Becoming Tangata Whenua

An investigation into Witi Ihimaera's construction of a (post)colonial Māori identity

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Abstract

In the wake of decolonisation and a political commitment to revive the endangered Māori culture and society and promote a bicultural (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand, a new urban middle class of indigenous Māori were tasked with redefining their identities as (post)colonial Māori in the mid-1970s—a feat which author Witi Ihimaera accomplishes through his semi-biographical fiction. It is his construction of a (post)colonial Māori identity in his seminal novel *The Matriarch* (1986) and its sequel, *The Dream Swimmer* (1997) this thesis sets out to investigate. The investigation is based on a close reading of the novels and conducted within a theoretical framework that combines the etic perspectives on (post)colonial identity provided by Erik H. Erikson, Anthony Giddens, Edward Said, and Homi K. Bhabha, and the emic perspective on Māori identity provided by Mason H. Durie, and Carla A. Houkamau and Chris G. Sibley. The thesis demonstrates that it is by coming to terms with the splitting, conflicting, and lasting colonial legacy that Ihimaera constructs his Māori identity. His Māori identity is defined by five key aspects relating to whakapapa (genealogy), wairuatanga (spirituality), tōrangapū Māori (Māori politics), whanaungatanga (familial and reciprocal relations), and whakahī (pride), respectively. His identity construction and construct speak to a certain resistance with which he contests orientalist discourse, resists continued marginalisation, and problematises the notion of the *post* colonial society; that is, a society that has moved *beyond* colonialism. Ihimaera thereby redefines his identity as Māori in (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand and reclaims his status as tangata whenua (literally: person of the land; indigenous person).

Acknowledgements

I wish to voice my deepest gratitude to the kind-hearted and welcoming people of the 2011–2012 Māori department at Tikipunga High School, especially matua Rōpata, the Mahanga whānau, and whaea Taua, for welcoming me into their whare wānanga and kapa haka group and tutoring me in Māoritanga and te reo Māori. Your example, your teachings, and the experiences you gave me have inspired and motivated me not only in my studies but also in life.

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Last but certainly not least, I want to express my most profound appreciation for Klement for motivating and inspiring me by his extraordinary example, knowledge, and abilities, and for bearing with me and supporting me unconditionally these past arduous years. You truly are my rock, and for you, I am eternally grateful.

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

I cannot thank you enough.

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Introduction

When Captain William Hobson, several English residents, and numerous Māori rangatira (tribal chiefs) signed the Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi[1] in 1840, effectively founding the British colony of Aotearoa/New Zealand,[2] the population of the country was 70,000–90,000 indigenous Māori and about 2,000 non-Māori (Pool and Kukutai 1; Hayward 1). By 1860, the groups had reached parity, and by 1874, Māori made up less than one-tenth of the national population, which remained the case for about a century (Pool and Kukutai 2). Meanwhile, by 1860, sixty-five per cent of land had passed from Māori possession (Pool and Kukutai 2), and by 1900, about another 4.5 million hectares of Māori land had been confiscated or purchased ("Native Land Court"; King 50). Moreover, despite the treaty's promises of biculturalism, assimilation into British culture was enforced on all non-British nations within the country. The enormous scale and rapidity of the British colonisation and marginalisation of the indigenous Māori had devastating effects on the size of its population, and it uprooted them from their native lands and their cultural heritage on which their livelihood, society, and identities were firmly based.

However, the Māori population, although continually and increasingly marginalised, recuperated gradually. In the wake of World War II, Māori flocked to the cities in "one of the most rapid urban transitions recorded for any population before the 1970s" (Pool and Kukutai 4). The rural resources had become sparse, and there were many new manufacturing jobs with higher and more secure wages in the cities. Moreover, due to a workforce shortage during the war, the government had conscripted and attracted many Māori with targeted relocation programmes to the affected urban industries. The income of many Māori thus became steadier,

[1] Whenever the present thesis refers to the treaty, it is by way of both its Māori and English name. I use both names to recognise the legitimacy and rights of both peoples, as well as the fact that the original English treaty text and its translation into te reo Māori essentially are two separate texts due to the many significant discrepancies between them. For more information regarding these discrepancies, compare the Waitangi Tribunal's new translation of the Māori text into English with the original texts, available on "Treaty of Waitangi" and explained in "Differences between the Texts".

[2] The present thesis refers to the country at hand by its Māori name—although not officially recognised, it is the most widespread Māori name for the country—and its official English name so as to recognise the officiality of both languages and legitimacy of both peoples.

and their living conditions were improved further by a range of social programmes. The improved living conditions lead to rapid population growth, and the Māori population multiplied no less than twelvefold during the twentieth century (Derby 6).

While urban migration for Māori meant severance from tribally structured rural life and traditional institutions, it also meant gradual and consistent access to education and the emergence of a literate Māori middle class. However, the education the urban Māori received was of Western model, and the language they had become literate in was English. Therefore, they remained far removed from their cultural roots. Moreover, although their livelihoods had improved significantly and the 1947 enactment of the Statute of Westminster had formally abolished the British colonial power, they were still far from equal to their settlers.

Consequently, from the 1960s, Māori activists demanded that they be allowed to live as Māori rather than assimilate to British culture. Accordingly, the government committed to a bicultural (post)colonial[3] ideal and implemented major policy changes, ensuing the social changes that became known as the Māori renaissance. Some of the most significant changes include the changes to the education system, which sought to revive the severely endangered Māori language, and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, in which claims of breaches of the Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi brought forth by Māori could be investigated and settled.

On account of the supported call for a return to their cultural roots, the new class of Māori were tasked with redefining their indigenous identity in a new (post)colonial world and reclaiming and securing their places in it. One of the means with which some Māori have sought to do this is writing Māori fiction. Māori fiction—albeit formed by English example and with Māori identity and culture as but "partly a matter of subject, partly of sensibility, and partly … sympathetic identification" (Stead)—had made its mark by the mid-1970s and had become increasingly political and critical throughout the 1980s.

One of the authors at the forefront of this political turn was Witi Ihimaera, who sought to describe the emotional landscape and the political and social reality of Māori in (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand through his semi-biographical fiction. Through his fiction, Ihimaera reconnects to his Māori heritage and redefines his (post)colonial Māori identity, by

[3] Throughout the present thesis, the terms *(post)colonial* and *(post)colonialism* have been employed to refer to the societal condition following the formal abolition of colonial systems instead of, for instance, *post(-)colonial* and *post(-)colonialism*. I find these preferable because they more clearly capture the inherent paradoxicality of the condition, which is *beyond* the condition of colonialism yet still marked by the persistent and overt colonial legacy. This terminological issue is discussed in further detail in the section Beyond Colonialism? of chapter 2.

which he reclaims his status as tangata whenua (literally: person of the land; indigenous person). It is his construction of this redefined and reclaimed (post)colonial Māori identity, which the present thesis sets out to investigate on the basis of his seminal novel *The Matriarch* and its sequel, *The Dream Swimmer*.

The investigation will be carried out within a theoretical framework that combines the psychological and sociological identity theories provided by Erik H. Erikson and Anthony Giddens and the theories on (post)colonialism and its effect on identity provided by Edward Said and Homi K. Bhabha. The psychological and sociological perspective makes the concept of identity and identity development comprehensible, while the (post)colonial perspective explores the effects (post)colonialism has on it. Moreover, the otherwise etic theoretical framework is supplemented by an emic perspective on identity provided by Mason H. Durie, and Carla A. Houkamau and Chris G. Sibley, which provides insight into the specifically Māori identity construct. This theoretical framework is described in chapter 2. A close reading of Ihimaera's *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* within said framework makes possible an analysis of how he constructs his (post)colonial Māori identity, which is carried out in chapter 3. The analysis is structured thematically into four parts, each of which treats an aspect Ihimaera defines in his novels as key to his identity construction—and thus to his becoming tangata whenua. First, however, introductory remarks on te reo Māori (the Māori language) are made to ease the reading experience of the present thesis for those unfamiliar with it, and the Māori concept of tangata whenua and Ihimaera's authorship are contextualised to emphasise the cultural and literary significance they merit in the present investigation.

Tangata Whenua: People of the Land

Tangata whenua, the Māori term in the title of the present thesis, literally means "people of the land". It denotes indigenous people who have authority over a place by virtue of their strong ancestral relationship with it. The term consists of the words *tangata*, which means "person", and *whenua*, which means both "land" and "placenta".

In Māori mythology, all life is seen as coming from the submerged womb of Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother. The islands that have appeared above water are believed to be placentas from her womb, and it is from these that all life has emerged. Tāne-mahuta, god of forests and birds, and one of the children of Papatūānuku and Rangi-nui, the Sky Father, clothed them in trees. He filled the islands with the products of his many unions with different

personifications of, for instance, trees and mountains, including plants, birds, insects, stones, and floodwaters, and he shaped from the sand at Kurawaka the first woman, Hine-ahu-one, with whom he mated and breathed life into (Reed 9–12, 16–18). From the union between Hine-ahu-one came their daughter Hinetītama, whom Tāne also mated with, producing children from which all human inhabitants descend (Barlow 174).

Māori thus trace back their genealogy to the land, the placenta of Papatūānuku, and, to reinforce this relationship, the placenta of newborn babies are buried in a location significant to the family's genealogical history. As such, they have a deep connection to the land on which they live, allowing them to "speak authoritatively about the world they inhabit – the animals, plants, weather patterns and natural rhythms of life" (Royal, "Ao Mārama" 4). Therefore, in every sense of the term, Māori are the tangata whenua of Aotearoa/New Zealand—that is, the "people born of the *placenta* and of the *land* where the people's ancestors have lived and where their placenta is buried" (Moorfield; emphasis added)—and thus the people who have authority over it. For this reason, besides entailing dispossession and threatened livelihoods, land alienation for Māori also means severance of ancestral and cultural connections and undermining of indigenous authority.

By no means, then, do I mean to infer with the title of the present thesis that Māori should not be recognised or have not been entitled to the status as tangata whenua before the publication of Ihimaera's novels. Undoubtedly, Māori are the tangata whenua of Aotearoa/New Zealand and should be recognised as such. Rather, what I do mean to infer is that Ihimaera, among many other Māori, is fighting to reclaim his status as such in the face of colonisation and (post)colonialism by reconnecting to his genealogical and cultural roots—and thus re-becoming tangata whenua.

A Note on te Reo Māori (the Māori Language)

Māori words or phrases relating to concepts specific to Māori language, culture, society, history, or identity, such as *tangata whenua*, is used consistently in the present thesis to more precisely capture the essence or correct meaning of such concepts, which tends to get lost in translation. These are not italicised or otherwise emphasised so as to recognise the officiality and centrality of both languages in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Instead, such words or phrases are parenthetically translated into their English (functional) equivalents according to the online or app version of John C. Moorfield's *Te Aka Māori–English, English–Māori Dictionary and*

Index at their first occurrences in a segment. In case a concept is more complex and requires further explanation, clarification is provided in an explanatory footnote.

Accordingly, to ease the reading experience for those unfamiliar with te reo Māori (the Mā, this brief introduction to its phonetics, phonemics, and orthography has been included. The information in this introduction has been gathered from Ray Harlow's *Māori: A Linguistic Introduction* and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori's (the Māori Language Commission) *Guidelines for Māori Language Orthography*.

Māori Phonetics and Phonemics

Te reo Māori (the Māori language), like most Polynesian languages, has a relatively simple phonological structure and inventory, consisting of ten consonant phonemes (*p*, *t*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *h*, *r* as well as the digraphs *ng* and *wh* and the semivowel *w*) and five monophthongs (*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*):

	Labial	Dental/ Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p	t	k	
Nasals	m	n	ng	
Fricatives	wh			h
Liquid		r		
Semivowel	w			

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		
Mid	e		u
Low		a	o

Table 1. The Phonemes of te Reo Māori. Source: Ray Harlow, *Māori: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), table 4.1, p. 63.

Most of the phonemes are pronounced similarly to those of New Zealand English, with but a few exceptions. *R* is most often a slight trill (/r/), but it is sometimes pronounced as a flap before an *a*. *H* is most commonly a fricative like in New Zealand English, but in some dialects, particularly in Western parts of the North Island, it is a glottal stop. The *ng* digraph is pronounced as a velar nasal as in the English word *si<u>ng</u>er*, and finally, the *wh* digraph is traditionally pronounced like in the English word *<u>wh</u>ale*, but today it is most commonly pronounced as a soft English *f*.

Additionally, te reo Māori distinguishes between short and long monophthongs, and each of the five monophthongs listed above thus exists in an elongated form as well (*ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*). It also consists of several diphthongs (the most common diphthongs are *ae*, *ai*, *ao*, *au*, *ei*, *oi*, *oe*, *ou*). The vowel sounds are most commonly pronounced as follows:

Short monophthongs			Long monophthongs			Diphthongs		
a	as in	*o**u**t*	ā	as in	*c**a**r*	ae	as in	***ey**e*
e	as in	***e**ntry*	ē	as in	*m**ea**sure*	ai	as in	*m**y***
i	as in	***ea**t*	ī	as in	*p**ee**p*	ao	as in	*cr**ow**d*
o	as in	***o**rdinary*	ō	as in	*p**o**rk*	au	as in	***oh***
u	as in	*t**o***	ū	as in	*m**oo**n*	ei	as in	*f**a**ce*
						oi	as in	***oi**l*
						oe	as in	***whe**n*
						ou	as in	*sh**ow***

Table 2. Pronunciation Guide for the Vowel Sounds of te Reo Māori.

