigenous culture, which has inevitably re-inscribed colonial patterns.[59] Smith maintains this is still present in contemporary studies and consequently calls for more moral and constructive research into indigenous culture. Kaupapa Māori is a key example of this (1999:183-195).

Therefore, I understand the caution and suspicion from Māori whom I have approached for this project (see Recruitment: Reflection). One Māori gatekeeper from 2006, who was notably cautious and suspicious when I first met him, asked himself a question to measure my competence at researching Māori: *is what you are researching beneficial for Māori*? This question has worked as an ongoing measure for this project, particularly when presented with Māori who did not wish to be interviewed by me. This process of continually questioning the purpose and the

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[59] For an expanded and in-depth account see Smith (1999:19-41) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.*

integrity of one's study is a fundamental part of all research but specifically important for Pākehā wanting to interview Māori.

I consider it my responsibility as a partner of the Treaty of Waitangi to be involved in projects with Māori participation (Bishop 1996:18). Conversely, Karen Max (2005:79) argues, that "it is not appropriate for non-aboriginal people to do research on aboriginal peoples" and that "anti-colonial research must be initiated, directed and controlled by aboriginal peoples." Although I agree with the sentiment Max is expressing I do not think it is conducive to the anti-colonial/anti-racist movement to paralyse non-aboriginal researchers in this way. Interviewing just six Māori on Māori things has taught me invaluable knowledge of Māoridom and has been a critical step in me becoming a more responsible partner of the Treaty of Waitangi. My learning has come from my Māori participants guiding me, which illustrates how crucial cross-cultural research is for learning cross-culturally. As a cross-cultural researcher, Shope shares my sentiment. She contends that to refuse to be involved in cross-cultural research suggests that it is not possible to communicate across cultural boundaries (2006:175).

The narratives

After transcribing main interviews verbatim, I wrote narrative versions of each, which I handed back to participants in order to confirm I had understood them correctly and as a personal gesture. They then had the opportunity to alter them if representation was not accurate. This process complies with the life story and Kaupapa Māori Research approaches of collaboration (Bishop 1996, Ellis and Berger 2003). It also

gave participants something to keep from the process, as it would be some time before I returned analysis to them. Many appreciated this gesture and only a few made (slight) alterations for me to change and then hand back.

The efficacy of this process for the production of the thesis, however, was questionable. Originally, versions of these narratives were to form a chapter unto itself. However, due to unforeseen circumstances it became clear in later stages of the thesis that this chapter was not an option. These narratives then become a separate rather than an integrated feature of this thesis. However, integration of narrative in this thesis does appear when I use elongated fragments of participant narratives in analysis chapters to demonstrate particular analytical points. Additionally, brief sketches finish this methodology chapter. This was done to give participants a voice in the process of academic research rather than reducing them to data, a principle of the life stories approach (see for example Ellis and Berger 2003), and to give the reader greater context when reading the analysis.

Theorising and analysis

To achieve theory and analysis the twelve transcripts underwent manual coding with the aid of the interminably helpful cut and paste functions in Microsoft Word. Thirty-three initial codes broke the transcripts into categories that sparked numerous ideas. 'Analytic memos' expanded these ideas.[60] Two of these ideas, mountains and ancestry, formed the foundations of my analysis chapters. My own personal ideas of

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[60] Analytic memos were tasks prescribed by my then senior supervisor. They are, in essence, written documents that explore analytic ideas that arise while coding.

nationhood, land and spirituality before this research had nothing to do with ancestry or mountains. Therefore, these decisions were unquestionably moments of "transformation," when I recognised my own "stand point" and the very limited perspective which that entailed (Young in Shope 2006:164).

More intricate coding produced subtopics and then careful analysis of these subtopics or cut up transcripts occurred. If one were to define in a general sense the 'how' of my narrative analysis it would be through symbols and themes. Theorising the analysis took three forms. Firstly, four main international theorists (Smith, Thompson, and Kaufmann and Zimmer) were used. Secondly, New Zealand literature added a local theorisation that indigenised international theory. Thirdly, I use an original, tailored term for this research, locally narrated roots, which frames each analysis chapter with several sub-concepts of this term that guide specific sections. In the absence of sub-concepts capable of accurately theorising certain sections, I combine several sub-concepts or I tailor concepts for specific analytical material.

During the process of applying theory to analysis, I intuitively used different analytical methods to analyse Pākehā and Māori participant narratives. This I realise is because of the vast differences between Pākehā and Māori, culturally, historically and politically. However, difficulty occurred when analysing my Māori transcripts. Having no Māori supervision and lacking experiential knowledge of a Māori worldview, I became concerned at my cultural positioning and the effect that it was having on my analysis of Māori participants' narratives. I contacted Aotahi: School of Māori and Indigenous Studies for help. Nekerangi Paul, the School's librarian helped greatly with insightful references (not for the first time). I also met with Anna Sutton

and Dr. Rāwiri Taonui (Head of School) for personal and academic commentary, whereby Dr. Taonui offered an associate supervisory role, which I gratefully accepted.

This addition to the supervisory team unexpectedly paralleled a change in senior supervisors that led to a dynamic shift in the production of this thesis, whereby I gained the freedom to take my own direction. The only exception to this was being unable to produce a Narrative Chapter, a space to give full narrative detail of interviews with participants. I hope the short introductions below go some way towards redressing the situation.

The participants

In no particular order below are brief sketches of the twelve participants who took part in this thesis. As well as introducing the participants, the sketches include quotations that in my opinion capture the spirit of the interviews. All names are pseudonyms unless otherwise requested.

'Āwhina'

Āwhina is of Kahungunu and Ngāi Tahu, but specifically to the places Mahia, Wairoa and Frazer Town up North and Tuahiwi, Waihao, Moeraki and Rakiura down here in the South. She is a flax weaver, Māori art curator and very aware of the importance of Māori women:

Like people think Māori women are subservient to Māori men, but we're actually balanced. For everything that a Māori man only does, there's things that only a Māori woman can do. And that brings, you know, this balance to everything that we do. But then we've got people saying "ahhh, women should be allowed to speak on the marae!! And rahrahrah!!" You know? Well whose value is that and why? For me as a woman, the biggest thing that I can do is to Karanga, without that Karanga you can't have the men speaking, so we come first.
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'Earle'

Earle, now in his later years, believes he possesses a more spiritual and reflective view on life than when he was younger. Raised Presbyterian, he now follows a Taoist philosophy. One of the central ways he connects spiritually is to go into the bush alone:

Kiwi to me means land. It's more than being a New Zealander, that's a different concept to me than being a Kiwi. Kiwi means out in the forests, it means on the beaches, it means the beauty of the country, the remote spots ...

'Albro'

Albro, of Te Arawa, was born and bred in Rotorua. He works with youth at risk and is passionate about his work and making a difference in the lives of young people who need help. He is a practicing Open Brethren Christian, although he maintains denominations are not important:

My belief, or what I read from the Bible, is that God created nations and men created denominations. And that's just to put people in boxes and I don't want to be seen as put in a box. I wanna be seen as, I'm a person who follows Jesus and I don't particularly go to this Church or that Church. I just wanna show people that following Jesus is the most important thing. I mean its good to belong somewhere too, but yeah you don't have to be stuck in that box...

'Sr'

Sr is a Catholic nun who belongs to a social service-based order. I interviewed her last year for my pilot study *Sprit of our Land* when she was on her sabbatical. Even though she is involved in active ministry again, she still agreed to be re-interviewed and take part in this year's project. Sr is wholly committed to Treaty issues, an example of the bicultural shift in mainline churches from the 1980s (Adams 1991: 5-6). This is an extract of a story she told, illustrating how she finds God in the landscape:

And I looked up and the reflection of the sunrise was in the western sky, because it faces west my room and it was like a huge cape, it was just sort of a rounded beautiful pink, glowing cape. And all I could think of was that reflected for me, the love of God

'John'

John Hunt, discussed in Chapter Two, is the Minister for St Giles Presbyterian Church on Papanui Rd. He is also an example of the bicultural shift in mainline churches from the 1980s (Adams 1991: 5-6). John is deeply involved in the practice and teaching of Celtic spirituality. In addition, he has written two books on the subject. The first one is *We Spirited People: A Personal, Enriching and Uniquely New Zealand Guide in Celtic Spirituality*, published in 1998, and the second one is *We Well People: A Celtic Spirituality of the Senses, of Awe and Wonder and Delight*, published in 2003. They

are books aimed at celebrating Celtic spirituality, locating it in a New Zealand context and helping people integrate it into their lives.

I have found a spirituality that rings true for me as a New Zealander. It is a spirituality which recognises the way my spirit is nurtured—in the wonder of the landscape, the greatness of the people, the knowing in my own heart (Hunt 1998:8).

'Jenni'

Jenni is a southern girl, born and bred. She is a professional vibrational worker and currently working on a book, a spiritual comedy. Having lived overseas for years she is back home permanently, believing New Zealand will play a special role in a global spiritual shift that, she says, will arrive in 2012:

So, we're racing towards what they call 2012 which is this—everybody has different views, but to me its going to be a movement, whereby power struggles will disappear and people will be more understanding and unconditional. And I look at New Zealand … it seems to be changing that much faster here, for all sorts of reasons, on a physical, mental, emotional and spiritual. I think we are very fortunate. But I also feel that New Zealand holds an energy for the future. It holds almost a blueprint of where we're meant to be going and what we can do. We're so in tune with our country and our country is so in tune with us ...

'Michael'

Michael, "born and bred" in Christchurch, believes being born in New Zealand was his divine purpose, and an integral part of his personal, spiritual development. He spent his youth as a "hard-lined atheist" but now is committed to neo pagan beliefs, specifically possessing great faith in the Egyptian Gods and Mother Earth:

I see volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, super hurricanes and basically the major geological disasters that the planet visits on us, as her (Mother Earth) way of trying to clear her energies when we can't or won't. It's, if you like, her way of rebalancing herself, of washing the pollution out of the atmosphere, of running water over the land to cleanse it and for us, it's a wake up call that we can't continue to treat our planet like a giant dustbin.

'Grace'

Grace is of Whakatōhea, but after having lived in the South Island for seventy-eight years and marrying into, and working for, Ngāi Tahu, she is considered a Kuia for Ngāi Tahu. She is an active member of the health and Ngāi Tahu community, listing numerous community boards and projects she contributes to. Only when she turned eighty a couple of years ago did she decide to retire from *some* of her commitments.

And so I've come off some of those things since I've been 80. Give somebody else a chance! No, I think they need new ideas, I mean it's good to have an oldie up to a point. But I think the point comes by the time you're 80, it's time to step over.

'Rev'

Reverend, of Ngāti Porou, is a Kaumatua and an ordained priest in the Tikanga Māori division of the Anglican Church. Born just before World War 2, he spent his formative years living on his mother's family farm, deep inland of Gisborne. This has given him strong a connection to the land that links to his New Zealand identity:

Well, for a start I am proud of being a New Zealander because I was born one and born in New Zealand. And, well, I know nothing else but a New Zealander, you know, I was born on the land. And our knots are tied to there. You know, they're really tied there and buried in the ground.

'Pānia'

Pānia asked me to introduce her as Kāi Tahu Whānui (Waitaha, Māmoe and Ngāi (Kāi)Tahu) and also introduce her whakapapa links to Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Toa and her non-Māori side, England, Ireland, Scotland and Portugal. She is an active figure in Kāi Tahu Whānui affairs and Māori issues. Despite her

awareness that the Pākehā world is still lacking in terms of being an effective bicultural partner, she remains a proud Kiwi:

Kiwis have this aura around us and it's clean, it's clean, it's nice, it's really, you know—it's not as contaminated as other nationalities or races, and a lot more friendlier, and this is not just Māori but this is Kiwis in general.

'Rāwiri'

Rāwiri of Ngāi (Kāi) Tahu has Māmoe and Waitaha whakapapa, connections to Rakiura, Chatham Islands and Moriori and in the North Island Ngāti Mutunga, Ngāti Kahungunu, Wairoa and Ngāti Porou. Additionally he has ancestral connections to Ireland, Scotland, Portugal and France. Based in rural Canterbury, he lives in the house that his great grandfather built and which has now been in his whānau for five generations. He likes the rural life style and spending time outdoors. When I interviewed him, he had just been tramping around Aoraki that weekend:

We were basically in the shadows of Aoraki the whole weekend and sometimes when it got really hard going for me, I'd just look up and kinda visualise me grandparents, all my grandparents who have passed on. Story has it that um, that's where the mauri from our deceased travel through from Aoraki to Maukatere/Mount Grey, on the way to the North Island, Cape Reinga, it's the last that our spirits have contact with the land. Yeah, so quite often, I'd look up there and just see their smiling faces …

'Pamela'

Pamela is a devoted contemplative nun who resides in a Catholic monastery. Born into a Catholic family, she has maintained a very strong sense of faith in God since she was a child. She sees this path of faith as "like a flower, starting as a bud in childhood and opening out all the way along."

As a contemplative nun, one of the ways in which I practice my spirituality, in fact the chief one, our whole life revolves around it, is by means of contemplative prayer. That is, the hours we give each day to be in God's presence. Thinking of His love, of His beauty and His goodness and coming close to Him during these times of deep silence and stillness. In this way we enter into a close union with Him and from that union, it flows on then out to the whole world …

Summary

Introducing participants is a key part of recounting the research journey, a process that joins the world of academic literature and theory in this thesis to analysis. This process has also required relating the journey from participant recruitment to how I did analysis, which I have done throughout this chapter drawing on the principles of Kaupapa Māori Research and life story methodologies. The central theme of this chapter, however, is people's stories, a theme that reiterates the argument of everyday meaning discussed in Chapter Two. I elaborated on the theme of people's stories by discussing the rationale; recounted how I recruited and recorded interviewees, theorised and analysed; and finally introduced interviewees and a small sample of their story. Through the narration of my research process I have come to recognise my subjective positioning with the help of a life stories methodology and my epistemological position of situated knowledges. Viewing my own subjectivities has highlighted my Pākehā positioning and a commitment to cross cultural research. It has also created more self-awareness as a researcher, which, I hope, produces more self-aware analysis. I now turn to analysis starting with Chapter Four, which discusses Pākehā participants' views on ancestry.

4. Locally Narrated Roots: Pākehā Ancestry

"I thank God I was born in New Zealand. A young country is a real heritage, though it takes one time to recognise it. But New Zealand is in my very bones" (Mansfield 1928:199 in McGill 2003:164)

"… Not I, some child, born in a marvellous year,
Will learn the trick of standing upright here" (Curnow 1990:89)

Pākehā participants' views on ancestry are theorised in this chapter through the concept of locally narrated roots. Developed in Chapter Two, locally narrated roots is a theorisation of nationhood from the perspective of localness, narration, spirituality, land and ancestry. Ancestry was the most wide-reaching analytical find from participant data; all twelve participants discussed the topic. Two sub-concepts from Chapter Two, cultural ancestry and romantic-colonial naturalisation, specifically guide analysis in the two sections that constitute this chapter. Romantic-colonial naturalisation theorises colonial settler society, which in this chapter will involve discussion of melancholy/darkness, the dark pioneer and naturalising Pākehā belonging. Firstly, though, cultural ancestry theorises participants' visitations to the UK[61].

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[61] Māori participants appear in this analysis but adhere to the Pākehā worldview in discussion, which will be explained in the relevant section.

Cultural ancestry and the pilgrimage to the UK

Cultural ancestry speaks of a nation's cultural roots through inherited culture rather than personal ancestors. As the historic colonial power, the UK serves as the dominant non-Māori ancestral heritage of Aotearoa/New Zealand and, therefore, its cultural ancestor. The dominance of English culture in particular and the perpetuation of the (fictitious) "98.5 percent British slogan" (Belich 1996:315) by "colonising crusaders" (Belich 1996:297) created the belief that New Zealand was predominantly British, particularly English. Hence, British traditions and culture have dominated New Zealand since colonial inception. Therefore, although many descendants of New Zealand settlers from the UK may identify with the personal histories of their ancestors, the stronger resonance with the UK as a *nation* is the cultural belief that the UK is a fundamental part of our national heritage.

The "cultural institution" known as the OE or overseas experience is illustrative of this cultural tie between the two countries (Bell 2002:149). The OE, known as the first long trip away from family and generally undertaken by young middle-class Pākehā, serves as a working holiday in order to experience the world. Although the OE generally includes travel around Europe, the UK represents the "typical" and "traditional" place for the Kiwi overseas experience (Haverig 2007:68).

The OE in the UK has a long history in New Zealand, with New Zealand writers and artists travelling there as a "cultural necessity" in the 1920s and 30s (Bell 2002:144). Bell (2002:149) argues that up until the 1950s the UK was "home" to Pākehā New Zealanders and it remained the most important country in the world to New Zealand

up until the 1970s. The saturation of UK culture in New Zealand until the 1960s highlighted the belief that New Zealand did not possess a distinctive culture. The OE then was an opportunity to become cultured and to experience home (Bell 2002:148-149).

The OE experience dramatically increased during the 1990s. *Not* embarking on an OE is now unusual for the young and middle class in New Zealand, with Bell contending that the OE is a non-religious pilgrimage, a "spiritual journey" to discover the world and self (2002:144-5). To encompass participants' experience of the UK, as six interviewees, who more often than not sit outside of Bell's definition of the OEer, some being Māori and some older, discussed their trip there. I thereby hope to illustrate how they demonstrate the concept of cultural ancestry on an individual local level (Thompson 2001).

There is a paradox to the Kiwi pilgrimage to the UK Travellers are simultaneously leaving New Zealand to connect with non-New Zealand roots, yet are enacting Kiwi-ness by exemplifying the origin narrative of the pioneer (see Chapter Two) and Kiwi ingenuity. For instance, they "go it alone," take on the wilderness, work hard and display self-reliance (Bell 2002:150). Further, Bell argues, since the 1970s the OE traveller has realised New Zealand is not "a little England" and discovered the distinctiveness of New Zealand identity (Bell 2002:155).

Jenni and Pānia are instructive here, expressing their New Zealand distinctiveness by criticising England. Jenni enacts New Zealand's classless society origin narrative (see

Chapter Two) by accusing England of still having a class system, thus implying that New Zealand does not.

Well you look at England; I mean how is England going to change very easy? The history of England alone is going to cause problems ... the power struggles, the fact that they still have the hierarchy and the classes .... (Jenni)

By contrast, Pānia enacts the beautiful New Zealand origin narrative (see Chapter Two) by disclosing the unpleasantness of London, insinuating that Christchurch is the contrary.

The bond (with New Zealand) is so strong that in your mind no matter where you are you can close your eyes, be in a shit hole like London and suddenly you're sitting here in Christchurch. (Pānia)

Michael reiterates Pānia's sentiment. He has never visited the UK (he was not one of the six who discussed their trip there) but he told me how he would like to seek out his ancestral roots in the future, yet palpably prefers New Zealand.

I mean Europe has got some real positives, they've got a huge, ancient history. I'd love to go there, travel and connect with that, see it, and find my roots over there. But it's also got a lot of baggage. It's got a lot of overdevelopment and overcrowding and pollution, people say places like London are just dirty, crowded nasty places. And you come to Christchurch and it's got smog, sure, but it's clean and open, it's not overly crowded and you don't feel too stressed and I think it's great. (Michael)

Both Jenni's and Pania's stories about their visit were in response to questions of nationhood though, indicating a perverse, yet national and cultural connection to the UK.

Rebecca: What is being a New Zealander all about?
Jenni*: Travelling is really. We're the most travelled race per capita other than anyone else in the world. You know, it's quite rare to find—when people come out of uni or whatever, someone who hasn't gone on the 'big OE' and gone to experience the world. Some people stay, you do get that. But everybody talks about going to do the 'big OE,' the overseas experience, while we can still go to England and then England can lead on to Europe.*

Pānia: …*question 3 was ... being a New Zealander, yeah there you go, what is it all about?*
I guess what it's about, I'll give you two stories to ya ... I moved over to England for 4 years ... part of the reason I went to London, wanted to do the big OE.

In addition to Pānia, two other Māori participants briefly discussed their participation in this Pākehā rite of passage (Bell 2002:143). Āwhina and Grace, like Pānia and Jenni, also directly related discussion of their New Zealand-ness to visiting England and expressed a distinct Kiwi-ness during their time there (Bell 2002:155). Āwhina expressed how it was Māori New Zealand-ness that Kiwis wanted to express once there:

It's like my experience is that the first thing that people do when they go overseas to identify themselves as being a New Zealander is like they do the Haka, you know? You see it all over the place people want to identify with New Zealand, so yeah, that's what they do, you know in England it's huge. (Awhina)

Grace discussed her overseas adventures in general in order to express how proud she is to be a Kiwi, citing England first:

Now, what is being a New Zealander all about? I think it's about pride. Pride and thankfulness. Having been overseas a few times now I've been to England and I've been to Malaysia three times, I've been to Ozzie about seven times, and to Las Vegas. So I've been around but coming home, when you're over there you're very pleased when people ask you where you're from. Because you can say New Zealand, because you've got so many things to be proud about, about New Zealand. (Grace)

Grace, who is in her eighties, demonstrates how this expression of distinct Kiwi-ness in the UK since the 1970s does not confine itself to a younger generation. John and Sr, who are older too (over fifty), also demonstrate this expression of distinct Kiwi-ness in their narratives of their trips to the UK, both also referring to the UK in response to questions of New Zealand-ness.

In answer to the two interview questions directly related to New Zealand identity discussed at different times in the interview, John referenced "Britain":

Rebecca: What is being a New Zealander all about …?
John: *I think it's about equality. And I think, although in New Zealand we have a growing disparity between rich and poor, nevertheless, while there are some people who look down on others, no-one looks up to others. Like in Britain, people look up to people in aristocracy, no one in New Zealand looks up. I think we have a straight forwardness, and we are plain speaking people and we say what we mean on the whole ….*

Rebecca: Can you tell me about one thing you do that makes you feel like a Kiwi?
John: *I was in Britain last year and it's rather nice to find yourself special.*

John did not use Britain for a cultural reference in the absence of any culture in a New Zealand identity. On the contrary, he uses Britain to describe what New Zealand is not, implicitly criticising Britain and revering New Zealand. He enacts the origin narrative of classlessness as Jenni did by disclosing his preference for the "straight forwardness" of New Zealanders in comparison with England's admiration for aristocracy. Additionally, he describes the New Zealander as "special," emphasising the belief that New Zealand is distinct and unique (Bell 1996:29).

The "Kiwi" (Bell: 1996:29, 37) is a well-known expression of this uniqueness. Sr utilises this symbol in her narrative about her time in England and Ireland. She expresses criticism of a well-known English supermarket chain. She explains they did not know the difference between a "Kiwi" and a "Kiwifruit" when asked if she called herself a Kiwi:

Rebecca: Do you call yourself a Kiwi?
Sr: Absolutely! And again, when I was away (in England and Ireland) I saw kiwifruit in the supermarkets and it would have on it 'Kiwi,' bought in New Zealand. Nearly all the fruit had labels of where it came from and it had 'Kiwi, New Zealand' on it. So, I took upon myself as a personal mission to prove the supermarkets wrong …. I would say to the person with the vegetables and fruit, "You know that's not a Kiwi." I said, " I'm from that country" and I'd go on like this, I said, "In jest we call ourselves Kiwi as a local name for ourselves but a kiwi is a bird." And I said, "If you were to kill a kiwi and put it on that shelf," I said, "You would be put in prison!!" So I took upon Tesco's, which is an English shop, every time I went I'd tell someone what a kiwi was and I was sure I could convince them!

Participants who discussed their trip to the UK both expressed a distinct Kiwi identity (Bell 2002:155) and discussed their trip in relation to questions of New Zealand-ness. In other words, they asserted Kiwi-ness by comparing themselves *against* the UK. Their comparisons were largely disparaging, in order to highlight the superiority of New Zealand.

Nonetheless, the UK was the most travelled to and talked about nation outside New Zealand amongst all participants. This ambivalent position, discussing the place at length, yet in a disparaging manner, is interesting. Pearson (1952:205-6 in Bannister 2005:9), speaking over fifty years ago, also saw ambivalence. He suggests Kiwis both sneer at and respect the English, resenting their upper class pretensions yet seeing them and the nation as a source of authority. Bannister (2005:9) suggests this sentiment originates from New Zealand being a British colony.

Participants reflect Pearson's argument to the extent that they express ambivalence and disapproval towards the English class system. However, as I have argued, a cultural shift in the New Zealand psyche has occurred since the 1960s/1970s. This has progressively eroded the traditional attitude towards the UK, leading—to use just one example—the discovery of a distinct Kiwi identity when in the UK (Bell 2002:155). Compounding with this cultural shift, in 1973 Britain joined the European Economic Community (EEC), cutting the special economic relationship New Zealand had with Britain (Head 1991:24-25, *Cinema of Unease* 2005). Head argues this simply "spelt out" what had already occurred in New Zealand: "we were New Zealanders first and British second—or not at all" (1991:24-25).

My participants illustrate this cultural shift through their UK stories. They did not see the UK as an authority figure or pride themselves on making the trip there. Rather, they saw going as a "rite of passage" (Bell 2002:146), and went specifically to the UK because of the colonial connections (Bell 2002:149). Hence, I suggest that in addition to this pilgrimage being a discovery of world and self (Bell 2002:144-5), it is a spiritual journey to discover one's own nationhood, most potently explored in one's former colonial ruler.

In these narratives the UK acts as a cultural ancestor, with participants talking about the UK in response to questions regarding New Zealand identity, although with palpable perverseness. This complicates Chapter Two's development of the term. I would like to conduct further research in the future to explore more thoroughly this finding. For now though, the focus will turn to colonial settler society, the origins of the connection Kiwis have to the UK, Jenni making the link herself:

I remember being told actually by a very upper class woman when I was in England .... she told me she felt sorry for me because we were the colonies and we were the outcasts, and I'm looking at her and going "Right.... OK, you feel sorry for me, OK, right.... " .... I looked at her and said, "But for what we do on the world stage how can you feel sorry for us?" It's your country I feel sorry for! (Jenni)

The romantic-colonial naturalisation

Five of six Pākehā participants narrated colonial settler society stories during interviews. With the exception of Jenni's, all stories involved their personal forbears. Romantic-colonial naturalisation, a term outlined in Chapter Two, acts here as a theoretical insight into these narratives. Intimately aligned with Evans' (2007:47, 57) "colonial sublime," this term employs at once romantic philosophy and colonial aims to naturalise Pākehā belonging in New Zealand through spirituality, land and ancestry. In short, these stories are national identity building tools, colonial settler society being a major theme of New Zealand's grand origin narrative and, therefore, a core part of the formation of the New Zealand nation (see Chapter Two, Willmott 1989:2, Bell 1996).

For instance, when discussing settler society participants use specific identity building language. Discussing settler society, Jenni suggests "that is part of who we (Pākehā New Zealanders) are," while Pamela expresses how it has given her "a great sense of identity." John explains he "had a distinct feeling of belonging" to the place where his forbears lived and "acknowledge(s) our (settler) forebears, our ancestors, are part of who we (Pākehā New Zealander's) are." Finally, in his narrative Earle describes his bodily and mystical connection on his first arrival into Canterbury where his forbears settled: "my whole body suddenly felt at home." These personal expressions of identity communicate how ancestry contributes to a distinct Pākehā New Zealand identity, exampling Larner's and Spoonley's (1995:40) "locally focussed (Pākehā) identity" from Chapter Two. These personal and active interpretations of colonial settler societal history locally narrate historical, national origins (Thompson 2001).

Identifying with melancholy/darkness

One strand of the above argument that expressions of national identity exist within settler narratives is that this identity links to melancholy/darkness, an expression of romanticism (Evans 2007). A symbolic act of cultural unease, identifying with darkness illustrates one way in which romanticism links to Pākehā nationhood, providing a unique view of colonial settler society. This contributes to an illustration of romantic-colonial naturalisation: using romanticism as a national identity building tool in colonial settler narratives.

All five stories contribute to the theme of darkness, featuring murder, war, famine, cemeteries, the risk of dying, vandalism, suicidal thoughts, sickness, poverty, hardship, infant death, sorrow, isolation, loneliness, dislocation and apprehension. This darkness in turn connects to identity. John openly discusses the sense of belonging he has with his forbears, a sense dominated by sorrow:

I visited the area where my forbears came from. And my great, great grandmother was drowned in the well when she was twenty-six. And when I went there, when we got to where we were going, the hut that they had lived in which had been dug out of the ground had the solid walls still there. And of course the well is still there and I had a distinct feeling of belonging there and sometimes I find myself with a feeling of sadness for no apparent reason and I sometimes wonder if I am in touch with the sorrows of my forebears. And in particular, this woman. Recently I found her grave in the Barbadoes Street cemetery and it had been vandalised so I was pleased to hire a stonemason to correct it. (John)

Sr explains how her forbears came directly from the "famines of Ireland" and "brought it with them," suggesting the hardship replicated itself here. Within the same narrative she discusses her visit to her infant forbear's grave on Anzac Day; a day of linking nationhood to the remembrance of dead soldiers and the horrors of war.

Without a doubt, well I can only speak of the Catholic religion. But, a lot of our ancestors came from Ireland, they came from the famines of Ireland, came here and brought it with them. Hmmm. On Anzac Day in the afternoon we went to church in the morning and had quite a day and we drove out to Oxford. Because my great grandparents who came from Ireland went first to Oxford and their first child died, they had seven sons afterwards, but their first child died in Oxford and is buried in plot number three of the Oxford Cemetery. Now I find that fascinating. That all that area was so small in 1882/4 and to think it was that she was the third person to be buried there, this infant daughter. You know, there was just one, two, three! Then later they shifted to Ashburton and they had seven sons. But isn't it interesting that it was only 150 years ago, not even that long ago, not quite, that's all the people that had been buried out there and that was a reasonable sized country cemetery. (Sr)

Pamela discusses the journey her ancestors took to come to New Zealand, complete with the risk of death, suicidal thoughts, sickness, poverty and hardship, all of which have given her "a great sense of identity."

… So that's given me a great sense of identity. That was my forbears who came here, at great cost to themselves, my great, great grandmother said that she thought she would die on the way, in fact she prayed to die she was so terribly sick on the long voyage, three months out. It took one of my grandparents 91 days on the sea. So life was pretty hard to get here and then they built a life out of next to nothing. They came with next to nothing. One set of great grandparents came with everything in a tin trunk. So I was very conscious that all that had gone before I appeared on the scene. So that gave me a great love and feel for the past. (Pamela)

Jenni, too, discusses the risk of death, anxiety, poverty and struggle involved in the colonial settler voyage and believes that it is a core part of Kiwi-ness.

Kiwis, if you think about it, that is part of who we are. Is that they got on a boat, they took how many months that you ran the risk of dying, that you left everything behind, you had no idea what you were coming too. You had to break the land and toil and set yourself up and start again. That's in every one of us, for those who were born here, that's a core part of us, that's there, it's the blood. (Jenni)

The shared topic of death amongst these four participants exalts this theme of melancholy and darkness.[62] Both Pamela's and Jenni's stories discuss the risk of

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[62] This theme reverberates with a common theme in three separate discussions held with Anglican ministers during the course of this research (2007/2008). With no provocation except discussing the central research question with them, Rev. Tom Innes, Rev. Alister G. Hendery and Rev. Bosco Peters revealed death as a logical subject to discuss when linking their spirituality, national identity and connection to land. The first thing Tom discussed when I raised my research question with him was where he wants to be buried when he dies. Alister, who has worked specifically with death, thought my question related directly to dying. Lastly, Bosco throughout our conversation about my thesis topic mentioned his wife's early settler ancestry and the land she owns from that ancestry and how he will be buried there when he dies.

dying. Sr's and John's stories both explicitly discuss the death of their forbears and their cemeteries, while Sr contextualises her narrative in Anzac Day, a day of remembering dead soldiers.

Earle connects melancholy and identity by exemplifying the classic Pākehā New Zealand 'man alone' trope, a well-known New Zealand male archetype.[63] A figure of Pākehā masculine identity, the man alone is isolated, anti-authoritarian, anxious, tragic and romantic (Bannister 2005, Abdinor 200:10). Earle invokes this character throughout our interview, for instance when describing his solo excursions into the forest:

I'd rather be on my own sometimes and just ... years ago I used to go out into the forest for five or six weeks just by myself and I used to bake my own bread, perhaps shoot a deer for meat. Yeah, I used to live out there .... (Earle)[64]

In his settler story though, the man alone theme continues as he recounts his solo move to Christchurch, the home of his settler ancestors. Knowing only "one or two people" in Christchurch, he makes his trip back to his 'roots,' typifying his man alone character through aloneness and isolation.

I think my family first arrived in 1876, 1878 and my wife's great grandparents did as well. It was quite strange they were on the same ship, same sailing and they arrived at the same time. It's only by comparing family trees we discovered this. We were a Canterbury family, and we went north, I'm not quite sure what the reason was for going north. But it was my great grandfather and he went to Wellington and started a brick works there. My father was born there in Wellington, and yet he used to go south quite often and then he shifted to Whanganui and I was born there. When I first came down here during the 1970s my employers shipped my furniture down, it was freighted down by plane so I just had to drive down the coast really. And I was on my own at that time so I had the freedom to shift

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[63]In the novel *Man Alone* (1939) by John Mulgan, the main character 'goes bush' to escape authority. Mulgan coined the term "man alone," although the idea has its roots in settler society and the pioneer (discussed below). Now the New Zealand male archetype of the man alone is a Kiwi male antihero and popular character throughout New Zealand literature and film. Sam Neill (2005) suggests in *Cinema of Unease* that although hardly anybody has read the book it is the man alone *archetype* that has pervaded New Zealand masculine culture.

[64] Earle's illustration of this man alone character through his narration of his ascent up Mt. Egmont/Taranaki alone one night is discussed in Chapter Six.

around New Zealand where I wanted to go to. And I had job on promotion here and as I drove down the Kāikoura coast I was really impressed with the beauty but when I came onto Christchurch, it was about five in the afternoon, and I'd got to about Redwood and a very strange experience came over me. My whole body suddenly felt at home, and yet I have no brothers and sisters down here, I'd left my mother and father up in the North Island. I had distant relatives down here that I'd never met, and I was really coming to a place where I only knew one or two people down here through my hobbies so I thought I would feel lonely ... (Earle)

Bannister (2005:5, 10) and Evans (P, pers. comm., 2008 19 January) both examine the man alone in New Zealand film and literature. Anxious and isolated, this figure intricately links to the wider darkness that they argue is present in "Pākehā cultural production" (Bannister 2005:13). Evans (pers. comm., 2008 19 January) argues the theme of darkness, particularly in the landscape, is "a given" in New Zealand literature and is rooted in settler society.[65] Bannister (2005:13) also argues darkness, madness, despair and violence, particularly located in the landscape, are common themes throughout Pākehā film.[66] In addition, Neill in *Cinema of Unease* (2005) explains how New Zealand film, filled with macabre themes such as horror and madness, is a reflection of the nation, reiterating Swarbrick's (2007) argument, discussed in Chapter Two, that film and literature define who we are as Kiwis.[67]

Bannister argues this darkness undoubtedly links to the cultural anxiety of being both coloniser and colonised, a concept introduced in Chapter Two (Ashcroft et al

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[65] Renowned Pākehā literary figures such as Katherine Mansfield, Janet Frame, James K Baxter, Maurice Gee and Owen Marshall, to name just a few, all display a tendency towards dark themes. Further, in his article "Whipping up a local culture: Masochism and the cultural nationalists" Evans argues that "Cultural nationalism established a canon of melancholy" that includesAllen Curnow, Charles Brasch, R.A.K Mason, Dennis Glover and A.R.D Fairburn (http://www.engl.canterbury.ac.nz/research/pde1.htm retrieved 24 July 2008).