Māori Orthography

Te reo Māori (the Māori language) is a language of significant idiolectal and dialectical variation. Consequently, a complete, universally and consistently used, and formally recognised orthographic system for te reo Māori is, in fact, non-existent (Harlow 85). While some agreement has been reached regarding the orthography of its consonants, short monophthongs, and diphthongs, there continues to be much orthographic discussion regarding the long monophthongs. Thus, we find no less than three different orthographic systems relating to these, all of which remain in use to some extent today:

1. A system in which the representation of long vowels is undistinguished from that of short vowels. In this system, *kaka* may thus represent any one of /kʌkʌ/ (clothing), /ka:kʌ/ (bittern), /kʌka:/ (red-hot), and /ka:ka:/ (parrot). Until recently, this system has been the standard for Māori writers, and it is still widely used.
2. A system in which the representation of long vowels is distinguished from that of short vowels by means of a macron. In this system, the exemplary words from above are thus represented as *kaka* (clothing), *kāka* (bittern), *kakā* (red-hot), and *kākā* (parrot). This is the system that Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission) adopts and promotes. As such, it is the closest thing to a standardised system, and most official publications in te reo and new and updated editions of Māori literature conform to it.
3. A system in which the representation of long vowels is distinguished from that of short vowels by means of double vowel letters. In this system, the exemplary words from above are thus represented as *kaka* (clothing), *kaaka* (bittern), *kakaa* (red-hot), and *kaakaa* (parrot). It is mainly students under Bruce Biggs, Aotearoa/New Zealand's first university lecturer in te reo Māori (Pawley 1), who have used this system. Therefore, usage of this third system has not been so widespread as that of the other two.

While the present thesis employs the second of these systems and thus conforms to the current guidelines of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission), Witi Ihimaera's novels, for instance, do not. Instead, it conforms to the first system with no discernible orthographic difference between short and long vowels. Consequently, there are discrepancies in the spelling of certain Māori words throughout the present thesis, depending on who has authored the cited utterances.

Witi Ihimaera

Describing the Political and Social Reality of the Māori People

When he became the first Māori writer to publish a collection of short stories in 1972 with his *Pounamu, Pounamu* (Greenstone, Greenstone), Witi Ihimaera (Witi Tame Ihimaera-Smiler)—who is of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki descent with close affiliations to Tūhoe, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Ngāti Kahungunu, and Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and links to Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Porou, and Te Whakatōhea—initially set out "to establish and describe the emotional landscape of the Maori people", (qtd. in Millar, "Ihimaera"). Realising the great opportunity writing was to share his experience of being Māori, his collection was followed up in 1973 and 1974 by his first and second novels, *Tangi* (Mourning) and *Whanau* (Family), with which he explores values central to Māori. Both his story collection and his novels received critical acclaim and represented to many a breakthrough for Māori writers and Māori fiction (Holman 2).

Although the politics in his initial works is implicit, he has succeeded in describing, and thus providing great insight into, the emotional landscape of Māori through them. In this, Norman Kirk, the prime minister at the time, saw great potential, and he invited Ihimaera to share and put to use these insights in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ihimaera remained with the ministry as a writer and diplomat from 1973 to 1989 (Millar, "Ihimaera"). Meanwhile, he continued to produce story collections and novels. However, in effect of his critical acclaim and his function as a ministerial diplomat, Ihimaera became concerned that his literary works would be received as the "definitive portrayal of the world of the Maori" when he himself found them "tragically out of date" (qtd. in Millar, "Ihimaera"). Consequently, he decided to take a break from writing between 1977 and 1986.

Upon his authorial return in 1986, Ihimaera's fiction had become overtly political. After his nine-year hiatus, he published *The Matriarch*, the first book of his Mahana family odyssey, which was continued in his 1997 novel, *The Dream Swimmer*. The odyssey is a semi-

biographical and historically revisionist piece of fiction that reimagines the colonial history of Aotearoa/New Zealand and explores its devastating effects from the perspective of the colonised Māori. It thus serves as a testament to his change of course, as he instead set out to describe and lay bare the political and social reality of Māori with their colonial "past placed firmly in front" of him (qtd. in Millar, "Ihimaera"). In 1996, his fiction moved in yet another direction, as he decided to foreground his sexuality in his novel *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*.

Besides authoring numerous novels and collections of short stories, Ihimaera has also written memoirs, librettos, plays, and a ballet, and he has edited several significant anthologies of Māori and Pacific writing, including the extensive five-volume anthology, *Te Ao Mārama* (The World of Life and Light)[4], which "remains the most wide-ranging collection of Māori writing" (Holman 3). With his extensive and seminal bibliography, he has cemented his place in the literary canon of Māori fiction as well as Aotearoa/New Zealand fiction, and he has broken new ground for Māori writers and reimagined (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand and (post)colonial Māori identity.

[4] Te Ao Mārama (literally: the world of life and light) denotes wisdom and enlightenment. It derives from the Māori creation legend in which Tāne-mahuta, God of forests and birds, forcibly separated his parents, Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, and Rangi-nui, the Sky Father, from their close embrace to make room for him and his siblings. In tearing the sky from the earth, Tāne created a new world of life and light, known as te Ao Mārama. For the complete creation myth, please refer to Reed 9–12.

2

Identity Development in Theory

This chapter provides the theoretical framework for the investigation of the present thesis into Witi Ihimaera's Māori identity construction. First, etic perspectives will make the concept of (post)colonial identity and identity development comprehensible. Initially, the psychological approach to identity of Erik H. Erikson, who regards it as the product of an epigenetic psychosocial process, will be presented. To supplement and update Erikson's theory to the current societal condition, Anthony Giddens' sociological approach to identity in conditions of late modernity, which invokes an inherent reflexivity that must be sustained, will be introduced. In turn, these theories will be supplemented with the (post)colonial perspectives on identity of Edward Said and Homi K. Bhabha, which uncover the effects of orientalist discourse, hybridity, and ambivalence inherent in (post)colonial conditions. A discussion of these will thereby follow next. Finally, the emic perspective provided by Māori scholars of psychology Mason H. Durie, and Carla A. Houkamau and Chris G. Sibley will be presented. Their approaches provide insight into the specifically Māori identity construct, which they regard as multidimensional, and the aspects central to it in (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand and thus provide a measure with which the subjective aspect of Māori identification can be assessed.

A Psychosocial and Reflexively Organised Identity Construct

In his seminal book from 1950, *Childhood and Society*, Erik H. Erikson poses his psychoanalytic theory on personality development as a life-long epigenetic psychosocial process. The development, Erikson argues, "proceeds by critical steps" in "moments of decision between progress and regression" (243–244). He argues that eight such moments arise naturally and inevitably throughout an individual's life, which he divides into eight successive stages of psychosocial development. An individual's personality and identity are thus shaped as he navigates these eight psychosocial stages, which will be described presently.

The Eight Stages of Psychosocial Development

Each of Erikson's psychosocial stages, which will be described in further detail in the following, is characterised as a crisis of two opposing forces that must be reconciled. Resolving a crisis yields a corresponding attribute or ego quality, which may be favourable or unfavourable to the resolution of the subsequent crises depending on the success of the crisis solution. Successful navigation of all eight psychosocial stages, he argues, results in a stable sense of self and self-integrity. In contrast, unsuccessful navigation through the crises may result in instability and despair (see Fig. 1 for a visual representation of Erikson's epigenetic development).

However, resolving a crisis successfully does not imply that the positive of the two opposing forces at any given stage has been "achieved" permanently, Erikson reflects in the second edition of his book. Instead, the two opposing forces remain in opposition to each other throughout life, for "the personality is engaged with the hazards of existence continuously" (Erikson 247).

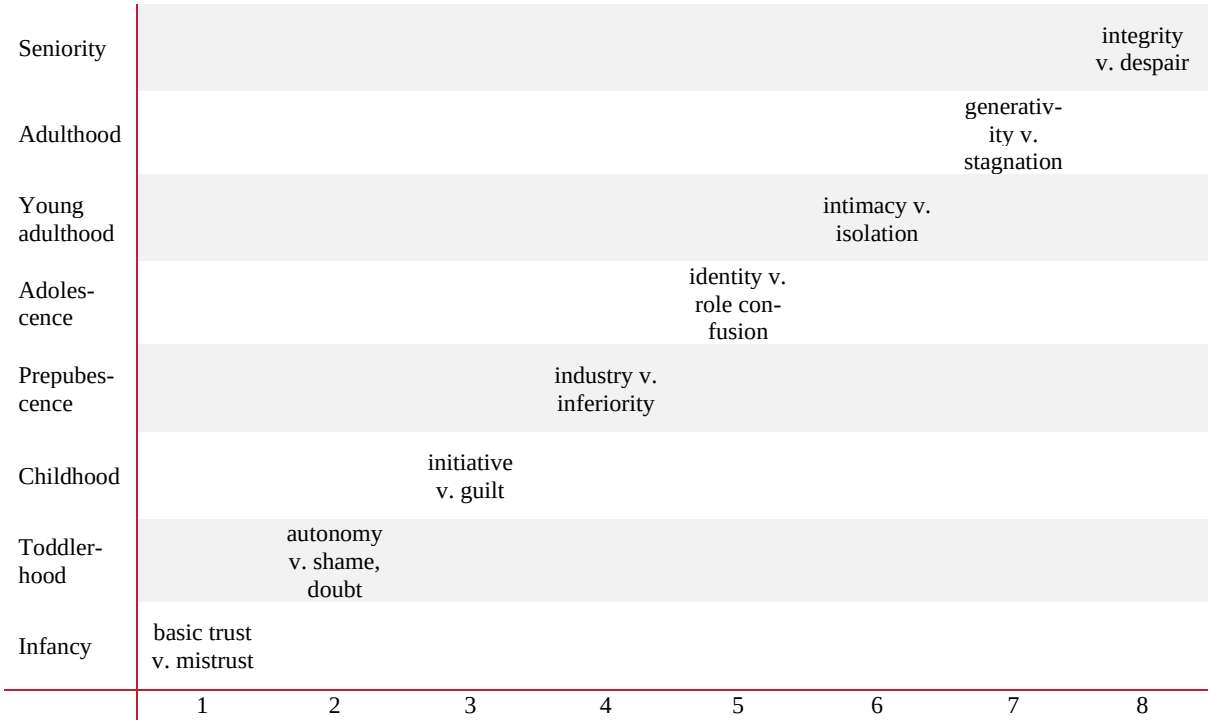

Fig. 1. Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development Relative to His Eight Ages of Man. Source: Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (Vintage Books, 1995), fig. 12, p. 245.

Consequently, an individual may not necessarily retain a sense of basic trust (the "positive" force in the first developmental stage) throughout his life, as basic mistrust (its opposing force) is in continuous and dynamic opposition to it—even after resolution of the given crisis.

Nonetheless, there are still lasting outcomes of successfully resolving a crisis because doing so yields a basic virtue and strength that the individual carries throughout his life.

Stage 1: Trust v. Mistrust

During the first age of infancy, Erikson argues, the infant is confronted with a crisis of basic social trust versus basic social mistrust in his own existence. Basic trust manifests itself in the infant's "willingness to let the mother out of sight without undue anxiety or rage, because she has become an inner certainty as well as an outer predictability" (Erikson 222). Successfully developing basic trust instils in the individual a sense of feeling all right and becoming what others trust one will become. Doing so further yields the basic virtue of hope and builds the strength of drive in the individual.

Stage 2: Autonomy v. Shame and Doubt

Toddlerhood is a time of muscular maturation in which the toddler is both literally and figuratively encouraged to "stand on his own feet", which brings with it certain autonomy. However, it also involves certain dangers and leaves the toddler open to experiences of shame and doubt. For "shame", Erikson argues, "supposes that one is completely exposed and conscious of being looked at", and it exploits a newly developed sense of "being small" that comes with the ability to stand upright and consequently notice "the relative measures of size and power" (227). It is thus a conflict between autonomy and shame and doubt that faces the individual at this stage. Successful resolution of this conflict provides him with a sense of self-control, and "from a sense of self-control without loss of self-esteem comes a lasting sense of good will and pride" (Erikson 228). It is thus the basic virtue of willpower and the strength of self-control the individual may acquire at this second stage.