[66] For example, *The Piano, An Angel at my Table, In My Father's Den, Heavenly Creatures, Black Sheep, River Queen, Out of the Blue, Perfect Strangers, Scarifes, Vigil, Snakeskin, Sleeping Dogs, Goodbye Porkpie, Bad Taste, Brain Dead, Rain, Bad Blood, Perfect Creature, The Locals*, to name some well-known titles.

[67] Sam Neill, veteran New Zealand actor.

1998:211-212 in Bannister 2005:11).[68] To elaborate, Bannister (2005:11), Mita (1992:47-48) and Matthews (2008:D1-D2) all observe how the prolificacy of darkness in Pākehā film and literature reflects the cultural anxiety and unease that haunt the Pākehā psyche, which they argue has its roots in colonial settler society. Mita dubs it the "colonial syndrome of dislocation" (1992:47).

I suggest this Pākehā cultural anxiety/unease is present in settler narratives from Pākehā participants. I contend that just as Pākehā writers and filmmakers express their cultural anxiety and unease through creative darkness, it is possible that participants, who are also narrators, do this in their narratives. As one of the many themes within their stories, perhaps this darkness is one expression of the inexpressible in that it symbolises the irreconcilable nature of repressed, unaddressed, inherited issues of dislocation, identifying with land through dispossessing another culture and the violence, suffering and hardship of settler life. Only future research will be able to offer deeper and more conclusive answers.

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[68] Matthews extends his argument to the darkness in real time by referring to the history of murderous and depraved crime in the South Island. He cites artist Jason Greig, who imparts that the darkness is about the "sinister side of colonialism," while Greig's older sister claims it is about the "suffering and the blood this place has seen" (from Māori and Pākehā). Meanwhile, writer Owen Marshall suggests it is the repressed unease of "colonial imposition on a very different landscape of history and culture" (2008:D2).

The dark pioneer

Building on the link between national identity, colonial settler society and darkness is the 'dark pioneer.' Discussion in Chapter Two revealed the pioneer as an origin narrative formed in settler society, symbolic of the colonial settler. Chapter Two also suggested that throughout New Zealand history, this symbol—which is Protestant, male and Pākehā—has been recreated in symbolic narratives, such as Anzac mythology. In addition, the pioneer has also been recreated through the figures of the man alone and the "Kiwi bloke" (Bannister 2005, Bell 1996:35, Abdinor 2000:10). Belich (2001) and Phillips (1996) both discuss the pioneer (and its counterpart, the Kiwi Bloke) as fundamental to Pākehā manhood and in turn New Zealand identity. This national origin narrative is characteristically stoic and uncomplicated, played out in environments such as war and rugby (Bannister 2005). However, upon reading participant narratives I suggest the pioneer intimately links to the aforementioned theme of darkness and melancholy thereby disrupting its allegedly uncomplicated and stoic nature.

The central attributes of the pioneer are mateship, hardship, physical toughness, industriousness, aloneness and connection to the land (Phillips 1996:2-42, Bell 1996:35, Abdinor 2000:10). Aloneness and hardship are also melancholic themes. The man alone epitomises this dual role, which is illustrated by Earle, a typical example of the dark pioneer: he is connected to land, armed with bush skills, exhibits Kiwi ingenuity, and is independent, yet also anti-authoritarian isolated, anxious and melancholic (Bannister 2005, Abdinor 200:10).

There are wider reaching examples of the dark pioneer present in settler narratives however. For instance, I suggest Sr's narrative of famine suffering and visiting her settler forbear's grave on Anzac Day darkens the Anzac mythology, a recreation of the traditional pioneer narrative (Abdinor 2000). Furthermore, Pamela's settler narrative links her identity to both the risk of death, suicidal thoughts, sickness, poverty and hardship and to the pioneering theme of her forbears contributing to development.

The fact that they'd come here to make a new life for themselves and they had certainly made a great contribution. And then as a child again, my parents were always pointing out that, you know, "Grandad used to help build those roads in Auckland, Great Grandad rather, and Great Grandmother did something else up there and they came down that road down there." (Pamela)

Jenni and John both directly discuss land in their settler narratives in both dark and pioneering ways. Literature and film elaborate on this dual, complex identification. For instance, in books and movies, land in New Zealand that is idealised as a "source of (pioneering) masculine identity" can suddenly become dark and menacing (*Cinema of Unease* in Bannister 2005:13).[69] John illustrates this in his discussion of settler society by invoking the traditional, well-known pioneering relationship with the land (Phillips 1996:2-42, Bell 1996:35, Abdinor 2000:10), suggesting "we lived off the land" while in the same discussion expressing the darkness of landscape by discussing his ancestor's murder on the land on which they once lived. Jenni also invokes this pioneering relationship with the land at the same time she invokes the darkness through hardship and struggle in this relationship: "You had to break the land and toil and set yourself up and start again."

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[69] Bannister argues that this "laconic, matter-of-fact masculine tone" in film and literature often hides elements of darkness manifest in "inexplicable acts of psychotic violence" (2005:13). For instance, take the recent example of Marshall's "Coming home in the dark" which deals with a family on a picnic who are hijacked, slaughtered and driven through the empty countryside (Bannister 2005:13). Inspired by real events Marshall read in the newspaper, this South Island story highlights "the dark side—the gothic underbelly of paranoia, alienation and unease … lurking behind the South Island's legendary picture postcard views and the stoic jaw of the Southern Man" (Milburn in Matthews 2008:D2).

The close link between the above-argued traits of darkness and traits of the traditional and uncomplicated pioneer within settler narratives signals a need for a more thorough examination into one of New Zealand's most pervasive origin narratives. Participants' narratives suggest that a much broader idea of what it meant to be a pioneer is required, a concept that thus has repercussions on present day New Zealand identity. Dubbing this figure the dark pioneer makes way for a fluid and complicated pioneer and is a more suitable national origin narrative for participants and this research. It is a more holistic view of settler life, linking darkness, belonging and colonial venture.

Naturalising Pākehā belonging

Romantic-colonial naturalisation is a process of naturalising Pākehā belonging. Jenni, Pamela and Earle naturalise their belonging through physical colonial development of place, through either their ancestors 'breaking the land,' building roads or setting up companies. Earle continues the colonial trope in his phrase "a Canterbury family," which echoes Wakefield's and Godley's Canterbury Association, a colonial settler scheme that founded Canterbury by attempting to replicate or even *better* England (Schwartz 1993). Simultaneously, Earle's settler story was an incredibly spiritual one of experiencing a mystical sense of belonging to Canterbury on entering the place for the first time.

This mysticism is the other method through which participants naturalised their belonging, in short naturalising Pākehā spirituality, which Sr and John illustrate explicitly, both aligning their Celtic spiritual connections to that of Māori:

I mean you can go back to the sixth century or something like that to understand Celtic spirituality but I don't think it's any different from the eighteenth century spirituality of Māori. You know? Its the same power of the sun and the gods and the stars, the closeness of the land. So our Irish ancestors brought their Celtic spirituality. I went to a funeral in Ireland and in Celtic they sung a tune that went (hums the tune of Po Kareare Ana), Po Karekare Ana! Probably the tunes were brought with Celtic missionaries which have been adopted as a New Zealand tune. (Sr)

The Celtic tradition that I am interested in and the Māori tradition acknowledges the holiness of the land. And just as the Māori people came in canoes, Europeans came in our canoes and shared in this spirituality. (John)

Aligning their Celticism with Māoridom employs the romantic notion of naturalising belonging through aligning oneself with the "other" or the indigene (Evans, P 2008 pers. comm., 19 January) that is discussed in Chapter Two, where King's (1991:21-22) narrative of belonging was given as an example. Both Christian (Catholic and Presbyterian respectively), they choose to express Christian traditions that correspond to Māori tradition as opposed to the Christian tradition of modernity and colonialism that sought to disenfranchise Māori. Naturalising belonging through a physical colonial development of place or the romantic alignment with the 'other'/indigene respectively illustrates the colonial/romantic dynamic in a romantic-colonial naturalisation.

Through both romantic and colonial positions, participants here all enact the inevitable "forgetting" (Evans 2007:41) also discussed in Chapter Two. Evans argues Pākehā forget the reality of violence and horror attached to the colonial project in order to maintain a sense of belonging in New Zealand. This act of forgetting requires colonial and romantic positions, producing a sentimental colonising, an example of Evans' "colonial sublime" (Evans 2007:47, 57).

For instance, Jenni and Pamela downplay the effects of colonisation, reducing colonialism to a "screw up" and a "mistake":

I haven't really met anyone, who has travelled anyway, that hasn't stood up and said, "Yeah, OK, we screwed up, at least we're are doing something about it!" And you look at a lot of the other countries and they don't care. (Jenni)

Whatever we may think or believe and know about the darker side of colonialism, they came with good faith and intent on making new life for themselves and the mistakes they made well ... who doesn't make mistakes? What nationality hasn't made mistakes in life? (Pamela)

Sr is more sympathetic but still relegates Pākehā colonisation to "trouble": "we have had enough trouble as white New Zealanders, giving Māori their rightful place."

Earle and John 'forget' the effects of colonialism by ignoring the historical and political differences between Māori and Pākehā settlers and equalising their situations. Earle discloses, "I get the feeling of Kiwi when I look at places where early settlers lived, Māori and Pākehā." John reveals, "Just as the Māori people came in canoes, Europeans came in our canoes and shared in this spirituality." This commentary contributes to the "We are all New Zealanders" Pākehā trope which portrays New Zealand as "apolitical," containing "no baddies" (Bell 1996:183).

This process of naturalising Pākehā belonging through these local settler stories highlights the meaningful and spiritual connections to New Zealand felt by participants while it facilitates the "forgetting" (Evans 2007: 41) of the violent dislocation of Māori. Here romantic-colonial naturalisation comes to a culmination, where through romantic and colonial themes Pākehā participants naturalise their belonging. This term has also found collective expression largely through melancholy/darkness (as romanticism) and the pioneer (largely through colonialism)

enriching the idea of romantic-colonial naturalisation. This indicates the term is of workable value for further local research and crucially signals its importance within the overarching concept of locally narrated (Pākehā) roots.

Locally narrated Pākehā roots

These locally narrated Pākehā roots show how individuals link ancestry to national identity, land and spirituality. The term locally narrated roots then, finds firm ground here, revealing it to be useful for further explorations of local national identity production (Thompson 2001) from the position of land and spirituality. The two sub-concepts used for guiding analysis proved crucial, specifically addressing themes within participants' stories.

Cultural ancestry and romantic-colonial naturalisation theorised participants' narratives of the cultural connection to the UK and settler society, respectively. The conclusion of participant narration on connecting to the UK was that participants, because of past colonial relations, defined New Zealand against the UK, complicating the idea of cultural ancestry. Following the colonial settler theme, participant narratives of settler ancestry were theorised through romantic-colonial naturalisation. Romanticism discussed largely through melancholy, colonialism discussed largely through the pioneer, and romanticism, colonialism and naturalisation discussed through the naturalisation of Pākehā 'belonging' demonstrated romantic-colonial naturalisation is an apt theoretical tool. Both linked to colonial settler society, these sub-concepts position colonial settler society as fundamental to Pākehā New Zealand-ness. They are a working progress, so I wish to view them as preliminary ways in

which to theorise and better understand Pākehā participants' narratives and contribute to the wider working progress of the concept of locally narrated roots.

5. Locally Narrated Roots: The Māori View

"One reason why New Zealand settlers did not treat the Maoris as their Australian counterparts did the Aborigines was that, when they tried, they got killed"
(Belich 1986:120 in McGill 2004:27)

"Tukua mai he kapunga oneone ki ahau, hai tangi
Send me a handful of soil that I may weep over it"(Brougham and Read 1987:56 in Mead 2003:282)

Māori views on ancestry and history provide a Māori perspective to locally narrated roots. Theorising Pākehā narratives through cultural ancestry and romantic-colonial naturalisation in Chapter Four led to the broad argument that ancestry/history links to nationhood, land and spirituality for Pākehā participants. In this chapter, locally narrated roots illustrate how Māori participants link ancestry/history, nationhood, land and spirituality through local origin narratives of dissent and locally narrated ethnicity, the two sub-concepts that constitute the two sections of this chapter. Local origin narratives of dissent is a concept formed from various elements of theorisation in Chapter Two in order to aid understanding of Māori participants' views on colonisation, an apt response to the Pākehā view just examined. The second section of this chapter focuses on locally narrated ethnicity, a sub-concept developed in Chapter Two that theorises Māori participant discussion of whakapapa and tīpuna.

Local origin narratives of dissent

Chapter Two discussed New Zealand's grand origin narrative, localism and symbolic narratives of dissent. This section combines these three elements in order to theorise Māori participants' views on colonisation. A *local origin narrative of dissent* pertains to personal active narratives "competing" (Thompson et al 1999:52) with the Pākehā view of New Zealand origins. All six Māori participants discussed colonisation as opposed to settler society, generally having much more to say on this defining era than Pākehā. Simply concluding that Māori participants had a contrary view to that of Pākehā regarding colonial settler society is an over simplification. Rather, all six participants held differing, even contradictory viewpoints on European colonisation.

Like the Pākehā settler stories, the Māori colonisation stories are personal and active interpretations of colonial history; yet unlike the Pākehā stories, these narrations are *historically* ancestral as opposed to *personally* ancestral. That is to say, they narrate historical happenings rather than personal ancestral anecdotes. For instance, Rāwiri and Grace in their narratives on colonisation mentioned specific historical missionaries from this time in New Zealand.

Rāwiri, while recounting how Christianity was introduced into the South Island, mentioned the figures Rev. Watkin, Rev. Wohlers and Canon Stack:

Rev. Watkin, Wohlers, Canon Stack, when they first come down here (South Island) after converting us to Christianity we jumped on it with such fervour. We denounced all our demi-gods and what not and just showed our faith in one Church, the one God, so that did away with a lot of that pre-European spirituality. That's why there's no carvings, no moko, no tattooing and that prominent in the South Island. All of our meetinghouses at the time from the 1880s/1890s/1900s had no carvings. We just cut it all out of our culture, not like the North Island ones, especially the ones in the Ureweras that had very little contact with Europeans. They held fast to their traditions and their spirituality. That was pretty much established when we sold the South Island. There are specific parts of it that we wanted kept. Yet

*we were quite happy to sell other parts because it didn't have the same amount of use or meaning to us, you know? I still think though we openly walked into those land sales with both eyes open, knowing what we wanted kept and what we didn't. It's just that second party didn't quite keep all the …(*Rāwiri)
[70]

Similarly, Grace mentioned the historical figure of "Henry Williams" in her account

of colonisation in general:

So, Papa is the mother, she's the Mother of all Māori and you can't sell your mother. Therefore, when the Pākehās came and they gave you some trinkets, some money, a boat or a dinghy or something for the land, they didn't realise that they had lost the land. They thought they still owned it, because that's Papatūānuku, you can't sell her, so they allowed it to happen but only because of their assumption that the Pākehā knew that that was Papatūānuku, but they didn't know of course. So, where they came from they sold land and bought land and so it was a whole different way for Māori to actually think about, which they didn't for a long time. They still, for years and years they didn't know that they lost the land, that it was no longer theirs. They were taken advantage of course because of what type of person they were at that stage. Because the British did know the value of land and so they would give them trinkets and they'd get away with it. There was land that was bought legitimately and paid for with OK payments. It wasn't all just taken. There's 66 million acres in New Zealand, Māori now own 1 million. It was the missionaries very often, like Henry Williams got 11,000 acres for his eleven children. You know? 1000 acres each, given to him. That to me isn't a Christian thing to do. But then looking at it from Henry's point of view, he wanted his children to have land so that they could have their families, he would also think 'well there's so much land there, you're not doing anything with it, so why can't I have it?' (Grace)[71]

Āwhina and Rev narrate the historical happenings of missionaries rather than naming

specific missionary figures. Āwhina condemns them for subverting Māori beliefs,

particularly in respect to the status of weavers and women:

I think Christianity has done a lot of bad to our people, like the Methodists and the missionaries that came over. Our beliefs got twisted and I think a lot of that came in with the Victorian way of thinking where a man's place and a woman's place is and devaluating what women do. You know, it's like (flax) weaving, because it was women's work it was relegated to sort of craft and stuff like that. But our stories tell us that (flax) weavers were highly revered by the tribe, you know? They were a huge part of the economic stability of the iwi. You traded, you traded their works with others, you know. Weavers were stolen because they were so good. So it's all that judgement and values from another culture and I see the Church doing that quite a bit. (Āwhina)

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[70] On Rev. Watkin, Rev. Wohlers and Canon Stack , see
http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Park/7572/nzmssnry.htm (retrieved 9 August 2008).
[71] On Henry Williams, see http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Park/7572/nzmssnry.htm (retrieved 9 August 2008).

Rev, a devout Anglican, provides a different view, explaining the origin of the

Anglican Church in Ngāti Porou:

The biggest link (between spirituality, national identity and land) is to do with the churches built by our ancestors, going way back to the 1820s, probably 1790, something like that. Oh, it's over 200 something years old. But you see, when the missionaries came to New Zealand, well, going way back to the seventeenth century, they thought the Māori people didn't have any (spirituality/religion), but it was already happening … (Rev)

Albro, like Grace, also narrates a general account of colonisation, specifically naming

Captain Cook:

Unfortunately, in my life of school all I heard about was 'Captain Cook done this, Captain Cook done that.' You know? And that English or British people were sophisticated and they were the people to be, but yet when you look at their history, they were just as much as backstabbers, killers, rapists, you know? They were land grabbers and so that's why I don't identify as a New Zealander because there's been a lot of lies and they always said that our people were killers and stuff like that, yet when you look around the world everybody is because it's human nature! Yeah, there's a lot of history behind that kinda stuff. And unfortunately when Captain Cook come there was 5,000 Māori people but there was only 100 or something of them and yet when we made the Treaty, more people snuck into the country, which means watering down the nation, really. They're still not recognising that there's actually two different nations here because Aotearoa was a nation before the English even came, and yet they don't recognise that. Because in Aotearoa in the 1800's, no actually further than that—there was no diseases here in Aotearoa, until the European came with the animals and the stuff that they brought and then that wiped out a lot of our people. And you sort of heard about this Jesus and this God thing, but what is it? Because a lot of nations and that when Pākehā people bring their God, they just think it's their God, but they don't actually see that it's God who created everything. (Albro)

Pānia narrated the colonial event of Te Kooti's imprisonment while explaining to me

the spiritual importance of the Chatham Islands:

So with the Chathams being the way it is, you have an intermingling of Moriori, it is a very spiritual place. It's the place where Te Kooti was imprisoned and where he had his spiritual revelation. I think it was the angel Gabriel appeared to him over there. Which wouldn't surprise me, I mean it's a very spiritual place. It has a unique wairua, is a nice way of putting it .… (Pānia)[72]

In addition to history, the themes of identity and land are present throughout these

narratives, signalling a link between history, identity and land for these participants.

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[72] Te Kooti Rikirangi, who is briefly mentioned in Chapter Two, was a legendary Māori Christian prophet who developed the Ringatu (upraised hand) faith, which has developed today into the Ringatu church. During the Land Wars he was exiled to the Chatham Islands (1866) without trial, but escaped successfully with his fellow captives in the belief they were been lead to the 'Promised Land' (see http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/MāoriNewZealanders/NgaiTuhoe/5/en).

For instance, identity-building language is used. Rāwiri comments, "after converting us (Ngāi Tahu)," while Grace refers to "Papa" being "the mother all Māori." Āwhina and Albro both refer to "our people" to indicate Māoridom and Rev refers to "our ancestors."

Compounding with these identity signals is the feature of land. Rāwiri believes Ngāi Tahu "openly walked into those land sales" while Grace laments the land loss generally during the colonial period, contending Māori did not realise "they had lost the land." In her colonisation narrative, Āwhina explains, "our stories tell us that (flax) weavers were highly revered by the tribe, you know?" In response to me asking Rev if he saw a link between spirituality, national identity and land, he responded with a colonisation narrative, opening with, "The biggest link (between spirituality, national identity and land) is to do with the churches." Albro in his narrative referred to British colonisers as "land grabbers," while lastly, Pānia talked of Te Kooti in her colonisation narrative, referring to the Chatham Islands as a "spiritual place."

In short, colonisation was a central way participants addressed the link between land, identity and history. Spirituality, discussed below, was also a central topic throughout these narratives, which makes the theme of colonisation a key way in which Māori participants expressed the link between (Māori) national identity, land and spirituality (the central research question). This signals a need for further research to explore the efficacy of the link between national identity, land and spirituality as a tool for examining the experience of colonisation for other Māori. For now, though, Māori participants' views on spirituality need exploring further as they framed spirituality in

their narratives as being colonised, one of the more subtle and, therefore, perhaps overlooked features of the colonial era.

Spiritual colonisation

Five Māori participants spoke directly of missionaries, while Pānia spoke of Te Kooti's imprisonment, all symbols of *spiritual colonisation*. In addition, Grace implies it was missionaries who were at the heart of colonisation, saying of wrongful land sales that "it was the missionaries very often." Pānia also expresses her frustration at its continuance:

We (Māori) spent over 200 hundred years respecting your (Pākehā) beliefs, why don't you respect ours? We've tried every way to try and explain it to you, to share it with you. To the point where it's actually got to the point where people have had to go to the extremes just to get your attention to say 'hey, excuse me, we're not going anywhere.' (Pānia)

Smith (L 1999:59-65) discusses the non-physical, non-economic side of colonialism. She observes how the belief in the superiority of Western knowledge within modernity was the ideology behind Western colonialism. Smith explains how it is the colonisation of knowledge or the "colonisation of the mind," as Ngugi wa Thiong'o dubs it, that is a particularly insidious form of the colonial endeavour (Smith L 1999:59). The concept of spiritual colonisation is an expansion of colonisation of the mind, as spirituality is a fundamental part of Māori intellect (Smith L 1999, see also Simpson 1997). To explore this further I trace ways in which participants negotiate this colonial process.

Since the missionary entrance to New Zealand, pre-European Māori spirituality has changed irrevocably. Spiritual colonisation seems to have changed the way Māori

view the world cosmologically, inevitably creating new forms of Māori spirituality

and from that the possibility of new forms of identity.

A central example of this new spirituality/identity formation is Māori Christianity.

By the 1850s, 60% of Māori were baptised, and over 50% of the names on Māori land

deeds were Christian names (2005:59). Head argues Māori baptism was not just a

"refit of religious observance" but an "entire formulation of society affecting ideas

about politics as much as religion" (in Stenhouse 2004:65). However, it was the wider

cultural influence of Christianity, as well as the figures of conversion, that gave

spiritual meaning to the changing world that Māori were experiencing (Head 2005:58-

60).[73] Moreover, Head (L 2004 pers. comm., 24 September) argues that Christianity

laid the foundation for a modern Māori identity, literacy through the Bible being

fundamental to this process. Missionaries taught literacy to Māori. In effect, Māori

learnt reading, writing and knowledge of the European world through the Word of

God (L. Head 2004 pers. comm., 24 September).

This Christian influence reverberates to this day. All Māori participants have

Christian backgrounds. Rev, an Anglican minister, explains how dominant

Anglicanism is in Ngāti Porou (his iwi) today and hopes for that to continue in later

generations:

I'm from the Ngāti Porou tribe. So you know we are spirituality people. Very much so and when you go there, well in my family alone, there's thirteen priests. Yeah that's just in our family. But you go along

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[73] Head argues this is a much-overlooked issue within New Zealand history (2005:58-60) and agrees with Stenhouse's (2005:1) "secular New Zealand thesis." Stenhouse (2005:1) describes how historians have depicted New Zealand as "largely secular from its (colonial) inception" (Stenhouse 2005:2) and positioned secularism as a proud, defining feature of New Zealand identity and history. He vigorously contests this argument, contending "Secular New Zealand has existed more in the minds of historians than in reality" (2005:1) and that this has inevitably produced a very secular New Zealand history that views Christianity and religion as superfluous or meaningless.

in Ngāti Porou there's a good 200 priests. From Gisborne down right around. Yeah, there's so many of them. I don't know how many living, but I'm totalling those, all those who have passed on. So, put it this way, very much old people in the Church. We are actually quite known throughout the country. In the Church and helping a lot of people. So we do that and it will die like that and I think our children will pick it up. (Rev)

Albro, a practising Open Brethren for twenty-three years now, narrated to me the point of his conversion and how this affects his everyday life:

I was in my bedroom one night and I said, "Well, God, if you're real and if your son did die for me and rise again from the dead then you'll help me to stop smoking and drinking." And then the next day I woke as if I had never smoken or drunken. That showed me that God was real. And yeah, that's how I came to know Jesus. So I asked Jesus into my life and so I've been following Jesus for twenty-three years. It's been a hard road, but that's the thing you know, it's just like success, it's hard to become successful. But once you get through all the barriers and things like that … I struggle a lot just like everybody else, but the only difference between me and a person who doesn't have Jesus, is that I asked Jesus into my life and that's the only difference. Like I still do things wrong, even though I don't want to—I still do it. A baby doesn't have to be taught how to do wrong, it's just in its nature, but you have to be taught how to do right. So it's always an ongoing learning thing, of how to make good choices. And I guess that's what Christianity is all about, is making good choices. But I can't do any of this or I can't live my life the way I live now, without Jesus, I have to say, without him, I'm nothing because I'd probably continue to drink or smoke, you know. So that's a little bit about how I became Christian. (Albro)

Rāwiri is Anglican, married to a Catholic, currently attends a Catholic Māori mission church, and is palpably ambivalent towards Christianity:

Well, I'm Anglican, my wife's Catholic. Although she doesn't go, the girls, we've got three girls, they've all been baptised in the Anglican Church. But the oldest girl we decided last year we wanted to send her to a Catholic school so we've been going to a Māori Catholic mission church. I went along just to play the game, you know, to get her in there, give her a better chance of being accepted, but after a couple of times going there, it was quite cool. I quite enjoyed it, it's real jazzy because 80% of it is in te reo Māori as well, it's good. So yeah, it's turned into a little bit more than just playing the game now, it's something that I really like … I have Christian values. Yeah, yeah, well I don't know if … they're just strong family values so I suppose that ties in, for want of a better word, 'Christian values,' I dunno? What is a Christian … ? Well, I'm not a devout one!!! Yeah, yeah, that's a safe way of saying it, I like to live by most Christian values. Yes or no? That's the question—are you a Christian? NO! (Rāwiri)

Grace grew up in a Methodist children's home so had no choice but to practise and learn Christianity weekly from a young age:

Ohh I was going to say we were brought up in an orphanage, which meant that we went to Sunday school and church every Sunday. So I was there from when I was four to I was sixteen. So that's twelve years of going every Sunday. I never got one Sunday off because I was never sick! So that didn't make me religious as such. I mean, I knew parts of the Bible and I enjoyed being in the choir, the church

choir, the Sunday school choir. I loved the singing! I don't know that it made me a different person at all. Thinking back on it, I'm not sure that it made any difference, that it made me a better person. Well, I don't think going to church made any difference to me. Anyway, so, as Penny said to her friend, well, no, I don't go to church now and I don't see the need for it. I feel that I'm OK, I don't have to prove that I am a Christian, and I'm sure I'm a Christian. I don't sort of think about it but I know that I'm a spiritual person! (Grace)

Pānia is a lapsed Catholic but still believes in "God or a higher power." For her, much of the appeal for the church was lost with the advent of the Second Vatican Council, when the Catholic Mass ceased the practice of speaking in Latin, a tradition that reminded her of karakia (Māori prayer):

We (her and her siblings) still attended church right up until we were about eighteen or nineteen. But it wasn't so much because of a belief, it was more because of a practice. Custom had become practice so to speak. But in saying that we never stopped believing in God or a higher power. It's just, I suppose, we had initially like our Mum, when were little, liked being part of the old Catholic Church that did their Mass in Latin. I guess a lot of Māori that are Catholics and are of that era tended to levitate towards it because of the way the Latin Mass is said …. listening to it reminded me of when we do karakia, like when I say 'we,' I mean when Māori do karakia, and especially the old ones, the ancient ones, done in a similar chant form. (Pānia)

Āwhina has a more critical view of why she does not practise Christianity any more, and is concerned at its imperialistic tendencies towards Māori. Even though her family are Rātana, she was baptised in the Church of England:

I'm Church of England. We went to Sunday school when we were kids, all of that, but as I got older and learnt about things that like, you know, that happened to our people through the church and stuff like that. I see it as being kind of a control mechanism. Some churches, some religious beliefs prevent our people from practising the cultural aspects of their life, so we were sort of brought up with Christian influences but I don't have a lot of faith in the Church as an organised entity. You know, I don't go regularly to church on a Sunday and stuff like that … (Āwhina)

What is of interest for this thesis is how participants reconcile Christianity with Māoridom in order to negotiate spiritual colonisation. An idea of use here is Evans' theory of (2007:173) "resistance and adaptation" (introduced in Chapter Two), which he uses in his discussion of Marshall Sahlins. Evans does not cite Sahlins's term *indigenisation of modernity*, another useful term here, but his concept of resistance

and adaptation undoubtedly has parallels with it.[74] Using early nineteenth century

Māori-Christian religions as an example (2007:172-173, see Chapter Two), Evans

argues that resistance and adaptation by local cultures are crucial tools in maintaining

such cultures in a globalised world. Indigenisation of modernity is a term that implies

the non-West has re-worked modernity in the context of local culture, effectively

creating its own modernities (Sabbarwal 1999:86). Through Evans' (2007) concept of

resistance and adaptation, and Sahlins' concept of indigenisation of modernity, Māori

participants demonstrate how they negotiate spiritual colonisation.

Rev and Albro, the only unambiguously devout, practising Christians amongst the

Māori participants, both take Māori 'ownership' of the God of Christianity, claiming

'he/she/it' is as much Māori as European and signalling 'his/her/its' pre-European

existence in New Zealand.

*But you see, when the missionaries came to New Zealand, well, going way back to the seventeenth century they thought the Māori people didn't have any (spirituality/religion), but it was already happening … (*Rev)

And you sort of heard about this Jesus and this God thing, but what is it? Because a lot of nations and that when Pākehā people bring their God, they just think it's their God, but they don't actually see that it's God who created everything. (Albro)

Both participants significantly resist the passive idea that missionaries converted

them. They tacitly resist colonisation while adapting European conceptions of

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[74] On Sahlins's term, see http://epress.anu.edu.au/culture_sustainable/mobile_devices/ch03s02.html (retrieved 12 June 2008). The major difference (and perhaps uniqueness) of Evans' concept of resistance and adaptation is that he does not restrict himself to the idea of resisting and adapting modernity. He traces globalisation back to the beginnings of migration itself. For instance, he discusses the migration of Malayo-Polynesian speakers to Madagascar and the west coast of Africa. This is an interesting example, as he traces how Malay/Polynesian culture (importantly the Javan Xylophone) became vital to West African praise singing, which in turn ended up forming the modern reggae sounds of Jamaica. This in turn made its way back to Polynesia (New Zealand) in the form of roots reggae/dub music (Evans 2007: 172), as discussed in Chapter Two. This truly global resistance and adaptation is obviously, as he suggests, at a more crucial and intense time presently. It is clear, however, that he is talking about much more than the indigenisation of modernity.

Christianity to their pre-European Māori worldviews. This signals indigenisation of *Christianity*.

Rāwiri, who has an ambivalent position towards Christianity, resists and adapts spiritual colonisation in the most unique fashion in relation to the other participants. His resistance is manifest in his devotion towards pre-European Māori spirituality. As will be discussed in detail later in this thesis, it is evident from our interview that pre-European Māori spirituality permeates his everyday life. His belief in the residence of his immediate deceased ancestors in his house, his reverence for Aoraki, his pre-modern knowledge of fishing and hunting, his expansive knowledge of his whakapapa and his fluency in te reo all indicate his immersion in pre-Christian Māori spirituality.

However, his resistance becomes complicated when directly asked about the compatibility between Māoridom and Christianity.

Rebecca: You were baptised as a Christian, so do you think there is compatibility between Māoridom and Christianity?
Rāwiri: *No, well, we had to denounce our own religions, you see, to embrace Christianity. With Christianity, there was just one God, whereas you look in Māori culture and we have hundreds of gods. So basically no, they weren't compatible.*

Reverting to colonisation (the origins of Christianity in New Zealand) for the answers, Rāwiri concedes how incompatible Christianity and Māoridom *were*. The fact that he practises both *now* reveals not just ambivalence but paradox. This paradox heightens in the context of a separate discussion of the implications of Christianity upon the South Island.

I mean, with our pre-European spirituality and that, death went pretty much hand in hand with it, because we put all our faith in the Gods and that and not in our own deeds. You know, you only needed one tohunga, misguided tohunga to, you know, say something wrong or—and that could wipe out …. or one foolhardy chief, you know? No, I have no regrets about it, eh, it's all part of evolution. (Rāwiri)

Statements like "faith in the Gods and that and not in our own deeds" and "it's all part
of evolution" illustrate secular modern ideas such as the 'self' and the science of
evolution that Rāwiri has adapted into his existing Ngāi Tahu identity. He suggests
the spiritual colonisation that Christian missionaries imposed on Ngāi Tahu was
necessary. This highly complicated view of Māoridom and Christianity is worth
researching further.

The critics of Christianity, Āwhina, Pānia and Grace, resist more explicitly the effects
of spiritual colonisation. Resistance is particularly clear through their narratives on
colonisation (discussed above). Āwhina criticises what she sees as cultural loss
through the impact of missionaries. Grace suggests missionaries took part in wrongful
land sales. Pānia expresses her anger at the lack of ability of the Pākehā since
colonisation to accept Māori belief.

Rāwiri, Grace, Āwhina and Pānia also believe in New Age ideas, possibly to try to *de-
Christianise* Māoridom, a localised spiritual, de-colonising (see Smith 1999).[75] Rāwiri
acts out the Western New Age concept of practising Buddhism in conjunction with
other spiritual practices (Timothy and Conover 2006:142):

*I'm getting quite interested in this Buddhism. She (a Buddhist) gave me one of these chant cards about
a month ago and, yeah, I'm doing it, just getting it all in synch and that. And then later on that night,
just sitting there out in the garage by myself, chanting away and … I don't know what it was but you
seemed less burdened afterwards …* (Rāwiri)

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[75] New Age philosophy is broadly based on the late nineteenth century emergence of theosophy and
spiritualism, which contain many modern scientific methods. It is undoubtedly a product of secular
modernity (see Ellwood 1996:144-157, Timothy and Conover 2006). Many theosophical/New Age
ideas in the New Zealand context have also penetrated the everyday life (as opposed to explicit
practice) of so-called secular modern society (M. Grimshaw 2004 pers. comm., 4 August); for instance,
the consumption of astrology, complementary medicines, self-help media, clairvoyants, the belief in
karma and so on.

Grace reiterates the well-known Pākehā New Zealand spiritual-not-religious (Bluck

1998) argument discussed in Chapter One, but indigenises it, claiming this is a 'Māori

thing': "I know that Māori are spiritual people rather than religious people."[76]

Further, Āwhina also indigenises the Western non-religious spiritual concept of

intuition commonly associated with theosophy and New Age practices (see Timothy

and Conover 2006): "I kinda of have my own personal little theory that intuition is

actually our tīpuna looking after us." Moreover, Āwhina and Pānia believe in ideas

similar to the Western theosophical/New Age idea of collective consciousness

(Ellwood 1996:148, Timothy and Conover 2006).