Stage 3: Initiative v. Guilt

The conflict to be resolved in the third developmental stage during childhood is one between initiative and guilt. For the growing child, every locomotory and mental advance brings with it much to explore and unfold as well as new hope and responsibility; "such is the sense and the pervading quality of initiative", Erikson argues (229). Initiative adds to the newly explored autonomy "the quality of undertaking, planning and "attacking" a task for the sake of being active and on the move" (Erikson 229). Conversely, the child risks overstimulating himself if his contemplated initiative to undertake a myriad of new exploratory tasks proves too great for

his actual mental or locomotory capacity, and failed contemplated initiative gives rise to a sense of guilt. Successfully regulating the two opposing forces evokes a lasting sense of direction and the basic virtue of purpose in the child.

Stage 4: Industry v. Inferiority

During the fourth age of prepubescence, where the child "becomes ready to apply himself to given skills and tasks which go far beyond the playful expression of his organ modes or the pleasure in the function of his limbs", he develops a sense of industry and must apply himself to the tool world (Erikson 233). If he succeeds in doing so, he will gain the basic virtue of competence and develop a methodical strength. If he instead despairs his skills and tools, he will come to feel inferior as he becomes discouraged to enter the tool world. Thus, the child must resolve a conflict between industry and inferiority at this fourth and consequential stage.

Stage 5: Identity v. Role Confusion

At the onset of puberty, the growing youth, now faced with a "physiological revolution within [him], and with tangible adult tasks ahead of [him]", becomes increasingly concerned both with how he appears in the eyes of his peers compared with his own sense of self and with how he may connect his previously acquired skills with the occupational roles available to him in his particular society and economy (Erikson 235). As such, adolescence is not only a time of searching for an occupational identity but also a time of discovering social values to guide it by and ideals and idols with which to guard it. The adolescent thus undertakes a search for a sense of ego identity to bridge the gap between childhood and adulthood. He may, however, find himself struggling to settle on an occupational identity, which potentially leads first to overidentification and ultimately to the complete loss of identity. At this fifth stage, the opposing forces of identity and role confusion must thereby be reconciled. A favourable resolution of the crisis at hand instils in the adolescent a lasting devotion and yields to him the basic virtue of fidelity—attributes that are immensely helpful in the conflicts of the subsequent stages during which that very identity is tested and evaluated in different ways. It is thus a most crucial stage of psychosocial development.

Stage 6: Intimacy v. Isolation

Upon the immersive search for identity, the individual, now a young adult, is ready for intimacy in the sense that he "is eager and willing to fuse his identity with that of others" (Erikson 237).

However, this involves a risk of ego-loss since intimate and close affiliations sometimes require some level of self-abandon in the form, for instance, of compromises or acts of solidarity, Erikson argues. It is thereby the task of the young adult at this sixth developmental stage to perform risk assessments of intimate affiliations that call for self-abandon before running the risk of ego-loss. The risk of ego-loss inherent in intimacy may seem too great to some young adults who might develop a fear of it—a fear that might force them to avoid intimate experiences to shield them from it and, in turn, isolate them completely. If a young adult learns when to run the risks of ego-loss in favour of intimacy, thus resolving this sixth conflict successfully, he gains strength in terms of affiliation and acquires the basic virtue of love.

Stage 7: Generativity v. Stagnation

Once the individual has settled on an identity and learnt to fuse it with the identities of others in intimate relationships, he develops a growing concern to "establishing and guiding [*sic.*] the next generation" either by way of his or others' children (Erikson 240). Therefore, a task of generativity faces him on this penultimate stage of development, which lasts until he reaches seniority. If the individual succeeds in obtaining generativity, his person is strengthened by a sense of production and the basic virtue of care.

Stage 8: Ego Integrity v. Despair

Upon reaching seniority, the individual faces the eighth and final psychosocial crisis, which involves general reflection and evaluation of one's personal development and life up until that point. Such reflection includes, for instance, an evaluation of the extent of "the ego's accrued assurance of its proclivity for order and meaning" and the extent to which one accepts one's life cycle as something that has been both inevitable and nonexpendable (Erikson 241). In other words, it is a conflict regarding an individual's sense of overall integrity of his ego that faces him in seniority.

Consequently, the successful resolution of this final conflict depends on how favourably or unfavourably the seven antecedent crises have been resolved:

> Only in him who in some way has taken care of things and people and has adapted himself to the triumphs and disappointments adherent to being, the originator of others or the generator of products and ideas – only in him may gradually ripen the fruit of these seven stages. I know no better word for it than ego integrity. (Erikson 241)

According to Erikson, then, a sense of ego integrity, and thus also the strength and basic virtue of renunciation and wisdom, can only be obtained by someone who has resolved the antecedent crises successfully and therefore gained the strengths and virtues necessary to its obtainment.

Modern Challenges to Identity

While Erikson's theory on psychosocial development proved groundbreaking in identity studies, among other fields, it should be read as a product of its time. Since its publication in 1950, the field has continued to expand and adapt to the abrupt societal changes brought about by late modernity in the 20th century, which posed several challenges and added salience to its subject. One of the theorists who has contributed to this expansion and adaptation is Anthony Giddens.

In his pivotal *Modernity and Self-Identity* from 1991, Giddens poses his theory that identity development becomes an ongoing reflexive project of evolvement and sustainment in conditions of late modernity. This is due to the fact that late modernity—which Giddens argues is analogous to the industrialised, capitalist world with institutions of surveillance in place and the means of violence under tight control—has far-reaching implications for modern social life, including personal life and self-identity. According to Giddens, this is because conditions of late modernity make possible (1) the separation and subsequent recombination of time and space; (2) the disembedding of social institutions, meaning an upending of social relations from their local contexts and their rearticulation via symbolic tokens or expert systems; and (3) thoroughgoing reflexivity that arises when social life is propelled away from pre-established practices.

In turn, modern social life becomes highly dynamic, enforcing on its subjects an active and "acute version of a process of 'finding oneself'" (Giddens 12). As such, modernity forces its subjects to reflect on and interpret their way of life on a day-to-day basis whenever making decisions about, for instance, behaviour, presentation, and lifestyle. Thus, identity becomes a reflexive project that must be routinely created and sustained, comparable to a lived biography "organised in terms of flows of social and psychological information about possible ways of life" by which the self can be reflexively understood (Giddens 14).

Identity development, according to Giddens, is thereby synonymous with "the capacity *to keep a particular narrative going*" and to communicate that to those around oneself (54). In order to sustain the narrative, it must be coherent and rooted in reality, integrating real-life events into it and relating those to and interpreting them in terms of the self.

The Hybridity of (Post)Colonial Identity

If the reflexive narrative of the self must be rooted in reality, it must also come to terms with the challenges to its development and sustainment inherent in conditions of (post)colonialism). (Post)colonial conditions are marked by the clear and persistent legacy of colonial rule, resulting from the discursive nature of the colonial project which constructs a hegemonic discourse in and about the colonised nations, Edward Said argues in his monumental book from 1978, *Orientalism*. As a consequence of many years of colonial rule, the colonising powers have thus had significant influence in dictating global culture. As will be described presently, Said thus exposes the profound impact of the hegemonic colonial rule on the development of a (post)colonial identity, particularly for individuals that belong to nations once colonised. However, before diving into Said's theory on the lasting effects of colonialism on (post)colonial identity, I must first turn to another issue of a more terminological nature; if the peoples once colonised are still confronted with the legacy of colonial rule, can there ever really be such a thing as a *post*colonial condition, that is, a condition *beyond* colonialism?

Beyond Colonialism?

Recently, there has been increasing debate over the legitimacy of the notion of a *post*colonial condition, seeing as the colonial legacy persists in nations once colonised long after the formal abolishment of their colonial systems. Numerous terms have been used to refer to the condition beyond formal colonialism, ranging from *post(-)colonialism* to the more radical *colonialism* or *domestic imperialism*. However, I find that most of these terms fail to capture the paradoxical nature of the condition to which they refer. *Post(-)colonialism,* for instance, insists on a condition beyond colonialism, the existence of which I partly deny. On the other hand, *colonialism* takes for granted the different historical contexts and circumstances of the era of formal colonialism and the era following its theoretical abolishment.

It is because of this inherent paradoxicality that I adopt and employ Chadwick Allen's term *(post)colonial* in the present study to characterise and refer to the condition under which, for instance, Māori live in present-day Aotearoa/New Zealand, which was under official British

colonial rule between 1840 and 1947.[5] The term captures not only the paradoxicality but also the distinctiveness of the historical contexts of colonialism and conditions beyond it. For a more thoroughgoing discussion of this term, please refer to Allen's critical reflection in his influential book *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*.

Orientalist Discourse

The cultural hegemony of the coloniser of which Said speaks, he refers to as *orientalism,* alluding to the colonised Orient, comprising Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East, which he studies in his book.[6] Orientalism, he argues, is "ultimately a political vision of reality", essentially a hegemonic discourse, "whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (43). Therefore, the Orient was defined in binary opposition to the West as a primitive, exotic, and inferior Other, which reinforced the position of the Western culture as superior and "normal". By its unchallenged centrality as coloniser and the hegemony of orientalist discourse, the West thus created and defined the Oriental world in Western terms while effectively taking away the Orient's ability to represent and define itself.

Because the superior position and cultural hegemony of the West relative to the Orient were reinforced and thus unchallenged by virtue of the hegemonic orientalist discourse, Said claims that "ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without their force, or more precisely their figurations of power, also being studied" (5). He thereby

[5] While it is officially recognised that Aotearoa/New Zealand was under British colonial rule from the issuance of the Charter for Erecting the Colony of New Zealand in 1840 to the New Zealand Parliament's late enactment of the 1931 Statute of Westminster in 1947 ("NZ Officially British"; "Statute of Westminster Enacted"), it can be argued that the period is even longer. Although no other official document claims it as a colony before 1840, several European explorers reached its coastline prior to this, some of whom used the islands as a base for further exploration, while others settled there. Others still sought to convert the indigenous Māori to Christianity. No matter the purpose, all voyagers brought with them and thus exposed the indigenous Māori to their Western customs and ideologies, thus arguably commencing the process of colonisation earlier than officially recognised (see, for instance, Wilson; King 45–48; and Derby). Similarly, although the enactment of the Statute of Westminster officially granted Aotearoa/New Zealand legislative independence from London, it was not until 1986 that it gained political independence with the Constitution Act and 2003 that it gained judicial independence with the Supreme Court Act. Additionally, Aotearoa/New Zealand has remained part of the Commonwealth and under the British Crown, and Māori still suffer the consequences of "legislation, policies, actions or omissions of the Crown that are alleged to breach the promises" made in the Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi ("About the Tribunal"). It can therefore be argued that the British colonisation continued beyond 1947—perhaps even beyond 2003.

[6] Although Said operates with a definition of the Orient as the indigenous nations of Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East, the term can broadly be understood as any nation once colonised by Western powers, including, of course, the Māori nation of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

urges the (post)colonial researcher to maintain awareness of exactly that and, by extension, how the cultural texts he studies relate to an orientalist discourse, whether they accept and thereby support it or reject and thereby contest it.

In case the (post)colonial researcher is himself a Westerner, it is crucial that he also considers his own actuality, because "to be a European or an American in such a situation … meant and means being aware, however dimly, that one belongs to a power with definite interests in the Orient, and more importantly, that one belongs to a part of the earth with a definite history of involvement in the Orient" (Said 11).[7]

Said's argument that colonialism has a clear and persistent legacy that must be taken into account when doing (post)colonial research proved foundational of the academic field of (post)colonial theory, the aim of which is to inquire into said legacy. While it is generally agreed that Said's theory was groundbreaking for (post)colonial research, it has been deemed much too simplistic due to its binary opposition between the Western coloniser and the Oriental colonised. Among these critical voices is Homi K. Bhabha, who claims that the (post)colonial condition is hybrid and ambivalent rather than binary and homogeneous, rendering (post)colonial identity a highly complex construct.

A Hybrid and Ambivalent Identity Construct

Unlike Said, who speaks of a binary relation between the homogeneous and superior Western coloniser and the homogenous and inferior colonised, Bhabha recognises a third space "in-between the designations of identity" produced by cultural differences between coloniser and colonised (5). The capacities of this third space, he argues, is the conceptualisation of "an *inter*national culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism", which is analogous to the Saidian orientalist discourse, "or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's *hybridity*", which has no assumed or imposed hierarchy (Bhabha 56). Consequently, there is no such thing as pure "Britishness" or "Māoriness", for hybridity creates new

[7] On this note, there should be no doubt that I, a Western researcher of Māori (post)colonial identity construction, am acutely aware of my own actuality. Because of my position as an outsider—and a Western one at that—it is crucial that I maintain this awareness throughout. Consequently, I draw upon both etic and emic scholarship, the latter of which I will present in the section Aspects of Māori Identity of this second chapter. I thus lean on those who have a far better understanding and more visceral experience of the (post)colonial condition and its influence on identity construction, which helps me resist any orientalist discourse I might impose on my research and bring to the forefront the perspective of the colonised and not just that of the coloniser. Similarly, I have made a point to analyse cultural texts produced by an author with personal affiliations to the (post)colonial culture under investigation.

transcultural forms that combine the native and the settler culture within the colonial third space.

This hybridity is, in turn, a feature of an inherent ambivalence of the colonial presence, as it is "split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference", Bhabha claims (153). Accordingly, the relationship between coloniser and colonised is disturbed, and the distinct authority of the coloniser is undermined. The hybridity and ambivalence inherent in colonial presence thus reveal its paradoxical nature; if (post)colonial cultures are hybrid and the relationship between the colonial subjects ambivalent, then the argument that the culture of the coloniser is superior to that of the colonised and, by extension, the entire colonial mission, which aims to "naturalise" the colonised culture in terms of the coloniser culture, falls apart. The colonial mission, which is ambivalent and hybrid by nature, thus carries the seeds to its own destruction.

To circumvent this otherwise inevitable downfall, the colonial presence attempts to stabilise the hybrid and ambivalent condition by enhancing and maintaining the cultural superiority of the coloniser and the inferiority of the colonised by way of a colonial, orientalist discourse "in order to justify conquest and to establish [and maintain] systems of administration and instruction", Bhabha asserts (101). The coloniser thus expresses a "desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha 122)—or, if based on racial difference as it most often is, "almost the same, but not white" (Bhabha 128). One of the most effective tools to help the colonial presence satisfy this desire is to opt not for complete "naturalisation" of the colonised in terms of its own culture but for mimicry of it.

The colonial mission, therefore, changes, aiming instead to make the colonised adopt the language, clothes, values, and habits of the coloniser, ideally creating, for instance, "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect", as British councilman on the Supreme Council of India, Thomas Babington Macaulay, put it in 1835 (34). As Said argues, the colonised identity thus comes to be defined in terms of the coloniser. Although somewhat "naturalised" to minimise the difference between them, the colonised will therefore only ever be almost the same as the superior coloniser—but not quite/white and thus forever inferior.

It is in the face of this thoroughgoing ambivalence that the (post)colonial individual is tasked with constructing a hybrid and transcultural identity by attempting to combine his native culture with the settler culture without abandoning either of them, always urged to mimic and

become more like his settler but never able to become quite like him, and as such never really able to settle into a single identity.

However, it is worth noting that Bhabha insists on a shared (post)colonial condition across nations once colonised. He thus operates with a generalised concept that ignores any specificities of the different cultural situations across the globe. Consequently, a study of any specific (post)colonial culture within a Bhabhan framework necessitates knowledge about and awareness of that specific (post)colonial and cultural context. An investigation of Māori identity constructions thus calls for an inquiry into the specifically Māori (post)colonial experience to which I will now turn.

Aspects of Māori Identity

Recently, the specifically Māori (post)colonial experience has been subject to further research concurrently with increasing calls to reverse assimilatory and colonial effects on Māori. This increasing focus has, for instance, resulted in the legal recognition of many (but still not all) Treaty rights under the Waitangi Tribunal, established in 1975 to rectify injustices inflicted on the basis of discrepancies between the Māori and English texts of the Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi,[8] the founding document of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Nevertheless, many Māori emphasise that "no policies or interventions meant to benefit Māori as a social group will be effective if the unique cultural needs and identity of Māori people are not accommodated effectively" (Houkamau and Sibley, "Multi-Dimensional Model" 10). Consequently, many inquiries into the uniquely Māori cultural needs and identity have been undertaken in recent decades. This recent scholarship has aimed to, on the one hand, distinguish Māori experiences from non-Māori experiences and, on the other, provide an empirical base on which policies and programmes of cultural, social, and economic Māori advancement to amend the effects that many years of colonial and assimilatory marginalisation has had.

The Tree of Māori Experience

One such inquiry has been undertaken by Māori scholar Mason H. Durie. Unlike research prior to his, which he argues has "been used for quite specific purposes" and consequently "failed to

[8] For more information regarding the discrepancies between the two texts, compare the Tribunal's own translation of the Māori text into English with the original texts available on "Treaty of Waitangi" and explained on "Differences between the Texts".

make provision for links and relationships between culture, individual and group dynamics, change over time and socio-economic standing" (464), his Hoe Nuku Roa (the paddle necessary to power the vessel on a long journey)[9] framework for Māori identity measurement provides "a more comprehensive profile of Māori" by making such links and investigating the relationship between them (464).

Durie's framework encompasses three levels of inquiry, which he likens to a tree. It inquires into ngā pūtake (the roots) of experience in which he identifies four axes. Several indicators can be applied to each of these roots relating to choice, access, participation, satisfaction, information and knowledge, and aspirations. From the roots, ngā peka (the branches) take form in the shape of fourteen subsets. On the branches, ngā rau (the leaves) spring, each signifying a focused area of inquiry (see Table 3 for an overview of Durie's framework).

Ngā pūtake: axes	Ngā peka: subsets	Ngā rau: focused areas of inquiry
Human relationships	Individual Family Household Extended family	Household roles and relationships Family cohesion Interdependence
Māori identity	Personal identity Cultural heritage Natural resources Māori institutions	Ethnic affiliation Language Tikanga (customs and practices) Land Fisheries Forests Environment Marae (communal meeting house) Hapū (subtribal) activities Iwi (tribal) links
Socio-economic circumstances	Well-being Societal standing Economic position	Health Education Housing Employment Lifestyle Income
Change over time	Changing household dynamics Shift in cultural identity Altered circumstances	Mobility Stability Realisation of aspirations Vulnerability Impact of external factors New groupings

Table 3. Durie's Three Levels of Inquiry into Māori Identity and Experience. Source: Mason H. Durie, "Te Hoe Nuku Roa Framework: A Maori Identity Measure" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 104(4), 1995), table 5, p. 469.

[9] Te Hoe Nuku Roa alludes to an ancient karakia (incantation) recited before a long journey by making reference to the "paddle" necessary to power the waka (canoe) by means of which the journey is undertaken (Durie 461).

From this multi-axial structure, a lengthy quantifiable questionnaire is developed for self-identified Māori to respond to in three-yearly intervals, whose answers, Durie argues, "will give meaning to 'being Māori' in the 1990s and beyond" (468).

Durie's multi-axial framework sheds light on numerous aspects central to Māori identification and the intrinsic relationship between them as well as the complexity of Māori identity and the vast diversity within the Māori social group. Nevertheless, it fails to provide a measure with which the subjective aspect of Māori identification—that is, what "being" Māori entails for each Māori individual—can be assessed. The missing subjective dimension is what Carla A. Houkamau and Chris G. Sibley set out to account for and assess with their multidimensional model of Māori identity.

Seven Dimensions of Māori Identity

Part of a much broader study of attitudes and values in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the NZAVS—also curated by Sibley—which aims to "track changes in various social psychological and health factors" in more than 60,000 New Zealanders, including both Māori and Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) ("NZ Attitudes and Values"), Houkamau and Sibley's Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE) seeks to provide a comprehensive profile of Māori. They intend for this profile to be used foundationally in policymaking and programme planning to promote Māori advancement and well-being. Like Te Hoe Nuku Roa, the MMM-ICE is based on an exhaustive self-report questionnaire that repeat respondents take annually (Houkamau and Sibley's questionnaire has been appended, see Appendix). Both models reflect a multifaceted concept of Māori identification with several dimensions, all of which relate intrinsically to each other and are identifiable through a self-report questionnaire.

Analogous to Durie, and echoing both Erikson and Giddens in terms that identity construction is a lifelong developmental and self-reflexive feat, Houkamau and Sibley position identity "as a multidimensional feature of self experience, made up of self-conceptions and self-images which are stored schematically in a representational network", meaning that "individuals have objective dimensions of identity … that accumulate over the course of a lifetime and specify who they are and what that means as a member of society in different contexts" ("Multi-Dimensional Model" 11). Moreover, the specifically Māori concept of the self differs significantly from any Western concept, they argue, as it is inextricably linked to interpersonal relationships and its social and cultural context. Consequently, they define Māori identity as

"constituting those aspects of the self-concept (including beliefs/values/attitudes) that pertain to 'who' a person is as Māori, how they 'fit in' with others in the social world and what that means in terms of behaviour" ("Multi-Dimensional Model" 12).

Informed by both international and national qualitative research on the matter as well as lived experiences, including both their own and those of other Māori, Houkamau and Sibley initially identified six such aspects or dimensions that, after intensive testing, have been proven to be essential for Māori identity. These subscales relate to group membership evaluation (GME), socio-political consciousness (SPC), cultural efficacy and active identity engagement (CEAIE), spirituality (S), interdependent self-concept (ISC), and authenticity beliefs (AB), respectively. Upon further testing, they revised the model in 2015, adding a seventh controversial dimension relating to perceived appearance (PA) and aptly renaming the model to the MMM-ICE(2). Refer to Table 4 for an overview of the construct definitions for these seven dimensions.

The last subscale is controversial, seeing as "race-based blood quantum measurements … fell out of favour in New Zealand in the 1980s as they were seen as a problematic remnant of colonial discourses and pro-assimilation policies", nor have Māori historically specified limits to the "amount" of Māori ancestry required to be classified as such (Houkamau and Sibley, "Revised Model" 283). Nevertheless, Houkamau and Sibley argue that "ascription of identity based on perceived appearance is undeniable", basing their argument on data revealing the significant impact that appearance has on how people are treated and thereby how they experience their identity ("Revised Model" 283).

Each subscale can be assessed by the respondents' answers to those questions in the questionnaire that load on to that particular scale. The MMM-ICE(2) thereby provides a means with which the subjective aspect of Māori identification—what "being" Māori entails for a specific individual—can be evaluated.

Rather than attempting to fill out the MMM-ICE(2) self-report questionnaire on behalf of Witi Ihimaera in the following analysis and subsequently evaluating the answers—a feat which goes against Houkamau and Sibley's intention anyhow—the dimensions of their model will be operationalised as points of reference. They will be operationalised within the broader framework provided by Erikson, Giddens, Said, and Bhabha, as has been described in this chapter. This makes possible an investigation into Witi Ihimaera's (post)colonial Māori identity as constructed in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* through a close reading, which will be conducted in the following chapter.

Group Membership Evaluation (GME)
The extent to which the individual positively evaluates their membership in the social category Māori and views their membership as Māori as a personally important or central aspect of their self-concept.
Socio-Political Consciousness (SPC)
The extent to which the individual perceives historical factors as being of continued importance for understanding contemporary intergroup relations between Māori and other ethnic groups in New Zealand *and* the extent to which the individual is engaged in promoting and defending Māori rights.
Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement (CEAIE)
The extent to which the individual perceives that they have the personal resources required to engage appropriately with other Māori in Māori social and cultural contexts.
Spirituality (S)
The extent to which the individual is engaged with, and has a belief in, certain Māori concepts of spirituality and a strong spiritual attachment and feeling of connectedness with the land.
Interdependent Self-Concept (ISC)
The extent to which the concept of the self-as-Māori is defined by virtue of relationships with other Māori people.
Authenticity Beliefs (AB)
The extent to which the individual believes that to be a 'real' or 'authentic' member of the social category Māori one must display specific (stereotypical) features, knowledge and behaviour.[10]
Perceived Appearance (PA)
The extent to which the individual subjectively evaluates their appearance as having clear and visible features that signal their ethnicity and ancestry as Māori (or high Māori prototypicality).

Table 4. Construct Definitions for the Seven Dimensions of Māori Identity. Source: Carla A. Houkamau and Chris G. Sibley, "The Revised Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE2)" (*Social Indicators Research*, 122 (1), 2015), table 1, p. 281.

[10] This, the authors argue, often reflects definitions and ideas by Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) regarding Māori and thus represents orientalist discourse, which further proves its enormous impact on those affected by it ("Revised Model" 283–284).

3

Witi Ihimaera's (Post)Colonial Māori Identity

In this chapter, the investigation into Witi Ihimaera's construction of his (post)colonial Māori identity in his novels *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer* is conducted. The investigation is pursued through a close reading of the two novels within the theoretical framework provided in the preceding chapter, and it is thematically structured into four parts, each of which—enlightened by the theoretical framework—focuses on an aspect Ihimaera defines as key to his identity construction through his novels. The first part focuses on the splitting and conflicting effect of the (post)colonial condition on his identity, which Ihimaera explores and reflects on in his novels. The second part addresses Ihimaera's focus on coming to terms with the colonial legacy so that he can redefine his Māori identity in the face of (post)colonialism, and the third focuses on how he redefines it and what dimensions he depicts as central to it. The last part addresses the resistance inherent in his redefined identity and his critical reflections on the (post)colonial condition. However, before diving into the analysis, a brief summary of Ihimaera's Mahana family odyssey, as recounted in his novels *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*, is provided.

The Mahana Odyssey

Like most of his works, Witi Ihimaera's odyssey of the Mahana family, as recounted in *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*, is semi-factual and semi-biographical. Waituhi, the village in which the narrative is rooted, and the iwi (tribes) and whānau (family groups) mentioned throughout, for instance, exist, and Ihimaera himself has affiliations to them. Their versions in the odyssey, however, are merely fictive recreations of their real counterparts. Moreover, he has consulted several sources to recount the correct histories and whakapapa (genealogy) significant to his narrative, and the narrative, he says, "reflects [his] own personal involvement in the tumultuous years of Maori protest during the 1970s" (*Matriarch* 446). As such, the narrative of the odyssey is, to a large extent, analogous to Ihimaera's personal narrative.