So that doesn't mean that because Māori believe in Io matua kore, that he's not the same as Buddha or God or whoever. Yeah, (Āwhina)

We went through the Christ consciousness, the Buddha consciousness, the Hindu consciousness, there was a whole lot of different consciousness.' (Pānia)

These expressions of modern Māoridom are New Zealand versions of the

"indigenisation of modernity" (Sabbarwal 1999), illustrating resistance to and

adaptation of modernity in the form of the New Age, largely to strengthen their Māori

spirituality and identity (Sabbarwal 1999:86). This spiritual decolonising by

participants introduces a new and innovative way to negotiate spiritual colonisation.

An interesting way in which to link this to nationhood is to examine the link between

national identity and spirituality in the form of the nation-state and Christianity.[77] In

other words, how do participant positions on Christianity affect their views of the

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[76] This anti-religious trope is a product of the Western New Age movement, spirituality and religion both being Pākehā concepts.

[77] Nation-state identification such as *New Zealand* or *New Zealander*, as opposed to Māori national identity or even 'Kiwi-ness' (a less politically contentious identity); by historical events alone these are Pākehā terms that are intrinsically tied to the colonial project of the nineteenth century and inherently point to New Zealand as a nation state.

New Zealand nation-state, the other major modern colonising pillar (see Chapter Two)? Albro, the most fervent Christian, held the most separatist Māori views in his colonisation narrative. He expressed the belief that Māori are a separate nation and rejected the label 'New Zealander' because of its assimilationist properties.

However, Rev, who as discussed is a very devout Anglican, is also a proud "New Zealander":

Well, for a start I am proud of being a New Zealander because I was born one and born in New Zealand. (Rev)

Āwhina, who is very critical of Christian, "Victorian" values and their colonising features, remains proud of being a New Zealander: "I guess being a New Zealander is about having a relationship with New Zealand as a country, so you feel that it's your home and you have pride in New Zealand." Grace and Pānia too, despite paralleling Christianity with European-ness and colonialism and strongly critiquing both, remain proud of and patriotic towards Pākehā dominated New Zealand:

What is being a New Zealander all about? I think it's about pride … you've got so many things to be proud about, about New Zealand. (Grace)

What it feels like to be a Kiwi…? Awesome. Wouldn't be anything else. Damn proud of this country. I think to a certain degree with New Zealand because we're so far away from the rest of the world we do take a stand on the important issues. And to me, that is something to be proud of … (Pānia)

Rāwiri's thoughts on Christianity are ambivalent but he is clear about his thoughts on New Zealand identity. Like the others above, he is proud:

.... that's another reason to be proud of being a New Zealander ... Yeah, it's pretty pristine out there, eh, still not regulated too badly ... I think being Kiwi is cool! Being a New Zealander, we still get to make our own choices in the majority of things ...

In participants' minds here, there is no link between Christianity and modernity (in the form of the contemporary nation state), whatever position they hold. In fact, apart from Rev, participants aligned themselves with one colonial tool of the past and, in varying degrees and methods, criticised the other. Although Rev shows loyalty to Christianity and the nation state, there is no observable link between them. The varied and complex relationships Māori participants have towards modernity and Christianity are largely unexplored, yet I also see them as crucial for understanding the impact of colonisation on Māori today. Thus, there is a need for academic expansion in this area.

Meredith (1998), who uses Bhabha's ideas of *hybridity* and the *third space* to rethink how to view Kiwis of both Māori and Pākehā descent, may, to some extent, help explain the varied way participants relate to modernity and Christianity. "Hybrid third space" is the "liminal or in-between space" produced from, for example, the interaction of coloniser and colonised (Meredith 1998:2-3). It is a site of ambivalence where cultural meaning has no unity or fixedness (Bhabha 1994 in Meredith 1998). It is, in fact, "the straddling of two cultures" (Meredith 1998:2).

Adapting this to the ideas of modernity, Christianity and Māoridom, modern Māoridom and Māori Christianity are viewable as cultural and spiritual hybrids. As hybrid, third spaces with no unity or fixedness, Māori are going to resist and adapt and indigenise modernity/Christianity (Sabbarwal 1999, Evans 2007:172-173) in a

variety of ways. Grace sums this up succinctly, '*linguistically* hybridising' as she speaks.

We have to keep hold of our Māori-ness, that's not a word, 'Māoriness,' that's a half Māori, half Pākehā word! Ka pai! We have to keep hold of that but we've also got to—which can be quite a burden to some Māori—to go along the Pākehā lines as well. So you've got to live in both worlds. One foot in each. And it doesn't always make it easy, but I think we've learnt very well. So Pākehā has its own, that's their line, but we've got to live across both.

In short, modernity and Christianity are both colonising tools that Māori have reclaimed and used as spiritual and cultural hybridising tools. This is how participants have negotiated spiritual colonisation, a major theme in participants' local origin narratives of dissent. Local origin narratives of dissent, historical narratives, were crucial for exploring participants' present day issues of identity, land and spirituality. This reversion to colonisation signals what Takirirangi Smith (2000:56) calls "Māori time and space," where time is cyclical and "the past is always near and accessible." This idea of time is crucial because, as participants have illustrated, colonisation is not just an historical era but also a present day reality that requires on going negotiation.

To understand the importance of local origin narratives of dissent and spiritual colonisation one must address the complex reality that Māori, in this study at least, have two national identities, Māoridom and New Zealand-ness. The fact that these two national identities have been in on-going conflict since European colonisation makes the straddling of two cultures (Meredith 1998:2) even more complicated. Dissent therefore expresses itself here through negotiation and hybridisation that demonstrates agency, fluidity, paradox and ambivalence. Through six local individuals' narratives, I have merely demonstrated a beginning of a much wider area to explore through similar locally based methods.

Locally narrated ethnicity: whakapapa and tīpuna

Local origin narratives of dissent intimately link to locally narrated ethnicity; both concepts contain elements of agency, everyday-ness, localness and narration. I use here the concept of locally narrated ethnicity, developed in Chapter Two, to theorise participants' narratives about their whakapapa and tīpuna. Whakapapa and tīpuna are the foundation of Māori identity, in a sense linking identity, land and spirituality (Awatere 1984:71, Walker 1989, Tau et al 1992). In Chapter Two I argued whakapapa is a statement of biological, spiritual and geographical identity (Walker 1989, Walker 1990:63-65, Tau et al 1992). In this sense, it is logical to explore participants' narratives about their whakapapa and tīpuna in order to investigate the link between their identity, land and spirituality. All six talked of this area providing further examples of Māori locally narrated roots.

In Māoridom, there are three broad ways of thinking about whakapapa and tīpuna: recent, historical and mythological (R Taonui 2008 pers. comm., 7 August). Participant narratives presented in this project illustrate what Taonui would call "recent" and "mythological" and what Smith (2003:147-48) calls "immediate" and "distant" ancestors. "Recent" or "immediate" refers to known biological forbears as opposed to "distant," usually mythologised ancestors. In Māori terms, mythologised, distant ancestors are generally natural. Hence, discussion of this topic is undertaken in Chapter Six. Therefore, I focus here on participants' immediate whakapapa and tīpuna, whom they spoke of in varying degrees.

Rev, minister in the Tikanga Māori division of the Anglican Church, speaks of his

Ringatū "grandmother" briefly, as well as his Anglican "ancestors" (it is unclear

whether he means Pākehā or Māori) and his affiliation to Ngāti Porou, which he

discusses largely in relation to his Anglicanism.[78]

Albro mentions his whakapapa briefly in our interview but with no mention of recent

tīpuna: "Being Māori means I have an identity and I know my whakapapa a little way

back." Hailing from Rotorua, Te Arawa country, Albro is ambivalent about his

connection there. He speaks of the importance of Tarawera and the hammerhead

shark to "our people" in Rotorua with pride. However, he speaks in more detail about

how this region represents his non-Christian days and how his family remains

unconverted to Christianity, "stuck in a rut, stuck in a hole," because

they're either in the bottle or at the pub, so that's where I go and visit them, every time I go back to Rotorua unfortunately. And not only that, one of my older brothers and one of my older cousins, they're both alcoholics. So you know that brown bottle has quite really destroyed my family. Hopefully they don't learn the mistake that I learnt, before I came to know Jesus.

When posed the question of 'spirituality,' Rev and Albro both equate the word with

Christianity throughout their interviews, which they discuss at length over and above

their whakapapa and/or tīpuna.

This dominance of Christianity, over and above the discussion of Māori spirituality or

whakapapa and/or tīpuna, was most obvious in my interview with Albro. This I

suggest is because of Albro's interpretation of Christianity, a form of Christian faith

that is, I suggest, fundamentalist.[79] His church, Open Brethren, a Protestant

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[78] Ringatū is a Maori Christian faith based on the aforementioned Te Kooti's beliefs and teachings.
[79] Fundamentalism originated in the early twentieth century and was formed by certain evangelical Protestants who wanted to return to the 'fundamentals' of Christianity (Armstrong 2002). This was a

evangelical "restorationist" church, is arguably itself fundamentalist, as restoration, focusing on restoring the lost fundamentals of the Christian faith, is a central definition of fundamentalism (Gilling 1992:xi-xiii, Armstrong 2002).[80]

Moreover, Albro's conversion story in the section of this chapter titled "Spiritual colonisation" mirrors Coleman's (M 2007 pers. comm., 15 May) findings from interviews with fundamentalist Māori Christians around the country. Coleman argues this style of Christianity claims to "clean" up Māori who are substance abusers. Throughout our interview, Albro also demonstrated an evangelical approach. For instance, he says, "I suppose my prayer is to see my people come to know Jesus." He also spoke of a literal understanding of the Bible: "when God created Adam, he put him to sleep and created the woman out of the rib" (see Genesis 2:21-22). In addition, he expresses his belief in the devil and a Christian versus evil dichotomy:

> *Our friend said that this lady got cursed from her son so the devil stopped her from speaking English, it sort of shortened her tongue or done something to her tongue and so she could only speak Indian. But when we (Open Brethren Christians) came to visit her, she felt this peace about us, but she couldn't actually explain herself or say anything because of this thing that her son had done to her. Anyway, my friends said that they prayed with her and everything got lifted, everything got free and she ended up speaking English, so they broke that curse or whatever that the devil had on her.* (Albro)

This evangelism, literal belief in the Bible and belief in a Christian versus evil dichotomy, are all components of a fundamentalist imagination (Gilling 1992:xi-xiii, Armstrong 2002). Coleman suggests this fundamentalism requires Christianity to have primacy, replacing Māori spirituality and, therefore, culture, particularly the connection to land (M. Coleman 2007 pers. comm., 15 May). Coleman's (non-

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move to define themselves differently from the more modern, liberal approach that Christianity was forming at the time, with an emphasis on a literal understanding of the Bible (Armstrong 2002:x-xvi).

[80] See http://www.brethren.org.nz/aboutthebrethrencharacteristics/ (retrieved 8 May 2008).

academic) commentary is interesting but needs examination because there is
complexity here.[81]

Albro synthesises Māoridom and Christianity. He believes "the spiritual things in
Māoridom and the spiritual things in Christianity are kinda on the same par." This
does not indicate he has relinquished Māoridom for Christianity. Rev too, in speaking
of his position in the tikanga Māori division of the Anglican Church, tacitly
synthesises Māoridom and Christianity. Moreover, despite the small amount said
about whakapapa/tīpuna, what Rev and Albro did say informed their Māori identity.
There is commonality between Rev and Albro in their agency in negotiating these
potentially opposing worldviews, despite their widely different Christianities.

The dominance of Christianity in Rev's and Albro's narratives does not suggest that
Māori Christians are less interested in their whakapapa and/or tīpuna, however. The
aforementioned Ulrich Cloher (2004), Cadogan (2004) and Tāwhai (1996) all
synthesise Māoridom with Christianity, speaking elaborately about Māori tikanga,
with tīpuna and whakapapa being central to their discussions. Spirituality for them is
primarily Māori orientated.[82] Moreover, as I have argued, Head (L 2004 pers. comm.,
24 September) claims Christianity was incredibly meaningful to Māori in the
nineteenth century and in many ways formed modern Māori identity. Half of the
Māori population was affiliated with Christianity in the 2001 census.[83] Given the deep

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[81] For example, Bishop Brian Tāmaki, leader of the evangelical Destiny Church, is making headlines
by helping Māori urban youth and acting as an urban Māori leader. See for example
http://www.stuff.co.nz/sundaystartimes/4731918a6442.html (retrieved 28 October).
[82] Although all do refer to Io (Matua-Kore) as the Supreme Being, which is well documented to be a
colonial invention (Simpson 1997).
[83] See http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2001-census-data/2001-iwi/highlights.htm (retrieved 8 April
2008).

divide on this subject even between participants, the topic of Māori Christianity and

its consequences for taha Māori requires urgent further exploration.

Grace also spoke little of her whakapapa and tīpuna because of her early

disconnection from her Whakatōhea iwi, as she was raised in the South Island in a

children's home. The little she did mention, however, indicates the importance of

these ideas in the formation of both her Māori and New Zealand identity.

I think that I'm Māori, but as Terry Ryan, who does the whakapapa unit, says, 'Don't ever forget your Pākehā side.' (Grace)

Yeah, can you tell me what makes you feel like a Kiwi? Well, for a starter Māori land, the whole land was Māori land, therefore I feel very attached to New Zealand. I feel this is where I belong, it's home and my ancestors have come from here.(Grace)

What Grace does discuss in detail is the specific genealogical connection that

constitutes whakapapa, whānau, and the closely related concept of history. Through

marriage, she extensively discusses her identification with Ngai Tahu, specifically

Ōnuku in Akaroa. Having written the history of Ōnuku Marae, evidently strengthens

this Ngāi Tahu connection.

I definitely work with and for Ngāi Tahu. Because my kids and my grandchildren and I have lived here now for seventy eight years. I know all about Ngāi Tahu and I know all their history and I'm the one who does the history for Ōnuku (Marae). I've written the history of the church out there and the history of the area and the history of the whare kai, that's the dining room and so far the meeting house, because I like history. (Grace)

She is now creating her own Ngāi Tahu whakapapa here in the south as a great

grandmother. Her whānau are fundamental to her personal and Māori identity and

overwhelmingly dominated our interview:

I think how I practise my spirituality, is through my whānau, the whole whānau. And I think that is part of being Māori. Your spirituality allows you to embrace your whole whānau. So that's the ones that are the cousins and aunties and uncles. (Grace)

Āwhina, Rāwiri and Pānia all narrated their whakapapa extensively, as outlined in

Chapter Three. All participants have connections to both north and south. Rāwiri and

Pānia were born in the south, while Āwhina moved there in later life. All three also

discuss the more specific aspect of whakapapa, their tīpuna. All believe their

ancestors are with them all the time:

I believe, as a Māori, we believe our ancestors are with us all the time. I kinda of have my own personal little theory that intuition is actually our tīpuna looking after us. I've had like lots of incidents—for example, when I was a student and we were doing teaching practice I parked my car in the same place every day for like six weeks. So I went and rocked up and parked one day and for some reason I looked across the road and I thought, "you'd be better off to park over there." Then I thought, "Don't be stupid! You've parked here for six weeks, you know, and why do you wanna park over the road all of a sudden?" Then I went into class and I was teaching away and the principal came in and he goes, "I need to see you." And he goes to me, "Your car has been in an accident." And I was like, "Oh, you dongie, why didn't you listen? Someone was trying to tell me to park on the other side of the road." So I think those kinda things, that's that sort of intuition or your tīpuna trying to protect you, trying to save you from doing stupid things or having bad things happen to you, you know? (Āwhina)

For Pānia, having tīpuna around is an example of how for Māori everything is

spiritual.

For me, every time I walk outside it's a spiritual experience. The sky is never the same. I see my tīpuna (in the clouds). You know they are always around us, all our ancestors, yours are around you, mine are around me. The pōwhiri is a classic example—the reason that gap is in the middle (points to the gap in between us) is that as above, so below. As we go through our pōwhiri, our ritual of encounterment as it's known, so do our dead. You hear them referred to in the karanga, the call of welcome, you hear them referred to in the whaikōrero. They come with us, there's a point as you're walking up to the marae where you stop and that's to acknowledge them. So this is what I mean when you talk about spirituality, for Māori, everything we do, our essence is spiritual. It has a spiritual base; it comes from a spiritual place. (Pānia)

Pānia's recent decision to receive a pu-kauwae (chin moko) exalts this everyday

experience of her tīpuna, her pu-kauwae, "a reflection of whakapapa" and her "legacy

to New Zealand." Rāwiri too illustrates an exalted everyday experience of his tīpuna

by living with his deceased tīpuna in his house in rural Canterbury:

I first seen them about thirty years ago. I think the oldest girl she's witnessed them a couple of times. They just come at night in one of our bedrooms, yeah. Haven't had any conversations as such with them though but yeah, you just feel their presence. No faces attached to them but I tend to think they're

one of my immediate ancestors, not too far back, possibly me Dad's grandfather that built the house.
(Rāwiri)

This narration of the everyday experience of tīpuna by Āwhina, Rāwiri and Pānia reflects Thompson's emphasis on the everyday in national (Māori) identity production (Thompson and Day 1999:29). It also serves well as an on the ground example of locally narrated ethnicity, illustrating localness, narration, and the expression of a Māori ethnicity through spiritual experience.

From this discussion, I argue whakapapa is a central way in which to discuss being Māori. It acts as a weaving tool, binding primary concepts of taha Māori together with the research question (the link between identity, land and spirituality). Takirirangi Smith discusses the concept of *whakapapa kōrero* (layers of knowledge).[84] It is a system of knowledge narrating Māori genealogy from the present to creation, linking all of existence (Smith 2000). It is a living narrative rooted in everyday life, traditionally rooted in the landscape (Smith 2000:55). Pānia illustrates this most observably through her pu-kauwae, an active everyday, living narrative.