The Matriarch, published in 1986, recounts Tamatea Mahana's investigation into the whakapapa, legend, and mysterious power of his late grandmother, the matriarch Riripeti/Artemis Mahana, whose destiny "to bring about the Pākehā's [New Zealander of European descent] destruction" and Māori sovereignty has been passed down to him (Millar, "Matriarch"). His search and attempt to fulfil the shared destiny of him and his grandmother continues in *The Dream Swimmer*, published in 1997, but he is challenged by the intersecting fate of his mother, which he too must come to understand. To understand both his grandmother's—and thus his own—destiny as well as his mother's, Tamatea goes back five generations in his family history, referencing both Māori cosmology and mythology, the Book of Exodus, the Parliamentary Hansard, and Aotearoa/New Zealand's colonial history. As part of his investigation, he thus explores a much broader history of settlement and (post)colonialism from a Māori perspective, making explicit its lasting and devastating legacy on the Māori nation and colonised nations worldwide. In the process, he gains knowledge of his grandmother and mother—and, in turn, himself— finally achieving a stable sense of identity and finding his place in the world from where he can become tangata whenua (person of the land).[11]

I Am at War with Myself

Exploring the Effects of (Post)Colonial Hybridity

With Tamatea's investigation and immersion into his whakapapa (genealogy) and Māori identity at the heart of the Mahana odyssey, Ihimaera spends quite some time on the dynamics of the character's conflictual descendance, exploring the doubling and ambivalent effect this has on his self. He thus essentially explores and exemplifies the effects of Bhabha's theoretical claim that the (post)colonial condition with its hybridity and ambivalence constantly challenges the identity development and sustainment of its colonial subjects.

Riripeti/Artemis is descended from,[12] on the one side, English whaler, trader, and farmer Thomas Halbert and, on the other side, Māori rebel leader and preacher Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki. These two lines of ethnic descendance are in conflict with each other; the Halbert descendance is representative of the Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) coloniser, whose destruction Riripeti/Artemis and Tamatea are fated to bring about, while the

[11] Refer to the section Tangata Whenua: People of the Land of chapter 1 for further information about the term.
[12] Riripeti/Artemis and Tamatea's whakapapa is, in fact, Ihimaera's own, meaning that Tamatea's exploration of his identity through an investigation and immersion into his whakapapa essentially becomes analogous to Ihimaera's exploration into his own identity.

descendance from Te Kooti is representative of the Māori rebellion against Pākehā, which they are fated to lead. "This was the flux of Riripeti's world", Ihimaera writes, "a world being pressed upon by a Pakeha thumb, pushing on the tattooed temple and relentlessly cracking and crushing the skull" (*Matriarch* 66). Riripeti/Artemis struggles to mediate this conflict, consequentially suffering from it, as it leads to hatred, even physical intolerance, of that part of her self. She likens her Pākehā descendance to poison, stating that if she could, she "would suck every bit of his [the Pākehā's] blood out of [her] veins" (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 293).

Tamatea has fuelled this inner conflict by marrying interracially. In his marriage, he too feels caught between the two worlds and families, struggling to balance them; "this had always been the great tension between us [him and his wife]", he admits, reflecting on how his wife Regan feels their lives are "too much weighted toward the Mahana family and not enough to Regan's. Too much towards the Maori and not enough to the Pakeha" (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 50).

Adding fuel to Riripeti/Artemis and Tamatea's inner conflicts due to their inharmonious whakapapa and Tamatea's interracial marriage, Thomas Halbert's son of his fourth Māori wife and Riripeti/Artemis' granduncle and guardian, Wī Pere, was on the opposing side of Te Kooti's rebellion. Wī Pere was a passionate advocate of Māori land rights and became only the fourth and sixth Eastern Māori parliamentary representative since the establishment of four such Māori electorate seats in 1867 (Sullivan 1). Te Kooti, like Wī Pere, also fought for Māori land rights. However, unlike Wī Pere, who did so from within the Pākehā system, Te Kooti fought outside it as a vigilante. Initially, he and his followers protested to tribal land confiscations by stealing cattle, pigs, and horses from Pākehā farmers on tribal land, but they soon escalated to killing anyone they regarded as pro-government and, by extension, pro-Pākehā—including even Māori. In his parliamentary function, Wī Pere was frequently sent to settle disputes in his electoral district, and so he was sent to Te Kooti's stronghold, where he was met with threats to his life and only narrowly escaped.

Nevertheless, even though Wī Pere and Te Kooti were on opposing sides, they both sought the same thing: to regain Māori sovereignty. They merely did so by adopting very different and conflictual approaches, ironically placing them in direct opposition to each other. As mentioned, Wī Pere, on the one hand, sought to do so from within the Pākehā system, taking a pragmatic and dialectic approach and aiming to create a biracial (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand in which Māori and Pākehā would be able to live as equals with reciprocal respect for one another. On the other hand, Te Kooti sought to do so from outside of the Pākehā system, taking a more activistic and eventually militaristic approach and ultimately aiming to create a

(post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand where only its indigenous Māori inhabitants would live As such, the relationship between the two is marked not only by conflict but also ambivalence.

The same dynamic is found between Riripeti/Artemis and her successor Tamatea. They, too, seem to have inharmonious (post)colonial ideals, and therefore, like their ancestors, they also take conflictual approaches to accomplish their destined goal. On the one side, Riripeti/Artemis, echoing Te Kooti, believes that Māori sovereignty cannot be gained while Pākehā reside in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Therefore, she advocates for an activistic and, if necessary, militaristic approach. On the other side, Tamatea follows in Wī Pere's footsteps. In his function as one of only a few Māori diplomats at Foreign Affairs, working to "create a Maori perspective on New Zealand's relationships internationally" as well as eliminate racial discrimination and support decolonisation internationally, he advocates for a more pragmatic and dialectic approach to obtaining Māori sovereignty on equal terms with Pākehā (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 242). Despite their shared goal, Tamatea is thus in conflictual yet ambivalent opposition to his grandmother Riripeti/Artemis and his ancestor Te Kooti because of their inharmonious (post)colonial ideals.

At the same time, however, Tamatea feels obliged and honoured to walk in his grandmother's footsteps, constantly striving to make her proud and do her legacy justice, which further pronounces the ambivalence of his whakapapa and serves as a testament to his conflictual descendance. Both he and Riripeti/Artemis are thus torn between the opposing and ambivalent forces within their whakapapa and, by extension, their selves.

The doubling effect manifests itself in the matriarch as well as Tamatea as an inner war, the signs of which have been visible since birth: "Possessed of Maori and Pakeha blood, Riripeti was born … She was already at war with herself. The midwife saw, at her birth, not only that eye swimming in blood. She saw also that Riripeti had her hands at her own throat as if attempting to strangle herself" (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 67). Tamatea was similarly born in a blood-storm with his own hands at his throat.

Furthermore, Regan, Tamatea's wife, attests to a personal war within him, as she suggests that their marriage—ironic as it is, considering Tamatea's fate—is symbolic of an inner, personal race war. Constantly at war with himself, Tamatea struggles to settle in his self. Instead, his self consists of two seemingly irreconcilable identities, which he verbalises in his reflection on the plane back to Wellington after the tangi (funeral ceremony) of his grandfather: "As always, I felt a sense of disorientation about leaving. Departing one world and going to another. Leaving the past behind and going forward into the future. Departing home, the Waituhi Valley. Going home, Wellington" (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 422).

Making an example of the conflictual and inharmonious whakapapa of Riripeti/Artemis and Tamatea, Ihimaera thus exposes the clear and persistent colonial legacy and its consequential doubling and ambivalent effects on the colonised.

We Are Almost the Same—but Not Quite

Coming to Terms with the Status Quo

Not only does Ihimaera explore and exemplify the Bhaban thesis of hybridity and ambivalence. He also comments on the centrality of colonial mimicry in (post)colonial conditions and proves how it strengthens the prevalent hybridity, further complicating the identity development and sustainment of its colonial subjects. At the same time, however, he also shows how colonial subjects can use it to their advantage to mock or potentially completely undermine their coloniser by coming to terms with it.

When Riripeti/Artemis explains Tamatea how some Māori handled the continued sale of tribal land to Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) at their own expense by learning from and reshaping their ventures "like unto that of the Pākehā"—as a Rev. T.S. Grace described it (qtd. in Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 67)— in the 1850s and thus instead take part in and gain from the trade, she asks him to interrogate that very phrase: "like unto that of the Pākehā". She asks this of him because there is an inherent inequity in it, she says, for "the Pakeha did not want the Maori to be equal. In the 1860s they did not wish the establishment of anti-selling land leagues throughout Aotearoa. Nor did they view the setting up of a Maori King in the Waikato as anything but an affront to their British monarch" (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 67). With this, she exposes the true colonial mission of Pākehā as the safeguarding of the continued marginalisation of its colonial Māori subjects by encouraging them to mimic their coloniser and making them think that they are almost the same as them, almost their equals—but not quite (for they are not white).

Moreover, she explains to him how the true colonial mission created a conflictual divide in the Māori social group and thus the Māori experience and identity; some fell for the Pākehā act and claim of potential Māori–Pākehā equality—provided, of course, that Māori modelled their lives like unto that of the Pākehā—while others saw right through it:

> the Maori of Poverty Bay and the East Coast were already divided into those who were pro-Pakeha and those who were anti-Pakeha. It was the Maori with his hands around his own neck. The Pakeha convinced some Maori that it was still possible to come to

> advantageous terms with settler and government about Maori needs. They turned those tribes sympathetic to Pakeha against those who wanted to lead a total resistance against the Pakeha. (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 85)

As such, she claims that Pākehā maintain their dominance over Māori by making empty promises of potential equality, which turns the Māori social group against themselves and, by extension, fuels the hybridity and personal conflict by hindering the sustainment of a shared Māori experience and collective identity formation. This, in turn, reinforces the Pākehā dominance.

Moreover, she urges those Māori who have seen through the Pākehā act and are thus familiar with the true colonial mission to play along. "To fight the Pakeha", she says, "you must learn to be like him. You must become a Pakeha, think like him, act like him and, when you know you are in his image, then turn your knowledge to his destruction" (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 369). In other words, she urges to take the Pākehā tool of colonial mimicry and turn it into the Māori weapon of mockery.

Through Riripeti/Artemis' cautionary tale, Ihimaera thus exposes and comes to terms with the colonial mission and its lasting effect on the colonised Māori and prompts Māori to turn colonial mimicry into mockery to undermine that very mission.

By making such an exposure and encouragement in the form of a novel—traditionally a Western art form—and in the English language—the language of his coloniser—with but a few words and passages in te reo Māori (the Māori language) of which he has translated almost all into English, Ihimaera's mockery of his Pākehā coloniser is enhanced. He follows Riripeti/Artemis' order to "become a Pakeha" in order to "turn [his] knowledge to his destruction" and takes a direct stand on the issue rather than an indirect one through Riripeti/Artemis (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 369). Moreover, he makes his stand comprehensible for those very people against whom he takes it, making it even more powerful.

Conversely, at the same time, he manages to prove that Māori and Pākehā culture are not mutually exclusive; they can co-exist and even be harmoniously combined, to which he provides his novels as testament. Although he has conformed to the Western art form of the novel and narrates his story in the English language, he does so within a structural framework provided by oral and narrative Māori traditions and, in some passages, even in the rhythm of the Māori oratory.[13] Instead of keeping with Western tradition and shaping life into fiction

[13] See, for instance, the long passage in Ihimaera, *Matriarch* from "But, aue, what was this?" on p. 87 to "Rire, rire, hau, hau" on p. 88, which mimics the rhythm of both the Māori oratory and haka.

according to narrative or stylistic dictates, Ihimaera has kept with Māori tradition and let life guide his fiction. This has forced him, he reflects, "to accept the tribal, holistic, exponential and organic nature of our narratives" by letting one story stimulate the next, and the next, and so forth, in an "unending spiral" (*Dream Swimmer* 370). Consequently, he has "devised a structural framework for all the material, based on the Maori concept of the koru, or spiral" (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 444). The spiral framework also allows for the literal meaning of the central concept of whakapapa (genealogy), "to lay one thing upon another", to come forth as it enables the laying of one ancestor's story upon another, thus tying together all stories and making sense of them in the light of each other.

Nevertheless, Ihimaera operates with a distinctly Western narrative style and a distinctly Māori narrative style that will never quite become like unto that of each other. Even when combined in the hybrid that it is his odyssey, their distinctiveness remains.

For I am Māori

Defining Key Aspects of Māori Identity

Besides acknowledging the distinctiveness of Māori traditions from Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) traditions and thus the fact that Māori and Pākehā will never quite be alike, Ihimaera reveals what specific aspects distinguishes him as Māori from his Pākehā coloniser through his main character Tamatea. He essentially defines what he regards as key to his particular (post)colonial Māori identification, which can be evaluated in terms of the dimensions Houkamau and Sibley identify as key to Māori identification in general.