Linking this idea to participants more widely, I suggest whakapapa as an everyday active narrative, observed in discussion of participants' experience, demonstrates locally narrated ethnicity. Thus, locally narrated ethnicity works here as a preliminary theorisation of participants' discussion of whakapapa and tīpuna, correlating to the literature in Chapter Two that indicated whakapapa is integral to this sub-concept.

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[84] See http://english.kfem.or.kr/international/symposium/Tangata%20Whenua.doc (retrieved June 12 2008).

Locally narrated roots: Māori history and ancestry

Whakapapa and colonisation broadly summed up the link between identity, land and spirituality for Māori participants in this chapter. Local origin narrative of dissent and locally narrated ethnicity were the two sub-concepts used to theorise Māori participants' narratives on these historical and ancestral themes, both of which contribute to a Māori view of locally narrated roots. This required discussion of the idea of spiritual colonisation, a concept arising from colonisation narratives. Christianity and modernity featured as dominant points of discussion. Resisting and adapting, indigenising and hybridising, these colonising tools revealed local origin narratives of dissent as an apt theorisation for participants' view of the colonial period.

Christianity also entered the discussion on whakapapa and tīpuna, given the prominence of this form of spirituality for some participants. Overall, however, participants' narratives of whakapapa and tīpuna in this section revealed them to be more expressions of Māori identity. Locally narrated ethnicity was a helpful beginning theorisation. This paralleled the literature in Chapter Two that also puts whakapapa at the centre of this concept. These narratives of history and ancestry from my six Māori participants can be summed up as locally narrated roots, an effective concept with which to theorise participants' dual Māori and New Zealand national identities.

6. Locally Narrated Roots: Land and Identity

" …I am the land
The womb of life and death…" (from 'The womb' Taylor 2002:130)

Land and identity are central to the concept of locally narrated roots. Land has featured throughout the Pākehā and Māori narratives discussed in Chapters Four and Five, but those chapters focussed on ancestry and history. Here land becomes central and the ideas of ancestry and history are built upon. In order to argue, in the first section, that land is central to the conception of nationhood, I follow participants' narrations on the alpine. The second section continues the alpine theme from a Māori perspective. However, more generally, this section focuses on the Māori creation story. Finally, in the third section this chapter addresses the concept of *ancestral place identity*, a culmination of locally narrated roots from both Māori and Pākeha perspectives.

Locally narrating alpine sublimity

The alpine was pivotal as a way of expressing participants' spiritual connection to New Zealand, illustrating how the alpine can act as a source of spirituality, informing national identity (Kaufmann and Zimmer 1998, see Chapter Two).[85] However, the many diverse experiences of mountains confirm Chapter Two's further argument that the alpine can serve as a symbol of unity in diversity, allowing for "alternative" and "competing" views of one's nation (Thompson et al 1999:52).

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[85] Nine participants talked of a spiritual connection with the alpine, while eight narrated theirs in full detail and eight spoke of the Southern Alps.

These alpine connections, rooted in colonial and Romantic/sublime framings of mountains in New Zealand from the nineteenth century, are also examples of the romantic-colonial naturalisation discussed in Chapters Two and Four. Mountains are central to the Romantic tradition, symbolising the ultimate sublime during this era (Bell 1996:32-33, Bell and Lyall 2002:188). European colonisers arrived in Aotearoa during the Romantic period, when the landscape was dominated by mountains (Evans 2007:61). Therefore, mountains sat at the heart of the sublime in New Zealand (see Bell 1996:30, Evans 2007:63). Hence, since first European contact, mountains have taken centre stage in the sublime imagination, contributing to a distinctive national identity.

Central to this was the proliferation of Romantic alpine artwork creating a New Zealand that was perfect for the "aesthetic gaze" (Bell 1996:30-31, 29). Evans terms this European tradition of scenery artwork "the cult of scenery" (2007:61). He reiterates Bell's observation by arguing that the aestheticising of New Zealand landscape and indigene, "reduced to the status of spectacle ... completed the work of conquest and occupation" (2007:62). This is a key example of his "colonial sublime" (2007:47-100).

Another example of colonial sublimity, linked to the cult of scenery, was the imported Victorian tradition of mountaineering (Evans 207:64-66). Mountaineering in New Zealand quickly transformed into the ultimate challenge for young colonials. Partly inspired by the Romantic movement, it became an illustration of the pioneer sprit and an expression of a distinctive New Zealand identity (Davidson 2000:48).

Earle and Rāwiri both narrated mountaineering experiences to me. Earle, as mentioned in Chapter Four, presents man alone characteristics, specifically illustrating romantic colonial naturalisation. In addition to his excursion into the bush alone and his solo settler story, here is the narrative of his climb up "Mt. Egmont" (Taranaki). He is again venturing solo into the wilderness, displaying anti-authoritarianism by not taking a tour guide and climbing at night:

Well, as a young person I didn't have very many at all (spiritual experiences) and it wasn't really until I got to about thirty that things started happening which I couldn't explain. I had quite a spiritual experience with the land. One night I climbed Mt Egmont and sat on top of Mt Egmont for the night. And to see the way the sunrise came up behind Ruapehu and then to see the shadow of Egmont stretching out to sea and to watch the world come alive below me as the farmers started up their milking sheds—it sort of blew one's mind and made one realise that you were pretty insignificant. While that wasn't identified as spirituality at that time, I realise that in fact it was quite a spiritual experience. (Earle)

This contrasts with Rāwiri's mountaineering experience, which was a guided group tour. Moreover, Rāwiri's climb was around Aoraki; being Ngāi Tahu, this is his most sacred ancestor:

In the shadows of Aoraki. It didn't really have that awesome power over me at the time, probably because I was too bloody sore to really appreciate it!! But upon reflection and all that it was a pretty amazing thing. Some of the guys did a haka at 2000 odd metres. You know, to the mountain. I couldn't see the reasoning behind laying down a challenge to the mountain, you know, we've always been told that, "If you must bow your head, then let it be to Aoraki, like to a lofty mountain like Aoraki." To have these guys standing there doing a haka, I'm thinking "Um, nah." I think I'll just bow my head, my shoulders, my back and my knees ... you know, I had difficult times. That's when I'd just look up there and picture me grandparents. (Rāwiri)

Pānia also had a spiritual experience with one of her sacred alpine ancestors, again in the Southern Alps:

A couple of years ago, one of my Kaumatua asked me to go to the foot of one of our maunga. It was the middle of winter, it was very cold but he asked me if I could go and do it for him, which was daunting itself! He got me to do several tasks. So, got to the place, and it had been snowing. I'd been there several times before but it just had a different feeling. It was as if everything as I moved closer towards where I was meant to go to started to hold its breath. It was almost as if the trees were beginning to turn around and look, as if to say, "She's coming." As I got closer to the base of this mountain—that was the feeling—was that everything started to hold its breath, birds, animals, rocks, trees, everything. I had never been to a place where you got out and everything was so still, so calm and so silent that on top of one of the mountains there was an avalanche and you could hear it as clear as day. And it

sounded like thunder. And I just stood there, and thought to myself, "Oh my gosh, what have I got myself into?? We're not in Kansas any more, Toto! So I was like OK, well, we'll get on and do what we've gotta do." Because I had made a commitment to this person. I did the tasks that were set. It didn't involve getting naked or jumping around or anything stupid like that. It was just a series of karakia, an offering, and it wasn't a sacrificial thing—I don't do killing animals. It was just an offering, a token offering. At the conclusion of which, the clouds actually parted and the sun came through. I stood back and looked up and suddenly saw this maunga in all its glory. And felt as if I was standing naked in front of your grandparent. So tiny, so insignificant, and yet what I felt coming from that, from just looking up, was unconditional love. And I thought about Pākehā Christians when they talk about feeling the love of God? (Pānia)

Albro and Sr also recounted spiritual encounters they had experienced with the Southern Alps, whereby they were both provoked spiritually to recite from Psalm 121: "I look to the mountains; where will my help come from?" (121:1).

Out of our house, we can see the mountains and it's just real awesome, we all go up to our bedroom. You know, it's just awesome seeing the snow on there, you know, so it's just, also, there's a saying in the Bible which goes, "If I look to the mountains, where does my help come from?" And my help comes from the Lord, creator of heaven and earth. And when I see the mountains, that's what I see, God creating those things and creating their beauty for us to see and to enjoy, not to destroy. (Albro)

Living in a country like this where we have mountains, I think the Psalms have a great ability to sort of come to life, because a lot of the Psalms refer to the mountains. And I guess the place where they're written, there aren't too many big mounts, not our sort of mountains. There's big dry hills, but we have the beauty of the mountains and probably often it would be something like the mountains or the sea, the sunrise, the sunset, those sorts of times that become special for me. I do remember driving once to the coast, and there were lots of lupines out. Right up near the top of the Waimakariri River I think, as you cross over to the West Coast, somewhere up there. I don't know if there was snow on them or not, but it's the grandeur of the mountains. I remember that I had two Australian sisters with me in the car and they wanted to get out and get their photos taken in among the lupines. I can remember being there and taking it all in and sort of in my heart saying, "I will lift up my eyes to the mountains, from where shall come my help." (Sr)

Like Sr, Pamela also had a mystical experience in the mountains, albeit more intensely ecstatical:

I can remember being on holiday in my teens and we were staying up at Clent Hills Station right in the back of the mountains there. We'd only been there a few days and they said, "Let's go up to Lake Heron, let's go up to the lake." So it was Lake Heron, it was a hot, hot day and dry as only it can be up there in the back country and just tussocks around, even trees had a great difficulty trying to get a foothold there. And so we went up this dusty road, might of been half a mile, perhaps not even that much. But it was so hot and, ohh, it was so dusty! And dry was the main thing, the dryness is what struck you. But it was slightly sloping the road, slightly sloping, and we got up to the top of the slope there and I looked down, I'll never forget. Have you seen Lake Heron …? It was probably that particular day, if you went now it would be entirely different or—but it was as blue as just … it was just like a blue circle. There were little—probably willow trees, the wild willows that grow around there. It was as blue as a sky is blue. And what was round it, sad to say, I should of been horrified—but I was caught up in the beauty of it all—was gorse, and it was just gold. Just to see this circle of gold

and the blue sky reflecting in the lake was—I've never seen any water so blue as that lake was that day. I just stood there and I thought, "Ohhhh …!" I could stay there forever. It was just incredibly beautiful. (Pamela)

Jenni and Michael believe the South Island high country, like Lake Heron, is a place of mysticism. Pamela, Jenni and Michael all illustrate Dominy's (1993:319) argument that the high country is a well-known national symbol of mysticism, discussed in Chapter Two. To connect spiritually, Michael likes to "go to high energy places like Castle Hill (a high country station in the South Island) or, as the Māori call it, Kura Tawhiti." Jenni also likes the high country for the energy: "I just think the energy up there (the high country) is incredible." She also specifies a particular spot she believes spiritually connects with her:

If you go to Lake Benmore and you go up past the dam, you can actually do a walk round the mountain, it's about three hours. The land there of course is really high country land, tussocky. It's just … it's just an incredible feeling to just sit there and have such an open sky, and just feel so connected really, with it all. And you just stand there and realise that we're actually quite insignificant. (Jenni)

Lastly, John was so caught up in the moment when visiting Franz Jospeh Glacier that he was inspired to connect with it more, so he stood under its waterfall, expressing his underlying romantic spiritual philosophy of "awe and wonder" (Hunt 2003:9).

I remember when we took the family to see Franz Joseph Glacier and it was a bit drizzly and we walked up this valley towards the glacier and on the way back, there were waterfalls coming down the side valleys. So we were excited about this and I went … I stood under this waterfall and the water came down on me! (John)

All these alpine encounters contain transcendental experiences expressed through the feeling of awe, making them examples of Rahner's everyday mysticism (1983:57-64, 67-70 in Schmidt). For seven participants they also involved physical exertion and engagement with the landscape. Only Sr and Albro simply drove or sat at home respectively to see the view, and even then Sr got out of her car to experience the

view, a conscious engagement. These active, rich and meaningful experiences signal 'spiritual agency.' This local, individual view is in contrast with the passive, commercial, tourist-focussed experience of the sublime presented in Evans' (2007:47-100) theory of colonial sublimity, discussed above.

A key way to demonstrate this further and highlight the simultaneous spiritual and national experience of these alpine encounters is by examining domestic tourism, thus illustrating Thompson's (2001) theory of local production of national identity (see also Bell 1996:46-49). Bell and Lyall argue that nature and adventure tourism are a "post modern recapitulation of the high Victorian pleasure of the gaze upon the landscape" (Bell and Lyall 2002:xii). In other words, nature and adventure tourists are acting out a contemporary interpretation of the English Romantic tradition.

Sr, John and Pamela literally act out nature tourism through the scenic tourist drive to the West Coast, the visit to Franz Joseph and the stay up at Clent Hills Station. Michael also takes part in scenic tourism through an advertisement on television: "You just see on TV the ads and showing the sweep of the Southern Alps or native forests, yeah, it just brings a lump to your throat." Albro also acts as a scenic tourist, viewing the Southern Alps from his bedroom and reciting common sublime tourist language such as "(*awe*)some" (see Bell and Lyall 2002:5-6).[86]

Rāwiri and Earle play out adventure tourism through the mountaineering tradition (Perkins and Thorns 2001:196). Rāwiri additionally informs me that being Kiwi is about the way "in the space of a day you can be sunbathing out on Brighton Beach or

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[86] Emphasis added.

whatever in 25 degrees and four hours later you can be climbing up Mount Cook."
This reiterates the sublimely themed *100 % Pure* campaign by the New Zealand
Tourism Board, which promotes the country's geographical diversity and the close
proximity of that diversity.[87]

Pānia and Jenni do not explicitly play out the tourist but connect to a significant
tourism site in New Zealand, the Southern Alps, expressing an 'inverse tourism.'
Jenni describes how, "As soon as you fly over the Alps, as you start to do the descent
over the Alps, you, like, "Oh! Home, oh thank goodness!" On the other hand, Pānia
simply visualised home when feeling home sick in London: "and suddenly you can
see the Southern Alps."

Participants' experiences with the alpine play out the beautiful New Zealand origin
narrative discussed in Chapter Two, which is also a colonising myth (Bell 1996:28-
54). However, also discussed in Chapter Two was the hypothetical Kiwi residing in
Christchurch who feels a sense of national pride while experiencing the grandeur of
the Southern Alps on his or her way to work. Participants here display the agency of
this hypothetical Kiwi. They are not passive cultural dopes simply adhering to a top-
down colonial myth. They have significant agency in determining what their
spirituality and national identity means to them (Thompson and Day 1999:28),
illustrating Thompson's (2001) local production of national identity. Adhering to a
colonising myth/narrative with agency and benevolent meaning such as these
narratives demonstrate shows just how complex the local production of national
identity can be.

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[87]See http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/tourism_info/about-us/100-pure-campaign/100-pure-campaign_home.cfm (retrieved November 4 2008).

Further illustrations of Thompson's theory are displayed in the emphasis on

everydayness in these alpine narrations (2001:19). Michael and Albro, as mentioned,

experience the awe of the Southern Alps from their home. Pamela reveals this too in a

separate discussion:

*We have a beautiful view of the mountains upstairs. And that's a part of our scenery, there, and it's just
so beautiful and I think, "This is my country, this is where I am." That's what really makes me feel a
Kiwi.* (Pamela)

Rāwiri's, Earle's and Jenni's sublime alpine experiences took place in their home

regions, all of which are symbols of New Zealand identity (Aoraki, Mt

Egmont/Taranaki and the high country respectively). They are symbols relatively

accessible on the everyday level, as part of their local landscape. Sr, Pānia and John

also did not need to travel far to experience their sublimity, remaining in their own

region of the South Island, again relatively accessible on an everyday level. These

symbols are what Billig (1995 in Thompson 2001:19) calls "daily flaggings"; national

identity symbols located in the everyday.

These sublime alpine narratives show one way how national identity, land and

spirituality link on a local level. I suggest this sublimity may provide Pakeha

participants with a sense of nationhood and spirituality in the absence of an

indigenous spirituality and sense of belonging.[88] However, from an individual

perspective, both Māori and Pākehā participants are locally narrating the nation

through meaningful sublime alpine experiences. They are locally narrating alpine

sublimity.

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[88] Even though Māori can partake in this romantic colonial naturalisation they do not necessarily need
it for national identity authentication/naturalisation.

Locally naturalised whakapapa: from creation

The cultural origins and milieu of locally narrated alpine sublimity are Pākehā. This does not preclude Māori from utilising the concept, as we have seen Rāwiri, Pānia and Albro all do. However, it does marginalise the traditional way in which Māori relate to mountains. The theory of locally naturalised whakapapa was developed in Chapter Two, using pre-eminent Māori scholars to adapt and indigenise Smith's (2003:134-136) theory of the naturalisation of history. The concept of locally naturalised whakapapa includes locally narrated Māori ancestry and history in natural form. It theorises, broadly, how whakapapa links to land (Mead 2003: 282).

Māori genealogically link to Papatūānuku, the earth mother or the whenua (Walker 1990, Mead 2003). This relationship between land, ancestry and identity is sacred for practical and emotional reasons. Firstly, Māori practically depend on all Papa's natural resources to survive. Secondly, the deep emotional connection to her intensifies as ancestors through the generations are buried within her (Walker 1990:70, Mead 2003:270-271).

Smith, who comes from Taranaki, explores the poetic and aesthetic attachment Māori have to the landscape through empirical research on Taranaki waiata tangi (traditional songs of lament). She compares this Māori aesthetic with the Western concept of 'a sense of place' (2004:12). Framing it as "feelings for place," Smith (2004:13-14) argues there are strong similarities between the aesthetic way Māori (particularly through Taranaki waiata tangi) relate to the land, and the Western poetical view of land. Orbell reiterates Smith's argument by explaining how maunga (mountains)

played an aesthetic role in pre-European Māori life,inspiring poetry, reflection and song and providing lookout places from which to gaze upon the landscape (1985:95). However, there are ways of connecting to land that are exclusive to Māoridom: for example, the genealogical link back to Papatūānuku, Tūrangawaewae (standing rights), Kaitiakitanga (guardianship responsibilities) and so forth (2004:12).

Pānia's and Rāwiri's alpine experiences, discussed in the previous section, expressed the Māori aesthetic that Smith and Orbell (1985:95) describe. In their narratives, their respective mauduga inspired reflection that was illustrated by, firstly, the fact they narrated their experience to me, but also with phrases present in their narratives such as, "and I thought about Pākehā Christians" (Pānia) and "but upon reflection" (Rāwiri). Moreover, both enacted the Māori aesthetic idea of gazing. For example, Pānia mentioned in her narrative, "I stood back and looked up," while Rāwiri mentioned, "I'd just look up there and picture me grandparents."

Both were also poetical in their expressions. Pānia's poeticism was evident in the way she filled her story with drama and excitement. For example, she described how "the clouds actually parted and the sun came through. I stood back and looked up and suddenly saw this mauduga in all its glory." Rāwiri, meanwhile, recited a Ngāi Tahu proverb in his narrative: "If you must bow your head, then let it be to Aoraki, like to a lofty mountain like Aoraki."

The alpine experiences of both were also very emotional. They were not spiritual in an abstract sense but humanly emotional, reiterating Smith's idea of feelings and the emotion for place (Smith 2004:13-14). Pānia described how, "What I felt coming

from that, from just looking up, was unconditional love. And I thought about Pākehā

Christians when they talk about feeling the love of God?" On the other hand, Rāwiri

expressed the emotion of hardship: "You know, I had difficult times. That's when I'd

just look up there and picture me grandparents."

Pointing to this distinct Māori aesthetic is important. The idea of the Western

romantic sublime in the previous section initially framed these narratives as we were

in the confines of a Pākehā worldview. This analysis falls short of understanding how

Pānia and Rāwiri relate to their maunga in a Māori worldview.

A Māori concept that may help encapsulate Pānia's and Rāwiri's feelings in their

narratives as opposed to the Western concept of awe is *wehi.* Barlow (1996:161)

defines wehi as a feeling of "fear," "awe" and "respect." One experiences wehi when

in the company of one with greater power, for example, when faced with "the power

of the gods" (Barlow: 1996:161). In the case of these two participants, they

experienced it in the presence of their ancestral mountain. Orbell (1985:84) argues

maunga in pre-European Māori society functioned as iwi identifiers, sacred ancestors,

the abode of patupaiarehe (fairies) and future tellers, and therefore were considered

tapu; in short, they inspired both fear and awe.

Pānia and Rāwiri illustrated this concept of wehi through the language in their

narratives, such as when Pānia mentioned the words "awe inspiring" and "moving" or

Rāwiri said how his experience was "spiritually moving" and "amazing." Further,

Pānia explicitly expressed the complex feeling of fear, awe and respect inherent in the

idea of wehi while on her journey to the foot of her mountain:

"Oh my gosh, what have I got myself into?? We're not in Kansas any more, Toto! So I was like OK, well, we'll get on and do what we've gotta do.." …. At the conclusion of which, the clouds actually parted and the sun came through. I stood back and looked up and suddenly saw this maunga in all its glory. And felt as if I was standing naked in front of your grandparent. So tiny, so insignificant, and yet what I felt coming from that, from just looking up, was unconditional love. And I thought about Pākehā Christians when they talk about feeling the love of God? (Pānia)

While Rāwiri was tramping around Aoraki with a group, he sat at one point and diverged from his colleagues as they decided to perform a haka. Instead, he bowed his head, *respecting* Aoraki by reciting the Ngāi Tahu proverb, evidently respecting the mountains as his sacred ancestor:

I couldn't see the reasoning behind laying down a challenge to the mountain. you know, we've always been told that, "If you must bow your head, then let it be to Aoraki, like to a lofty mountain like Aoraki." To have these guys standing there doing a haka, I'm thinking, "Um, nah." I think I'll just bow my head, my shoulders, my back and my knees ... (Rāwiri)

The act of individually narrating ancestral connections to one's mountain aptly demonstrates the concept of locally naturalised whakapapa. The emotive aestheticism involved here, though, expands my original development of the term. In addition, the featured prominence in the above participant narratives of Ka Tiritiri o te Moana (the Southern Alps) and specifically Aoraki, central characters in the Ngāi Tahu version of the Māori creation story (see Chapter Two), reaffirms the Māori creation story as a key narrative in this concept.

I argued in Chapter Two that the Māori creation story is fundamental to Māori identity, using Papatūānuku and Aoraki, two specific sacred figures of the story, as examples. Here participants' narratives illustrate this argument. Rāwiri, as mentioned, spoke extensively of Aoraki. The remaining five, three non-Christian Māori women

and two Māori Christian men, spoke of their belief in Papatūānuku.[89] As outlined in

Chapter Five, Grace narrated her belief in Papatūānuku in relation to colonisation.

*So, Papa is the mother, she's the Mother of all Māori and you can't sell your mother. Therefore, when the Pākehās came and they gave you some trinkets, some money, a boat or a dinghy or something for the land, they didn't realise that they had lost the land. They thought they still owned it, because that's Papatūānuku, you can't sell her, so they allowed it to happen but only because of their assumption that the Pākehā knew that that was Papatūānuku … (*Grace)

Expanding this link between Papa and nation, Pānia and Āwhina explain how

Papatūānuku is the source of New Zealand nationhood:

The silver fern, hello!? Where does that grow? On the land. It comes from the whenua, do you know what I mean? The pounamu we wear, the bone, all of those things, the wood, all come from the land. They all come from Papatūānuku, or were fed by Papatūānuku in some form or way. You know people talk about the ocean, they just see it as water, Māori see it also as Papatūānuku. Because what does that water sit on, you know? (Pānia)

We (Māori) believe that we come from the land; you know that our word is Tangata Whenua, we are Tangata Whenua, we are people of this land. And it goes a lot deeper than that, our stories tell us that we came from Papatūānuku, you know? That's why most Māori believe in being buried because we go back to where we came from. But also you know in all that scientific jargon we do compose and feed the earth, and so we replenish her. So that more trees and things can grow, so it's as deep as that. It's stuff like, your placenta in Māori is called whenua and we've reclaimed the practice of after the baby's born taking the placenta and putting it in the earth. Usually you put it in the earth and plant a tree. And because we're Māori we plant a native so we're doing all that kind of stuff. So we are really tightly connected in many ways to this land as being where we come from, giving us our strength, you know, physically and spiritually and all that kind of stuff. So it's all an intrinsic part of our national identity as Māori, yeah. (Āwhina)

These references to Papatūānuku were all in response to the central research question,

'Do you think there is a link between your spirituality, sense of national identity and

land?' Conceptually Papatūānuku links these three components, functioning as

sacredness, New Zealand identity and land. Future research could expand on this idea.

For now, I suggest Papa is a central way that the Māori women in this project link

nationhood, land and spirituality.

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[89] Although Rev did not mention Papatūānuku by name, rather just the concept itself and the principles associated with the belief.

The direct reference to Papatūānuku also indicates Papa is not a distant mythologised ancestor. She is a daily practical and spiritual reality intimately connected to the present idea of land. This seamless connection between myth and reality again reiterates the Māori notion of time (Smith 2000:56) discussed in Chapter Five. It also illustrates the seamless way Papa is earth mother, ancestor, land and symbol of power and heritage (R. Taonui 2008 pers. comm., 7 August).

Rev too, when expressing what a 'New Zealander' is, narrates the idea of Papatūānuku, albeit without reference to her name. Grace's, Pānia's, Āwhina's and Rev's references to Papa as a source of nationhood suggest this idea needs to be explored in future research. Rev also parallels Awhina's belief that Māori are born from the earth and return to it upon death and discusses the ritual of planting the umbilical cord of a newborn baby.[90]

They do say in the beginning, people was made from earth, you see, and when people die they go back to earth. They put back in there. So in the beginning, parts of the navel, they get cut off, cos back to earth. Ahh, that is my saying of being a New Zealander. I mean, you've been born from there and what's been cut off from you and has been put back in there. (Rev)

His usage of the phrase "in the beginning" and the word "earth" (as opposed to 'Papa') indicates a link to the Genesis creation story, which opens with the line, "In the beginning" and features the first man created from soil, Adam (Genesis 1:1, 2:7). Rev's Christian framework filters his narration of Papa.

Similarly, Albro recounted both Christian and Māori creation stories by demonstrating the compatibility between the two faiths.

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[90]Although Āwhina says "placenta."

There's God, one God, which is Io Matua Kore. And then they say there's God of the forest, God of the sea, God of the volcano. Yet to me, being Māori, being a Christian Māori, I see that as God who created the sea, God who created the forest. God who created the volcanoes, God who created the earthquakes. You know and Rangi and Papatūānuku, which is the Sky Father and the Mother Earth, well, God created the heavens and the earth. He separated the waters to become the different light and the day and in Māoridom it's a similar story ... Yeah, when God created Adam, he put him to sleep and created the woman out of the rib. So he created Adam from the earth and created woman from the rib. And that's why a woman should never be behind or in front ... it's part of the heart, being the heart of that man. Yeah, they're meant to be walking together and that's why you see Papatūānuku, Mother Earth and Rangi. But the story differs a little bit from what the Bible says, but when you actually look at the different things, it's actually kind of almost the same. (Albro)

Albro positions the literalist (see Chapter Five) Christian creation story as the dominant narrative to which the Māori story fits. Firstly paralleling ("actually kind of almost the same") Rangi and Papa with the heavens and the earth that God/Io Matua Kore created, he then parallels Rangi and Papa with Adam and Eve.[91] This reading views Papa first as 'earth,' and then as he literally recounts the Genesis story, a rib of the first man. Albro's heavily Christianised interpretation of the Māori creation story suggests more research is urgently required into the way Māori in literalist/fundamentalist Christianity reconcile their two spiritual worldviews.

Drawing from the Māori creation story, specifically, ancestral mountains or Papatūānuku, all Māori participants illustrate the concept of locally naturalised whakapapa. This demonstrates a strong and distinctive Māori view of the link between spirituality, nationhood, land and, additionally, ancestry. Pānia and Rāwiri also demonstrate an aesthetic and poetic element to their naturalised whakapapa. This needs consideration in future development and use of the term. Participants displayed "alternative" and "competing" (Thompson 1999 et al:52) Māori nationalities regarding natural whakapapa and the Māori creation story. This I contend exposes the

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[91] Io Matua Kore is the 'Māori' Supreme Being, argued to be a post-European invention (Simpson 1997).

need to work at a local, grounded level to understand the (Māori) nation (Thompson 2001), a key aim of *locally* naturalised whakapapa.

Ancestral place identity

Whakapapa and Romanticism were central components in the two previous sections of this chapter. This section brings them into dialogue by illustrating that all participants, both Māori and Pākehā, ancestrally identify with regionality and place, a culmination of the concept of locally narrated roots. Identifying with New Zealand through various natural places demonstrates the argument of unity in diversity introduced in Chapter Two, a combination of Kaufmann's and Zimmer's (1998:28) and Thompson's (et al 1999:52) ideas of nationhood. For instance, all participants use the idea of natural New Zealand as a national identity-building tool. To this extent, they experience national unity (albeit only amongst twelve people). However, the various methods and places used to identify with natural New Zealand illustrate great diversity. Just as the alpine experiences in the previous chapter showed unity in diversity, so too does place, signalling that land in the wider sense can serve as a unifier and a localiser at the same time.

For Māori, identifying with one's hapū or iwi or asserting one's *tūrangawaewae* is not only an expression of regionalism but of whakapapa: in other words, land and ancestry. Therefore, for Māori, ancestry and place are inseparable, being both fundamental to the concept of whakapapa (Tau et al 1992:3/3). This argument rests upon the fact that traditionally, Māori society is regionalised (formed from whānau, hapū and iwi (Walker 1990:63-65)).

All Māori participants expressed ancestral place identity, culminating the progressional analysis of whakapapa throughout this thesis and illustrating Holmes' (2003) argument, also discussed in the Chapter Two, that people find intimacy with nature through specific places. Pānia and Rāwiri, both predominantly Ngāi Tahu, unquestionably do through their sacred connection to their ancestral maunga and the South Island. They reinforce this identification with the Ngāi Tahu region by expressing a distinctive, parochial, Mainland identity. For instance, Rāwiri discloses, "Nah, to bugger with the North Island, who needs 'em?!" while Pānia discusses her homesickness in London, explaining her vision of New Zealand: "…*especially* here in Christchurch, sitting here and looking out at the hills."

Albro, originally from the north, specifically Te Arawa, still identifies with his ancestral place through Tarawera and the hammerhead shark.

In Te Arawa, our people, you know, the first thing they saw was Tarawera, which is a big mountain in the Rotorua region. And that's why they identify with the hammerhead shark, because the hammerhead shark, when the Te Arawa people were coming into shore they couldn't see because it was foggy, but they saw the shark and this shark guided them into the bay safely. So that's why in all our carvings and pictures they have the hammerhead shark, because it was like guidance.

Rev in asserting his Ngāti Porou identity simultaneously narrates his genealogical and geographical links to the region: "I'm from the Ngāti Porou tribe; they're from the East Coast. It starts from Wairoa, Gisborne, and it goes right through to the Bay of Plenty, to a place called Cape Runaway. All round those places, that's Ngāti Porou." Extending this sense of ancestral place identity, he also spoke to me about the importance of *whānau* and place: "We get called to say we are having a family reunion. All our family reunions are done back on the land; we have to go back to

where we were born. Of course we have our own family marae and we go back on there."

Grace illustrates ancestral place identity through two places that in many ways epitomise this idea in Māori thought, her local marae and urupā (cemetery) (see Mead 2003:270). These are the two crucial places of spiritual significance for her, both located in Akaroa, ancestral to her through marriage.

Out at the Kāik (Ōnuku Marae in Akaroa), when I stand on the verandah, which is called the mahau, on the meeting house, I always feel at peace. I feel that it's a spiritual time just to be looking at what is there. You know there are the hills there, there's the water underneath it that is usually so calm at that part, I mean that's one example. But the other is when I go up to the urupā ... (Grace)

Āwhina has whakapapa in both the north and south and is spiritually linked to both. Spiritually connected to the north when she was younger, Āwhina has now re-connected to her roots in the south. However, when I asked about her spiritual connection to the landscape she mentioned the sea and the beach because of her ancestral ties to Mahia and Wairoa, who are associated with this environment.

Yeah, the sea, by the sea. Because part of my whakapapa connections are from the East Coast of the North Island in Kahungunu and particularly around Mahia and Wairoa. Our people up there are associated with the sea and so for me, at a beach, I'm cool too. (Āwhina)

Ancestral place identity is an inherently romantic concept for Pākehā, in a sense summing up the Romantic ideal of identifying with "nature and roots" (Smith 2003:36). All Pākehā participants invoked the concept, reaffirming romanticism is crucial to Pākehā views on identity land, spirituality and ancestry and also illustrating Holmes' (2003) argument,above, that people find intimacy with nature through

specific places.[92] Sr and John both have Canterbury settler ancestry and all identify

with the region of Canterbury as outlined in their settler stories in Chapter Four. Both

also express a Mainland identity. For example, Sr discusses her time in the north,

conceding, "I did work for a while in the North Island in a school up there. I was

asked to go up north, and I identified with the Wairarapa and I enjoyed the landscape

and all that but it's something about my roots down here .... " John, on the other

hand, shows a Mainlander view of New Zealand in his total lack of discussion of the

North Island.

Michael too demonstrates a Mainland identity by only discussing New Zealand's

South Island natural features such as the Mackenzie Basin and the Milford Sound; his

ancestors, too, are from the South Island. Jenni, a southerner, also has ancestral ties to

the South Island, disclosing her loyalty to the region ("I must admit I prefer the

Mainland"), but more specifically identifying with central Otago.

Earle's ancestral place identification was particularly profound: "When I came onto

Christchurch, it was about five in the afternoon and I'd got to about Redwood and a

very strange experience came over me. My whole body suddenly felt at home."

Further, he explicitly identifies himself as belonging to a "Canterbury family."

Pamela, too, despite her South Island residence, strongly identifies still with the North

Island where her colonial forbears settled and talks about her 'roots' there.

I've got that deep feeling of having been in touch with my roots (the North Island). If I had spent all my life here in the South Island it wouldn't have been the same at all! So (I've) been taken out and shown Young Nick's Head on the East Coast up there where Captain Cook and the little boy or cannon boy sighted land and called it Young Nick's Head .... (Pamela)

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[92] In the spirit of discussing specific places, it is interesting to note that this thesis is itself a situated knowledge (see Chapter Three), having a Mainland-centric if not a Canterbury-centric approach. Six participants are local Mainlanders, and I myself am a Cantabrian. Further, Grace, Āwhina and Earle have attachments here, spiritual, biological or both.

Most Māori participants further exalted this ancestral place identity by referring to specific landmarks situated in their ancestral place: for instance, Rāwiri and Albro mention their ancestral mountains Aoraki and Tarawera respectively and Grace names her local marae, Ōnuku or the 'Kāik.' Lastly, Pānia uses specific regional landscape to explain her bond to Christchurch: the well known (to Christchurch residents) Port Hills and Southern Alps border that frame the Garden City.