Whakapapa: Genealogy

One of the aspects Ihimaera attaches the most importance to as absolutely key to his Māori identity is his whakapapa (genealogy) and knowledge of it. In fact, as has been discussed in the preceding section, the entire narrative of his odyssey is structured by this very concept. Ihimaera thus depicts it as being not only the driving force of Māori history and experience but also the structural framework and foundation within and on which Māori identity is constructed.

Whakapapa binds all things and clarifies mythology, legend, history, knowledge, tikanga (customs), philosophies, and spiritualities so that they can be preserved and passed

down from generation to generation. Unresolved matters can be passed down as well, fating the living descendants to resolve them and thus giving them a sense of purpose and accountability to their tūpuna (ancestors). This is the case of Riripeti/Artemis and Tamatea's shared fate to reclaim for their iwi (tribe) their ancestral land, which has been passed down to them from their ancestors and which takes centre stage of the odyssey. Riripeti/Artemis explains to him that "the legacy is something that cannot be questioned. It is not anything about which you have choice. It is yours as much as it was mine and as much as it was our ancestors" (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 500). Tamatea thus finds himself accountable to his tūpuna for ensuring that the matter is resolved—if not in his lifetime, then in his successor Eretra's, or her successor's, and so forth. Such is the kaupapa (purpose; agenda), he explains Eretra; they must always "fight and keep on fighting until it is done, generation after generation" (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 498). In making whakapapa take centre stage of his odyssey, Ihimaera reveals its fundamental importance to his Māori identity.

Moreover, a large part—larger, in fact, than the main storyline—of the narrative consists of Riripeti/Artemis reciting and teaching Tamatea their whakapapa or him consulting it for guidance on his journey. When recalled and recited, whakapapa layers meaning onto the experience or situation of the present. "The past", Ihimaera explains through Tamatea, is thus "not something that lies behind us. The past is before us", guiding the present into the future, binding them together, and layering meaning onto each other with which to make sense of oneself and one's place and purpose in the world (*Dream Swimmer* 498).

Furthermore, as mentioned in the preceding section, Ihimaera has structured his narrative based on the koru (spiral), spiralling between characters, places, and temporal spaces, binding them together and laying one thing upon another. The koru structure thus allows his narrative to follow the principles of whakapapa, and narrating and reading the story thus becomes analogous to reciting it.

For Ihimaera, then, whakapapa and knowledge of it is the foundation on which Māori make sense of their existence and construct their identities. It provides them with knowledge and evidence of their heritage and history, allowing them to claim what is rightfully theirs. It is, in other words, their tūrangawaewae (place to stand) on which they can "develop pride and [a] sense of belonging through understanding the roots of their heritage" (Barlow 174).

Although Houkamau and Sibley do not operate with a distinct dimension relating to whakapapa as key to Māori identity, they do include aspects related to it in some of their other dimensions, relating to, for instance, evaluation of group membership, cultural efficacy, and authenticity beliefs. While it is imaginable that Ihimaera would agree strongly with statements

from their MMM-ICE(2) questionnaire such as "my Māori ancestry is important to me", "I have a clear sense of my Māori heritage and what it means for me", and "to be truly Māori you need to understand your whakapapa and the history of your people", their model does not quite seem to reflect just how imperative whakapapa and knowledge of it is to Ihimaera's Māori identity (see Appendix).

Wairuatanga: Spirituality

Not only has Tamatea's fate been passed down from his tūpuna (ancestors), who have undertaken it before him, but it initially "came from the Gods themselves", Riripeti/Artemis tells Tamatea (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 500). Besides being willed by the gods themselves, it also serves the spiritual purpose of restoring the mana whenua (spiritual power connected to possession of land) of his iwi (tribe) and the sacred connection between them and their ancestral lands by reclaiming the tribal lands that have been taken from them. Ihimaera thus also places great importance on wairuatanga (spirituality) to Tamatea's personal journey and Māori identity.

According to Māori mythology, there is mana (indestructible power of the gods) connected to the land—as there is to all people, places, and objects. The mana whenua (spiritual power connected to possession of land) vests in he who possesses land "the power to produce a livelihood for family and tribe", meaning that he who does not possess land does not have the power to sustain neither family nor tribe (Barlow 62). It is thus crucial to the sustainment of the mana whenua and, by extension, the livelihood of whānau (families) and iwi that rights of possession and management of tribal lands are not violated and, if they are, that they are restored.

Moreover, as discussed previously, Māori also believe that all living things originate from the whenua (womb) of Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother. All living things are thus connected to the whakapapa (genealogy) of the gods through the land. Consequently, "people's emotional, intellectual and spiritual selves are born daily from the land, and thought itself is seen as coming from the land" (Royal, "Papatūānuku" 1). The connection between Māori and their tribal land is therefore regarded as sacred and essential to Māori identity. Reclaiming tribal lands that have been taken by Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) and thereby reconnecting to them thus means restoring the link between the spiritual and the physical realms, which, in turn, provides a base on which Māori construct and sustain their identity.

Furthermore, as Tamatea restores the link to the spiritual realm, other spiritual connections grow stronger and become essential to his journey. For instance, as the story progresses and Tamatea commits himself more and more to fulfilling his destiny, thus reconnecting to the land and spiritual realm, he finds himself interacting increasingly often with his mother's kaitiaki (guardian spirit), Hine Te Ariki, who used to show up only when Tamatea or his children were in danger.[14] Besides watching over their descendant, kaitiaki also mediate between the spiritual and the physical realms. Hine Te Ariki's increasing prominence to Tamatea's story is thus a testament to the strengthened link to and thereby increased communication with the spiritual realm.

Another spiritual connection that Tamatea increasingly facilitates as his journey deepens is that between kaiuru moemoeā (dream swimmers)[15] and their relatives. Tamatea's mother, Tiana, is a dream swimmer of the iwi Te Tira Mika (The People From the Outer World), and at the beginning of his journey, she is repeatedly referred to as "a woman of no account"[16] and depicted in a bad light as a mother who is incapable of showing her children love and affection and is instead abusive and cruel. Tamatea is aware that his mother is a dream swimmer but has blatantly disregarded the potential helpfulness of her abilities, having forbidden her to come to him in his dreams. Completely dismissing her intention to help after she has shown up to help him out of a life-threatening situation, he tells her, "I have no need of you, Tiana" (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 443).

However, advancing in his quest to reconnect to the spiritual realm and fulfil his destiny, Tamatea opens up to his mother, her origin, and her gifts, and it is to her and her powers the second book of the odyssey, *The Dream Swimmer*, is dedicated. As this second book progresses, Tamatea comes to understand not only his mother and the causes of her abusive behaviour but also her power and the bond between her as kaiuru moemoeā and him as her relative. His revelation, however, comes too late, much to his regret and grief, for neither Tamatea

[14] See, for instance, the passage on pp. 201–202 of Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer*, where Hine Te Ariki saves Tamatea's daughter Miranda from drowning.

[15] Ihimaera writes that all Māori believe that you can travel in your dreams to talk to relatives about, for instance, "old ancestral matters that need to be resolved" or "to protect or warn a loved one of some malignant star or malevolent sign" (*Dream Swimmer* 110). However, for his odyssey, he has fabricated an iwi (tribe) of mysterious origin, Te Tira Maka (The People From the Outer World), whose members are known as "dream swimmers". They were already in Aotearoa/New Zealand when the legendary waka (canoes) brought Māori from Hawaiki, and when asked how they had arrived there, "they said they had swum there in their dreams" (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 181). The abilities of these dream swimmers are much more powerful, and they can cover much greater distances in the span of their dreams than regular dream swimmers, even being able to reach Te Kore (the nothingness; but also the source of all things (refer to Barlow 54; Reed 10–12 for further information)). It is these fictive dream swimmers to which Ihimaera and I refer in this section.

[16] See, for instance, p. 103 of Ihimaera, *Matriarch*, which is the first place she is directly referred to as such.

nor any of his siblings were prepared to have Tiana's powers passed down to them before her death, and nor were Tiana capable of passing them on due to her lacking maternal instincts:

> I now know … that as much as I loved my grandmother and was loved by her, it is to my mother, Tiana, that I owe my life. Her love has been the great leitmotif of this story. I did not value my mother when she was alive, and neither did anybody else. I have come to the opinion that had Tiana's upbringing been a nurturing and loving one, her great gifts as a kaiura [*sic*.] moemoea could have been passed on to us, the last living survivors of her people of Te Tira Maka, The People From the Outer World … Although we have her blood, our mother was the last of the dream swimmers. (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 501)

His grief over the extinction of the dream swimmers not only reveals how strong Tamatea's spiritual connection to his mother and her kaitiaki has become during his journey before it is severed. In representing the severance of one spiritual connection, it renders more critical the other spiritual connections that are still intact but under threat, including the connection to the ancestral lands of his iwi. Moreover, Tamatea's grief over the severance of a spiritual connection reinforces the importance Ihimaera has attached to wairuatanga for Māori identity by exemplifying the personal cost of its weakening.

By giving the entire plot of his odyssey a spiritual nature and by letting his main character experience both the advantages of strengthening his wairuatanga and the grievous disadvantages of its weakening, Ihimaera reveals just how essential it is to his identity as Māori, regarding it, in fact, as absolutely paramount. He thus corroborates Houkamau and Sibley's argument that spirituality is one of the key dimensions of Māori identity, seemingly agreeing strongly with such statements as "I feel a strong spiritual association with the land", "I believe that tūpuna can communicate with you if they want to", "I can sometimes feel my Māori ancestors watching over me", and "I believe my taha wairua [spiritual side] is an important part of my Māori identity" from their MMM-ICE(2) questionnaire (see Appendix).

Tōrangapū Māori: Māori Politics

Being fated to reclaim the land that has been taken from his and other iwi (tribes), Tamatea is forced to be acutely aware of the socio-political circumstances of Māori and is thus inevitably tied up in tōrangapū Māori (Māori politics). Much of Riripeti/Artemis' whakapapa (genealogy) teachings revolve around the different ways her tūpuna (ancestors) have been exploited by Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) and how they and other Māori have attempted

time and time again to stand up to the continued exploitation and reclaim their rights and possessions.

This is also the very reason behind the narrative structuring of *The Matriarch* after Tamatea's two prominent ancestors, Wī Pere and Te Kooti. As previously described, the two notorious tūpuna fought fiercely to reclaim their tribal land, each in their own way. Structuring the narrative after two political actors with fundamentally opposite approaches to reaching their shared goal makes possible in the narrative present a comparative reflection over the advantages and disadvantages of each approach from which Tamatea can learn and strategize his own fight.

Additionally, Riripeti/Artemis exposes Tamatea to acts of political rebellion and negotiations, ensuring that he sees firsthand what it means to stand up for their personal and collective rights as Māori and thus learning by example, while at the same time ensuring that he gains knowledge of the system against which he must fight. For instance, she brings him with her to a meeting between all ariki (paramount chiefs)[17] and Parliament to settle the grievances of Māori related to land confiscation following the Land Wars.[18] She also urged him to go to law school for the same reason, for, as Tamatea himself reflects: "only then would I be able to understand how the Pakeha had used the law to dispossess Maori of the land. Once I had that understanding of how the law could be manipulated, perhaps I would be able to use it to get the land back" (Ihimaera, *Matriarch*, 406).

Fully comprehending the socio-political reality and circumstances of his people and gaining extensive knowledge of the system against which he is fated to fight thus becomes a crucial part of Tamatea's journey to fulfil his destiny and reclaim for his iwi their ancestral lands as well as his personal journey to understand and define himself. In making this comprehension and knowledge key to Tamatea's journey, Ihimaera thus also renders it key to his identity as Māori. To a large extent, he defends and promotes Māori rights and regards historical

[17] Ariki are paramount chiefs of their iwi (tribe), assuming the supreme status achievable in Māori society. The ariki are responsible for the integrity and prosperity of his iwi, their lands, and their cultural treasures.

[18] The Land Wars were a long series of battles between Māori iwi (tribes) and government forces in the late 1800s. 1.3 million hectares of tribal land were confiscated by the Crown as compensation for participation in the war (King 50). Moreover, the Native Lands Act of 1862 and 1865, with which the Native Land Court—the operations of which "affected Māori more strongly than those of any other colonial institution" ("Native Land Court")—was established during the period of conflict. These acts individualised otherwise communally owned tribal land and recognised no more than ten owners per block of land, effectively dispossessing all other tribal members with traditional decision-making rights over it and making Māori land readily tradable. Consequently, between 1870 and 1892, 2 million hectares of Māori land had been purchased by Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent), and by 1900, another 1.2 million hectares had been purchased ("Native Land Court"). For more information about the Land Wars, refer to Keenan. For more information about the consequences to Māori land of the wars and the acts, refer to Kingi; and Fyers.

factors as being of continued importance for understanding the contemporary circumstances of Māori, thereby arguably scoring high on Houkamau and Sibley's subscale of socio-political consciousness and agreeing with their argument that it is a defining dimension of Māori identity.

Whanaungatanga: Familial and Reciprocal Relations

Tamatea's efforts to fulfil his ancestral and divine fate of reclaiming Māori rights and possessions are for the benefit of Tamatea's iwi (tribe). It benefits the collective, not just the individual, that tribal lands are reclaimed, that the mana whenua (spiritual power connected to possession of land) is restored, and that the spiritual and physical realms are reconnected. Moreover, being the first-born of his father, the ariki (paramount chief) of their iwi, Tamatea is bound to take upon him the responsibility to protect the integrity and ensure the prosperity of their iwi after his father's passing. By virtue of his fated purpose and his future function as ariki, he lives to serve and improve the livelihood of his iwi and is thus inextricably tied to them through whanaungatanga (familial and reciprocal relationships). Riripeti/Artemis explains to him what great honour it is to serve his iwi:

> Grandson, there is no greater honour than to serve the iwi. There is no greater reward than to commit yourself to the task of uplifting the tribe. To do this you must love the people with all your life and with all your heart. You must be a patriot, a person who loves being Maori more than anything else in the world. You must work and fight for them and vomit blood in the effort, for without a people, without an iwi, you are nothing. (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 202)

Not only does Ihimaera thereby depict that he regards it as a great honour to serve the collective, but he also makes explicit that the collective is defining and essential for him as an individual and as Māori.

Adding weight to this point, he demonstrates its essentiality by exploring the significant difference in Tamatea's personality when he is in his hometown, the Waituhi Valley—and thus more closely connected to his iwi and Māori whānau (family) and friends—and when he is at his own home in Wellington or abroad on work trips—and thus removed from said relations. For instance, at the beginning of the narrative, Tamatea has only recently returned to Aotearoa/New Zealand after living and working in London for a few years. Yet, it took him a full year before making an effort to reconnect with his Māori whānau. When he finally decides to go and visit his uncle Alexis, he contemplates driving past his house to visit Pākehā (New

Zealanders of European descent) friends instead: "I had friends further down the street, James and Ilse, and I was almost tempted to drive past Uncle's and talk Russian literature with the wondrous Ilse" (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 15–16). However, he decides not to and only a few hours after returning to his Māori roots, he is drawn in and finds himself compelled to stay longer than he intended.

Having reconnected with his Māori heritage and rekindled his whānau (familial) and iwi (tribal) relationship, Tamatea struggles to combine his life in Waituhi and his life in Wellington. As explored in previously, he is split between two worlds, and he finds travelling between the two, "departing home, the Waituhi Valley. Going home, Wellington", disorienting (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 422). For that reason, the travels from one world to the other are few and far between. He initially keeps his visits to Waituhi short, and he only occasionally brings Regan and their children with him to Waituhi, which prompts his father to ask, "Are you ashamed of us or something?" (Ihimaera, *Matriarch* 93).

However, Tamatea clearly feels the most comfortable when in Waituhi as compared to Wellington. In fact, he dreads returning to Wellington and finds the flight into there "the most challenging" of all other flights he has taken (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 49). In comparison, he is taken by an intense feeling of belonging and love whenever he lands in Gisborne and is greeted with his father's warm and passionate embrace. His reaction to the welcome he receives upon returning to his marae (communal meeting house)[19] is another testament to the strong sense of belonging his return brings on:

> My heart broke into a hundred pieces as I stood there being welcomed home. Maori lives are filled with ceremonials, with formalities; how lucky we are to be able to mark our relationships with such dignity. Nor did it matter that the welcoming party was small in number. Riripeti would have said, 'Where there is one there is a thousand.' (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 204)

His feelings of belonging that arise when he returns to his Māori whānau captures the essence of the concept of whanaungatanga (also: sense of family connection), which Ihimaera depicts as crucial to Tamatea's Māori identification and maintenance of a stable sense of self. In so doing, he thus demonstrates that to a large extent, his concept of the self-as-Māori depends on his relationships to other Māori people, on whanaungatanga, thus corroborating Houkamau and Sibley's notion that an interdependent concept of the self is at the heart of Māori identity.

[19] The marae (communal meeting house) "is a symbol of tribal identity and solidarity" and is central to Māori social and cultural life (Barlow 73).

Whakahī: Pride

The last but certainly not least prerequisite of the success of Tamatea's quest to reclaim for his and other iwi (tribes) ancestral land, and thus also a central aspect of his personal journey, is whakahī (pride). For if he is not proud of his heritage, culture, or identity, he has no motivation to succeed in reclaiming and defending it. It is an aspect that Tamatea does not ascribe much significance at the beginning of his journey but one that becomes increasingly important and prominent to him as he reconnects with his roots and defines himself as Māori.

When Riripeti/Artemis informs Tamatea that in order to commit himself to his task as future ariki (paramount chief) to uplift his iwi, he must "be a patriot, a person who loves being Maori more than anything else in the world", she tells him that a sense of pride in being Māori is vital (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 202). However, as shown in the preceding section, he does not seem proud of his heritage at the beginning of his journey. Instead, it seems that he may instead be ashamed. However, as the story progresses and Tamatea slowly but surely reconnects to his roots, rekindles his reciprocal and familial relations to his whānau (family) and iwi, and begins to take his responsibilities to his iwi and tūpuna (ancestors) more seriously, his sense of pride grows.

His strengthened sense of pride is especially apparent in his reflections about the welcome he receives upon returning to his marae (communal meeting house). When Tamatea considers Māori lucky for being "able to mark [their] relationships with such dignity", it is his pride in being Māori he reveals (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 204). His pride grows so much throughout his journey that, in the end, he is able to stand tall and fully acknowledge his heritage:

> I have learned a lot about human nature and learned too that despite their faults the Mahana family are my family and the only family I will ever have. They are impossible to live with but also impossible to live without. Our lives are intertwined too tightly with the past and the future for me ever to think of divorcing myself from them. They gave me life. My mountain is Maunga Haumia. My river is the Waipaoa. My meeting house is Rongopai. I am so lucky to have a small valley to come from and a people to love. (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 497)

The last part of his acknowledgement is a pepeha (a tribal, formulaic expression).[20] Through such expressions, Māori convey their place of belonging, their tūrangawaewae (place to stand).

[20] Māori introduce themselves by virtue of their connections with people or places that are important to them and their whakapapa (genealogy) through the tribal, formulaic expression of the pepeha.

In presenting his pepeha, Tamatea thus conveys that he has found his tūrangawaewae and is willing to share it with pride.

By demonstrating how vital pride in his Māori heritage and culture is to Tamatea's obtainment of a stable sense of identity, Ihimaera reveals that he views his membership of the Māori social group as absolutely central to his self-concept. He thereby agrees with Houkamau and Sibley that a positive group membership evaluation is key to a strong sense of self as Māori.

Through Tamatea's personal journey, Ihimaera thereby depicts whakapapa (genealogy) and extensive knowledge of it, wairuatanga (spirituality), engagement in tōrangapū Māori (Māori politics), whanaungatanga (familial and reciprocal relations), and whakahī (pride) as the building blocks with which he is able to establish his tūrangawaewae (place to stand). From here, he can embrace his Māori identity and heritage—and thus become tangata whenua (people of the land).[21]

I Am Resistant

Resisting Marginalisation and Problematising the *Post* Colonial

The three aspects discussed thus far, on which Ihimaera places great importance in his odyssey, speak to an inherent resistance with which he not only redefines but also reclaims his identity as Māori in (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand. Thus, the recital of Riripeti/Artemis and Tamatea's (and Ihimaera's) whakapapa (genealogy), which is at the heart of the odyssey; his interrogation into the colonial mission and colonial mimicry/mockery; and the five dimensions which he renders key to his redefined (post)colonial Māori identity serve as testaments to this inherent resistance.

Besides being inherent in the aspects previously discussed, Ihimaera's resistance is also exemplified by Tamatea, who is fated as a future ariki (paramount chief) to improve the livelihood of his iwi (tribe) and as Riripeti/Artemis' successor to reclaim tribal land. Riripeti/Artemis has groomed him for resistance ever since he was young, telling him, for instance:

> Aue,[22] it is the Pakeha [New Zealander of European descent] who eats up the land and eats up the people. He does so for the sake of eating, as does the shark. He does so for

[21] Refer to the section Tangata Whenua: People of the Land of chapter 1 for further information about the term.
[22] Auē/aue is an interjection used to express an emotional reaction to something, such as sorrow, distress, surprise, or affection.

> the thrill of killing and taking. He is the Devil, the devourer of souls and land. Wherever you find his mark on the land, track and shoot him down. Whenever you find him among the people, weed him out and drive him over the steepest cliff to his death. If you don't, he will surely kill you and the land, for he has no other purpose in life except to eat the land and eat the people. 'Nothing is more important than this, e mokopuna [grandchild]: to fight the Pakeha, always fight him, always.' (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 203)

This is the kaupapa (purpose; agenda) she passes on to him from their tūpuna (ancestors) and the gods themselves, and to which she makes him accountable by naming him his successor. To ensure that he is capable of taking up this fight, she prompts him to go to law school to become so versed in Pākehā law that he can manipulate it to benefit Māori.

She also educates him on their whakapapa by tracing it more selectively than what is traditionally done, focusing on its inherent resistance. She recites mainly prominent tūpuna (ancestors) and historical episodes of rebellion rather than a single line of descent. In doing so, she provides Tamatea examples by which he can draw inspiration and motivation and plan the rebellion, which he is fated to lead. Thus, by making Riripeti/Artemis educate Tamatea on the specifically rebellious aspect of their whakapapa—which is also Ihimaera's whakapapa—Ihimaera inspires himself and his readers to resist colonisation and the continued marginalisation of Māori and provides examples of how to do so.

Several times throughout his narrative, Ihimaera relates and challenges the story of James Cook's discovery of Aotearoa/New Zealand on 9 October 1769 on which the British colonial rule and the collective history of (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand are based, calling into question its hegemony and legitimacy. In one particularly compelling such instance, he recounts the story as it is taught to schoolchildren throughout the country—a story of legendary courage and endurance, "the stuff of romance indeed!" (*Matriarch* 45). He then immediately disputes it by recounting the same story from the vantage point of the Māori who were already there at the time of Cook's fateful landfall and by including the historical facts which Aotearoa/New Zealand's schoolchildren are not taught:

> Cook's first landing was marked by the killing of a Maori called Te Maro, shot through the heart by a musket bullet, Monday 9 October 1769. Then on the morning of Tuesday 10 October 1769, another Maori called Te Rakau was shot and killed, and three others were wounded. During the afternoon of that same day a further four Maori were murdered in the bay merely because they had showed fight when molested, and three of their companions were taken captive.

> Captain James Cook claimed New Zealand for Britain. The *Endeavour* finally left Poverty Bay on Thursday 12 October 1769. The glorious birth of the nation has the taste of bitter almonds when one remembers that six Maori died so that a flag could be raised, and that the *Endeavour* had lain in Poverty Bay for only two days and fourteen hours. (*Matriarch* 45)

Moreover, Cook's deadly landfall at Poverty Bay was only the beginning of Māori suffering and devastation, Ihimaera claims through Riripeti/Artemis, "for after Cook came other white devils" whose sole purpose, as it has been described in one of the previous examples, was "killing and taking" (*Dream Swimmer* 203).

Additionally, Ihimaera questions the legitimacy of Pākehā rule by placing in direct opposition the (post)colonial ideals of Māori and Pākehā, respectively, and depicting Māori as innocent victims of the diabolical Pākehā settlers, thus giving further cause for resistance. Māori—or at least Tamatea's, and thus his own, iwi—he argues, dreams of a (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand in which Pākehā and Māori can live harmoniously together, presupposing, however, that Māori is recognised as tangata whenua (people of the land; indigenous people)[23] and thus that "the Maori world would remain supreme" (*Dream Swimmer* 205). The remarkable paintings that decorate their marae, Rongopai,[24] of which he writes, are a testament to this dream:

> Thus, on one panel, the fabulous Tree of Life, depicted as a Maori tree, flowered from a huge Victorian vase. On another panel, human figures had been painted in traditional style but with blue eyes and short hair parted in the European way. The woman Kohakirirangi was for ever captured wearing a European dress and raising a red rose to her lips. Two Maori men sparred in a boxing match in a European boxing ring. Maori on horses raced neck and neck in a never-ending hunt. Hunters with guns and dogs prowled in an eternally Maori forest. (*Dream Swimmer* 205–206)

Pākehā, however, do not share this harmonious ideal. He argues that they were instead shatterers of the Māori dream, claiming that instead, "they believed only in collision" (*Dream Swimmer* 206).

In recounting the story of the British discovery of Aotearoa/New Zealand and its colonial establishment from the perspective of the Māori who were already there, which is in direct

[23] Refer to the section Tangata Whenua: People of the Land of chapter 1 for further information about the term.
[24] Rongopai Marae, which Ihimaera describes in great detail in his literary works, is notorious for its extraordinary paintings because traditionally, marae are carefully decorated with carvings alluding to the iwi's (tribe's) history and tūpuna (ancestors).

opposition to that of the Pākehā, and by exposing the diabolical nature of the Pākehā coloniser and their colonial mission to which Māori fell victim, Ihimaera contests the hegemonic orientalist narrative and questions the legitimacy of the colonial rule.