The bond is so strong (between Kiwis and New Zealand) that in your mind no matter where you are you can close your eyes, be in a shit hole like London and suddenly you're sitting here in Christchurch. You close your eyes and suddenly you can see the Southern Alps and the Port Hills have got snow on them. (Pānia)

Additionally, *all* Pākehā participants identified ancestral landmarks: Earle described Mt. Egmont, Pamela Young Nick's Head, Jenni Lake Benmore, Michael Castle Hill and Sr the Waimakariri River. John additionally spoke of the 'Waimak' when telling me of a wedding he had recently performed:

I had a wedding on Monday and we flew in a helicopter to the headwaters of the Waimak. And there we were way up there at the beginning of the Waimak. And there was absolute silence and everybody was conscious of the sense of the holy. (John)

This last section has brought out the concept of locally narrated roots through ancestral place identity, all participants illustrating the idea through the philosophies of whakapapa and Romanticism. Unpacked, this demonstrates how land, ancestry and spirituality all link to contribute to the formation of an individual view of national identity for all twelve participants, Māori and Pākehā.

Land and identity: locally narrated

Locally narrating alpine sublimity and locally naturalised whakapapa have been discussed in sections in this chapter that contributed to the final section on ancestral place identity. In the section on locally narrated alpine sublimity, mountains were shown to be the central way participants spiritually identify with New Zealand. Through colonial and sublime frameworks, these local alpine narrations intricately link to the history of New Zealand. Through locally naturalised whakapapa, the Māori creation story was key in understanding how Māori participants link to the natural in New Zealand. Papatūānuku in particular was vital to these local narrations and Māori participant's understanding of an Aotearoa/New Zealand identity. Finally, the last section illustrated the argument in Chapter Two that roots pertains to both Pākehā and Māori worldviews through romanticism and whakapapa respectively.

Romanticism and whakapapa are incredibly different philosophies yet, as just argued, both signify roots and furthermore contribute to the concept of locally narrated roots in Aotearoa/New Zealand, illustrating sameness within great difference. Roots, encapsulating land, ancestry and history, then, expands on the idea that land is a symbol of unity in diversity argued in this chapter and Chapter two. In short, for participants, roots is simultaneously a localiser and unifier and symbol of unity in diversity.

7. Conclusion: The Way Out

"Well, we knocked the bastard off!"(Hilary 1975:162)

Through narrating the link between national identity, land and spirituality participants enact a process of locally authenticating their view of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Chapters Four, Five and Six, which examine ancestry, history and land, illustrate this process according to the theory of Kaufmann and Zimmer (1998:3-4), who argue that the two ways to authenticate a nation are by an ethno-historical past and a sense of naturalness, in short, roots. To explore this idea of authenticity further, Smith (2003) expands on what authenticity means. He argues authenticity has several complex meanings, but essentially describes it as that which is genuine, from the innermost self, people-focussed, simple, rooted, and individual as opposed to that which is uniform; and as something that is inner determined rather than something imposed. Building on this definition with Thompson's (2001) local approach highlights the ideas of individuality and self-determining qualities of authenticity while denying the belief in objective and homogenous truth inherent in modern authenticity (Smith 2003).

Indigenising the idea of authenticity is Linda Smith, who as argued, calls for an indigenous authenticity (see Chapter Two, 1999:72-74). This serves as a descriptor of a person's authenticity as opposed to the modern Western concept of authenticity, which, when applied to indigene, colonises, homogenises and serves racist agendas

(see Smith L 1999:72-74).[93] Even though Smith is referring to indigenous peoples, I suggest individual Pākehā also have the ability to describe for them a similar kind of authenticity, which, using Thompson's (2001) local approach, is what I mean by *local authentication.*

It is important to discern the differences between how Māori and Pākehā participants enact this process of *local authentication*, however. For example, Māori participants saw colonial settler society as colonialism, whereas Pākehā participants saw colonialism as settler society. Moreover, the deeply meaningful and complex philosophies Māori and Pākehā participants used to underpin their sense of nationhood were (Māori) whakapapa and (Pākehā) romanticism, an outcome that reiterates the argument in Chapter Two, the theoretical literature review. These two vastly different ways of authenticating individual Kiwi-ness both contribute to the concept of locally narrated roots. Therefore, the concept of locally narrated roots is not just a national identity building tool, but a tool for national identity *authentication*.

Local authentication allows authenticity to be done from the ground up through everyday banal encounters, pulling together the strands of deep meaning yet everyday-ness. Pānia's pu kauwae is instructive here. It is her "legacy to New Zealand," showing her ancestral link back to Papatūānuku. It is now a symbol of her daily life, a deeply meaningful expression of her ancestral connection to her home/land, New Zealand. The process of getting the pu kauwae done and her subsequent wearing of it is an ongoing process of locally authenticating her New Zealand-ness.

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[93] See her "Authentic, essentialist, deeply spiritual other" (Smith L 1999:72-74) argument in the Māori identity section in Chapter Two.

For Pamela, her daily yet meaningful encounter with New Zealand-ness is her view of the mountains:

We have a beautiful view of the mountains upstairs. And that's a part of our scenery, there, and it's just so beautiful and I think, "This is my country, this is where I am." That's what really makes me feel like a Kiwi. (Pamela)

This is "what really makes" her "feel like a Kiwi." This meaningful, daily encounter with the New Zealand landscape is what *makes her* a Kiwi; it is a process of locally authenticating her Kiwi-ness. This localised, meaningful, yet everyday spirituality makes way for not just a distinct Kiwi spirituality but a spiritual Kiwi-ness, which all participants have demonstrated. This local authentication is a *secular spirituality*.

Secular spirituality is a sense of meaning/spirituality that, rather than being relegated to formal religious ritual, is experienced informally through looking out at landscapes, telling stories or walking the dog. It is not confined to either the religious or the non-religious; all people of any background or faith can practise it. Hence, all participants, religious or not, have expressed this idea, which I contend is a fruitful concept in a nation so spiritually attached to the landscape yet so devoted to secularism. The local authentication of nation is a perfect example of secular spirituality; it is open to people of any belief system and is an informal, daily expression of meaningful nationhood through the worldly, secular mediums of land and ancestry.

Grace illustrated the process of locally authenticating her New Zealand identity as a secular spirituality when I asked her what makes her feel like a Kiwi.

Yeah, can you tell me what makes you feel like a Kiwi? Well for a starter Māori land, the whole land was Māori land, therefore I feel very attached to New Zealand. I feel this is where I belong; it's home and my ancestors have come from here. (Grace)

Her attachment to her ancestral connection to New Zealand land is what locally authenticates her Kiwi-ness, providing her with a spirituality that is worldly and encountered daily but deeply meaningful; it is a secular spirituality. Even Sr, who as a nun is devoutly Catholic, expresses her individual spirituality in a secular fashion: taking the Psalms out of the Church and into the New Zealand landscape. This is another illustration of how the process of locally authenticating Kiwi-ness is that of a secular spirituality.

Living in a country like this where we have mountains, I think the Psalms have a great ability to sort of come to life, because a lot of the Psalms refer to the mountains.(Sr)

Chapter One introduced these ideas in a preliminary sense, arguing that meaningful yet everyday stories of connecting to the New Zealand landscape contribute to the formation of the nation. Explaining the importance and uniqueness of exploring this view of nationhood positioned this thesis as a response to, broadly, economic globalisation and its various radical counter movements. This position comes from my own personal positioning and narrative of spiritually connecting to the New Zealand landscape, a narrative I felt needed exploration. Therefore, I started looking at other stories similar to mine in New Zealand literature on the subject, coming across key New Zealand scholars such as Bluck (1998) and Bergin and Smith (2004), who transformed my story into a workable academic argument.

Theoretically developing this academic argument of linking nationhood, land and sacredness in Chapter Two introduced and localised international theory. Central ideas from that discussion, such as linking the individual to national identity and history/ancestry, were then threaded into an examination of New Zealand life and

identity. Specifically looking at Pākehā, I conceptualised the link between Pākehā nationhood, land, spirituality and ancestry/history through New Zealand colonisation and romanticism. In comparison, I argued whakapapa wove Māori ideas of nationhood, land, spirituality and ancestry/history, narrative that is central to both Māori and Pākehā views of Aotearoa/New Zealand. 'Roots' became key to encapsulating both of these Māori and Pākehā ideas, producing my own working national identity concept of locally narrated roots.

Finding stories other than my own or in literature was crucial to exploring the local production of national identity. Documenting this exercise in Chapter Three honestly reflected my requirements as a researcher and provided a fundamental transition from exploring the solely academic validity of my question to the analysis of people. I discovered that people's stories were vital for eliciting everyday yet meaningful information and exploring the complex nature of national identity, land and spirituality.

The first people I analysed were Pākehā participants, who reflected Chapter Two's argument that ancestry and history contribute to Pākehā nationhood. Specifically, their stories demonstrated how colonial settler society, through romantic colonial naturalisation, links land, spirituality and ancestry/history to national identity through simultaneously romantic and colonial measures. Linked to their stories of (romantic) colonial settler society was the ongoing complicated relationship to the U.K., the U.K. being Pākehā New Zealand's colonial cultural ancestor. Colonial settler society, the common theme of Chapter Four, positioned this period as the central building block for Pākehā New Zealand nationhood. Drawing on romanticism and encapsulating

Pākehā identity and spirituality through land and ancestry, this chapter aptly demonstrated participants' locally Pākehā narrated roots.

Colonisation was also central to Māori views on the link between identity, land and spirituality. Through the mediums of history and land, they narrated local origins of dissent that revealed the formation of both their culturally hybridised Māori and New Zealand identities. I suggested a process of negotiation has occurred with Māori participants whereby each practises various modern forms of Māoridom. Central to a modern Māori identity is the concept of whakapapa, which all participants talked to me about and which illustrated the concept of locally narrated ethnicity. Therefore, Chapter Five concluded that whakapapa and colonisation were crucial to a Māori view of locally narrated roots.

Bringing colonial settler society, romanticism and whakapapa into dialogue was the link between land and identity, the theme of Chapter Six. Specifically, participants recounted very diverse sublime alpine experiences that demonstrated the alpine as a symbol of unity in diversity. These examples of locally narrated alpine sublimity enabled me to build on the argument outlined in Chapter Two and Four that for Pākehā, romanticism links land, national identity, spirituality and history. The distinct Māori alpine experience felt by participants also linked identity, spirituality, land and history, expanding on the concept of whakapapa from Chapter Five. However, it was Papatūānuku, that participants talked about the most, a phenomenon that is the fundamental illustration of whakapapa. The recurring themes of whakapapa and romanticism succinctly demonstrated by all participants (Pākehā and Māori respectively) culminated with the idea of ancestral place identity, a concept that

demonstrated diverse narratives, all illustrating locally narrated roots. This led me to conclude that roots, encapsulating land, ancestry and history, are a point of unification yet great diversity for participants, a symbol of unity in diversity.

In locally narrating their roots, these twelve participants locally authenticated their nation and self. At the conclusion of this exploration into participant stories and the surrounding theory, I argue that New Zealand is a rich subject for exampling local authenticity as a secular spirituality and a strong contender for further spiritually land based national identity research.

Further research on specific ideas has been signposted throughout this thesis. Many of these signposts direct towards future use of the sub-concepts of the theory of locally narrated roots. However, future use of this concept and its various parts would best begin with a critique (which may result in a major reworking of the term and/or its parts), as no critique exists in this thesis due the size of a Master of Arts (M.A.) thesis.

Another central issue that has concerned me throughout the writing of this thesis is my lack of Māori knowledge and experience in Māori culture. This has prevented me from fully understanding Māori participant narratives and therefore the ensuing analysis is affected. Specifically, there is a lack of analytical depth as I do not have enough knowledge or *mana* (standing, influence, power) to make observations beyond my limited exposure. In fact, in some areas I am aware my inexperienced Pākehā worldview may have, to some, caused me to overstep certain boundaries already. I am also aware of the absence of material on the New Age connection to land and the Christian, in particular Catholic and Anglican, bias.

I need to emphasise that this thesis is only a beginning into the exploration of the link between national identity, land and spirituality from Māori and Pākehā perspectives. I have discovered ideas and themes that, rather than providing me with the satisfaction of knowledge, have filled me with curiosity, restlessness and a commitment to discover what they mean, a feat unable to be accomplished in this piece. Therefore, this thesis is also only just a beginning for *me*. Choosing an amorphous topic such as this illustrated in many ways my lack of academic direction. The outcomes of this thesis have provided me with an antidote to that lack. I am now wholly committed to academically exploring Aotearoa/New Zealand identity.

I could never have guessed this at the beginning of this research journey. I started out with an emphasis on spirituality and religion, intending to contest the "secular New Zealand thesis" (Stenhouse 2005:1), an aim that is illustrated by my original title, 'Linking Spirituality, Land and National Identity,' and the twelve religiously and spiritually devoted New Zealand participants who took part in my study. Spirituality and religion eventually, and seemingly out of my control, moved to the periphery, though, as I realised participants were talking about national identity formed by the spiritual connection to land and ancestry. This disrupted my assumption that spiritually connecting to land merely links to national identity. To use a well used analogy, rather than national identity being one piece of the puzzle, I realised national identity was the puzzle to which all the other pieces fitted. Land and spirituality give meaning and authentication to nationhood, but we need an identity to order and place that meaning, otherwise it becomes too abstract for us to comprehend. This is perhaps

the reason why ancestry was so prominent in this thesis, as ancestry is an identity building tool, linking personal and national identities to spirituality and land.

This idea inevitably expanded my own story. I started this thesis with the fresh realisation that my spiritual connection to the New Zealand landscape links to being a Kiwi. Now I realise this spiritual connection to land is too abstract and incomprehensible without an identity to funnel it through. My Kiwi-ness is now central to my selfhood, land and spirituality fundamental parts to my Kiwi puzzle. This discovery has been an outcome of interviewing participants and analysing their stories. In effect, I have learnt from them. A major step in this learning has been following my participants' example of identifying their Kiwi-ness through ancestry and history. This has entailed finding my own locally narrated roots, a process of locally authenticating my Kiwi-ness, for me a secular spirituality.

My ancestors, John and Elizabeth Harper, arrived in Lyttelton harbour in 1850 on *Randolph*, one of the First Four ships. I feel proud and thankful that this Protestant English working class couple, compelled by poverty and hardship, made the arduous trip to this land. It ensured I was born in a land I love and that I have a personal historical tie to this place. I am simultaneously disgusted that I am related to people who contributed to the violent colonisation of land and Māori, two central components of this nation. This conflicted feeling provides just one example of the complex reality of having an identity. However, it is an identity nonetheless, and one I can use to access and understand the meaning of my spiritual connection to land, ancestry and history.

The twelve other examples of identity expressed by twelve very different Kiwis throughout this thesis are also complex, yet their complexities differ from mine and from each other. The one thing we all hold in common though is that we all have a commitment and sense of belonging to this land and the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand, which, as I have argued, develops one's sense of self through a cyclical relationship with one's nation.

This ongoing cyclical relationship can in turn develop a greater sense of national well-being, which Pākehā more than most need to put into practice if Aotearoa/New Zealand is ever going to reach maturity and withstand the homogenising tendencies within economic globalisation and its radical counter movements. The idea of locally authenticating Kiwi-ness as a form of secular spirituality is one tool worth exploring to aid this nation's process of maturity. However, I also hope this thesis of linking national identity, land and spirituality from Māori and Pākehā perspectives in general contributes in a small way to the ongoing journey Aotearoa/New Zealand is presently on.

Appendix: Interview Questions

Capturing the Kiwi Spirit:
How both Māori and Pākehā link spirituality, national identity and land.

1. Can you tell me a story about a spiritual experience you have had ?

2. Can you tell me how you practice your spirituality?

3. What is being a New Zealander all about?

4. Can you tell me about what makes you feel like a Kiwi?

5. Can you tell me about an occasion when you were outdoors that was spiritual or meaningful for you?

6. Do you think there is a link between your spirituality, sense of national identity and land?

Glossary of Māori terms

Aoraki	Mt Cook
Aoteraoa	New Zealand
Haka	war dance
Hapū	sub tribe
Haumiatikitiki	God of fern root and uncultivated food
Hīkoi	march
Io Matua Kore	Supreme Being
Iwi	tribe
Kāi	tribal prefix, descendants of (e.g Kāi Tahu)
Kaitiakitanga	guardianship responsibilities
Karanga	call
Karakia	incantation, prayer
Ka tirtiri o te moana	The Southern Alps
Kaumatua	elder (man)
Kaupapa	plan, principle, philosophy
Kiwi	slang for New Zealander / native bird of New Zealand
Kōrero	talk
Kuia	elder (woman)
Mahau	verandah
Mana	authority, power, prestige
Māori	normal/natural (see also Chapter one)
Māoritanga	Māori culture
Marae	courtyard in front of meeting house

Maunga	mountain (North Island)
Mauka	mountain (Kāi Tahu version)
Mihi	formal introduction
Moko	tattoo citing whakapapa
Ngāi	tribal prefix, descendants of (north island version)
Ngāti	tribal prefix descendants of (e.g Ngāti Porou)
Pākehā	white skinned/European, imaginary beings with fair skin
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
Patupaiarehe	fairy
Pounamu	New Zealand greenstone/jade
Pōwhiri	formal welcome onto marae
Pu kauwae	chin moko
Rakinui	sky father (Kāi Tahu version)
Ranginui	sky father (North Island version)
Ringatū	up raised hand
Rongomātāne	God of cultivated food and the kūmara (sweet potato),
Taha Māori	Māori identity
Taiaha	long staff weapon
Tānemahuta	God of the forest
Tangaroa	God of the sea
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Tapu	sacred
Taranaki	Mt Egmont
Tāwhirimātea	God who controls the weather
Te Reo	language

Te Kīngitanga	The King Movement
Tikanga	custom
Tino Rangatiratanga	self determination
Tīpuna	ancestors
Tohunga	expert
Tūmatauenga	God of war and man
Tūrangawaewae	standing rights/ a place to stand
Urupā	cemetery
Waiata tangi	songs of lament
Wehi	fear, awe, respect
Whaikōrero	speech in reply to Mihi
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whānau	extended family
Whare kai	dining room
Whenua	land, placenta

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