Furthermore, although recognising that much progress has been made in terms of realising a bicultural (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand where Māori are acknowledged as tangata whenua and live alongside and on equal terms with Pākehā, Ihimaera contests the notion that British colonial rule supposedly ended in Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1947 with the enactment of the Statute of Westminster. As such, he contests the notion of a *post* colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand, claiming that the suffering of Māori persists and is visible in "the new urban Maori, removed from his rural roots, bereft of his land and his mana [indestructible power of the gods]. The new Maori woman, fighting for the rights of the dispossessed. The new Maori warrior, protesting for dignity" (*Matriarch* 192). As well as Riripeti/Artemis, fighting to reclaim tribal lands and restore her iwi's mana whenua (spiritual power connected to possession of land), and Tamatea, struggling to connect to his Māori heritage and identity and finding his tūrangawaewae (place to stand).

Ihimaera emphasises the many steps that have been taken in the right direction, highlighting the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, with which claims of alleged breaches of the Tiriti/Treaty brought by Māori can be settled; Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development), the purpose of which is to safeguard Māori wellbeing and development; and Te Kōhanga Reo (literally: language nest), a policy with which to revitalise te reo Māori (the Māori language) and tikanga Māori (Māori values) through preschool children. This progress, he argues, proves that "the signs have arrived that sovereignty draws near" (*Dream Swimmer* 497).

However, it just goes to show how persistent the colonial legacy is and how many steps are necessary to overcome it—and he also reveals that many additional efforts are needed. For instance, much tribal land still needs to be returned to Māori, including the lands of Tamatea's—which is also Ihimaera's— iwi.[25] Ihimaera also points to "problems of the young [Māori] in the cities throughout Aotearoa and the development of an underprivileged brown class" (*Dream Swimmer* 497).

Further still, he makes explicit through an encounter between Tamatea and a Yanomami chief that so long as people across the globe continue to suffer under colonisation, no one people are truly free. "Our blood the same", chief Tommo tells him, implying that his and the

[25] In fact, Māori collectively own only 1.47 million hectares today, making up roughly five per cent of all land in Aotearoa/New Zealand ("Status of Māori Land").

Māori nation, as well as all other colonised nations, share the same fate and suffer together (*Dream Swimmer* 499). Ihimaera thereby argues that there will be no such thing as a *post* colonial world until all peoples are free from their colonial legacy. Thus, Tamatea's kaupapa and Ihimaera's call for resistance remain; they must "fight and keep on fighting until it is done, generation after generation", nation after nation (Ihimaera, *Dream Swimmer* 498).

Consequently, Ihimaera's odyssey is arguably an act of resistance in and of itself. On the one hand, it challenges orientalist discourse and the hegemonic narrative of British colonisation by recounting it from the perspective of the colonised Māori and problematises the notion of the *post* colonial condition. On the other hand, it seeks to inspire the collective reclamation of indigenous rights, identities, cultures, possessions, and tūrangawaewae by which they can become tangata whenua.

4

Discussing the Scope of the Investigation

The preceding chapter's analysis of Witi Ihimaera's construction of his (post)colonial Māori identity demonstrated that it is in the face of the splitting, conflicting, and lasting colonial legacy he constructs his Māori identity by the central aspects of whakapapa (genealogy) and the study of it, wairuatanga (spirituality), tōrangapū Māori (Māori politics) and engagement with it, whanaungatanga (familial and reciprocal relations), and whakahī (pride), as well as an inherent resistance. By redefining and settling into this identity, he finds his tūrangawaewae (place to stand), from which he is able to reclaim his status as tangata whenua (person of the land; indigenous person).[26] However, the analysis in the present thesis has been conducted based on only two of Ihimaera's novels, which is but a small fraction of his complete bibliography. This raises the question of whether this construction and construct would remain the same if the perspective was broadened—a feat that unfortunately exceeds the scope of the present thesis.

For instance, would the construction and construct be similar to the one the preceding analysis revealed if the scope of the analysis was broadened to include the entirety of Ihimaera's bibliography? As mentioned at the beginning of the present thesis, Ihimaera published his first work of fiction in 1972, and he is still an active writer today. Moreover, in the span of his nearly fifty years as a fiction writer, his fiction has moved in several different directions, foregrounding entirely different topics, and he has written within several genres. Consequently, his (post)colonial Māori identity and its construction would likely not be identical to the one he constructs in his Mahana family odyssey, as recounted in his novels *The Matriarch* and *The Dream Swimmer*.

Do Ihimaera's identity and its construction in his odyssey serve as the model of (post)colonial Māori identity constructions so that any other Māori author, for instance, contemporary of him or otherwise, constructs a similar identity in a similar fashion in his or her works of fiction? Take, for example, the author Alan Duff, one of Ihimaera's contemporaries. Duff notoriously distinguishes himself from Ihimaera by arguing that Māori are the only ones

[26] Refer to the section Tangata Whenua: People of the Land of chapter 1 for further information about the term.

to blame for (post)colonial Māori underperformance. Anyone who thinks otherwise, he argues, sentimentalise Māori life and dwells "on the injustices of the past … expecting others to resolve them" (Mason). Another example is to take a more recent Māori author like Alice Tawhai, whose fiction is inspired by the previous generation of Māori fiction writers such as Ihimaera and explores "the underbelly of contemporary New Zealand" (Holman 4). Are their constructions of (post)colonial Māori identities similar to that of Ihimaera's?

How does Ihimaera's construction of a (post)colonial indigenous identity compare to, for instance, the construction and construct of authors of other (post)colonial societies, such as the Sioux, whose experiences of the (post)colonial and whose colonial history are entirely different from that and those of Māori? Would such a comparison be at all possible, and if so, would their identity development be at all resemblant despite the different historical and societal contexts?

Some of these questions have been touched upon by scholars such as Melissa Kennedy, who examines a much wider range of Ihimaera's works for European influences on his distinct Māori voice in her *Striding Both World: Witi Ihimaera and New Zealand's Literary Traditions* and Chadwick Allen, who compares indigenous identity in activist American Indian and Māori fiction in his *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*. However, their inquiries have been conducted within theoretical frameworks and research aims other than that of the present thesis and thus not directly comparable in this context—but nevertheless meaningful and relevant.

Many other possibilities to broaden the perspective and compare the findings to those of the present investigation exist, I am sure. Nonetheless, there certainly is much to pursue here in future inquiries.

5

Conclusion

This thesis set out to investigate Witi Ihimaera's construction of a (post)colonial Māori identity in his seminal novel *The Matriarch* and its sequel, *The Dream Swimmer*. On the basis of a close reading of the novels and within a theoretical framework that combines the etic perspectives on (post)colonial identity provided by Erik H. Erikson, Anthony Giddens, Edward Said, and Homi K. Bhabha and the emic perspective on Māori identity provided by Mason H. Durie, and Carla A. Houkamau and Chris G. Sibley, the investigation has demonstrated that it is by coming to terms with the splitting, conflicting, and lasting colonial legacy Ihimaera constructs his Māori identity.

Through the odyssey's main character, Tamatea Mahana, Ihimaera comes to terms with this by exploring his conflictual whakapapa (genealogy) to understand and potentially end his inner war between his two seemingly irreconcilable identities, his identity as Māori in a Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) world and his identity as Māori in a Māori world. By reimagining colonial history from the perspective of his colonised tūpuna (ancestors), who turned against themselves on account of empty promises of potential equality through assimilation, he comes to terms with the lasting legacy of the colonial Pākehā mission and the fact that no matter how well assimilated, he will never quite be equal to Pākehā—for he is Māori. Coming to terms with this allows him instead to mock and potentially undermine his Pākehā coloniser by mimicking him, gaining his trust, and then turning it against him. He exemplifies this by delivering the message through a piece of fiction that mimics the Western art form of the novel in the English language in a distinctly Māori voice and structural framework.

Having come to terms with the lasting colonial legacy, Ihimaera constructs his (post)colonial Māori identity around five central dimensions. The first dimension, around which the entire narrative is structured, relates to whakapapa. Through the investigation into his whakapapa and his recital and knowledge of it, he establishes his Māori heritage and his deep connection to the land and enlightens his present by firmly placing the lessons of the past in front of it. The second dimension, around which Tamatea's fate is structured, relates to wairuatanga (spirituality), which strengthens the connection to his Māori heritage through the belief that his

tūpuna watch over him and to the land by restoring the mana whenua (spiritual power connected to possession of land). The third dimension, around which the recital of Tamatea's and Ihimaera's shared whakapapa is structured, is engagement in tōrangapū Māori (Māori politics), which allows him to understand his whakapapa and wairuatanga in the face of colonisation and (post)colonialism and to reclaim the first two dimensions. The fourth dimension relates to whanaungatanga (familial and reciprocal relations), with which he maintains a stable sense of self by virtue of his relationships with Māori friends, whānau (family), and iwi (tribe), which invokes a feeling of belonging in him. The last dimension relates to whakahī (pride), with which he is able to settle into and embrace his identity and fully acknowledge his heritage and whakapapa and find his tūrangawaewae (place to stand) from where he can become tangata whenua (literally: person of the land; indigenous person).

Moreover, his identity's defining dimensions and his confrontation with the colonial legacy speak to a certain resistance with which Ihimaera reclaims his identity as Māori in (post)colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand. By reimagining the colonial history of Aotearoa/New Zealand from the perspective of the colonised Māori, he contests orientalist discourse. Additionally, by exposing the lasting colonial legacy with which Māori are confronted, he problematises the notion of a *post* colonial society—that is, a society *beyond* colonialism. Ihimaera thereby resists the continued marginalisation of Māori and seeks to inspire the collective reclamation of indigenous identities—with which to become tangata whenua.

Appendix

Questions from the MMM-ICE(2) Questionnaire per Its Subscales

	Group Membership Evaluation (GME)							
		Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly agree
1	I love the fact I am Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	My Māori ancestry is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Being Māori is NOT important to my sense of what kind of person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I reckon being Māori is awesome.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Being Māori is NOT important to who I am as a person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I don't really care about following Māori culture.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	Being Māori is cool.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I wish I could hide the fact that I am Māori from other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Socio-Political Consciousness (SPC)							
		Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly agree
1	All of us, both Māori and Pākehā,[1] did bad things in the past—we should all just forget about it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	It's important for Māori to stand together and be strong if we want to claim back the lands that were taken from us.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Māori would be heaps better off if they just forgot about the past and moved on.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I'm sick of hearing about the Treaty of Waitangi and that Māori had their land stolen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I stand up for Māori rights.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I think that Māori have been wronged in the past, and that we should stand up for what is ours.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	What the European settlers did to Māori in the past has nothing to do with me personally. I wasn't there and I don't think it affects me at all.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I think we should all just be New Zealanders and forget about differences between Māori and Pākehā.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[1] New Zealanders of European descent.

	Cultural Efficacy and Active Identity Engagement (CEAIE)							
		Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly agree
1	I have a clear sense of my Māori heritage and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	I know how to act the right way when I am on a marae.[2]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	I don't know to act like a real Māori on a marae.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I can't do Māori cultural stuff properly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I try to kōrero (speak) Māori whenever I can.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I sometimes feel that I don't fit in with other Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	I can't do Māori culture or speak Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I'm comfortable doing Māori cultural stuff when I need to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[2] Communal meeting house where formalised rituals and interactions take place, following strict protocols.

	Spirituality (S)							
		Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly agree
1	I feel a strong spiritual association with the land.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	I don't believe in that Māori spiritual stuff.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	I believe that Tūpuna (ancient ancestors) can communicate with you if they want to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I can sometimes feel my Māori ancestors watching over me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I think Tapu[3] is just a made up thing. It can't actually affect you.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I have never felt a spiritual connection with my ancestors.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	I believe that my Taha Wairua (my spiritual side) is an important part of my Māori identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	I can sense it when I am in a Tapu[4] place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[3] Here: sacredness; a supernatural condition that places a person/thing/place in the sphere of the sacred rather than the profane.

[4] Here: sacred.

	Interdependent Self-Concept (ISC)							
		Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly agree
1	My Māori identity belongs to me personally. It has nothing to do with my relationships with other Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	My relationships with other Māori people (friends and family) are what make me Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	How I see myself is totally tied up with my relationships with my Māori friends and family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	My Māori identity is fundamentally about my relationships with other Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	For me, a big part of being Māori is my relationships with other Māori people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I consider myself Māori because I am interconnected with other Māori people, including friends and family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	Reciprocity (give-and-take) is at the heart of what it means to be Māori for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Authenticity Beliefs (AB)							
		Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly agree
1	You can always tell true Māori from other Māori. They're real different.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	You can be a real Māori even if you don't know your Iwi.[5]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Real Māori put their whānau[6] first.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	You can be a true Māori without ever speaking Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	To be truly Māori you need to understand your whakapapa[7] and the history of your people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	I reckon that true Māori hang out at their marae all the time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	True Māori always do karakia (prayer) before important events.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	You can tell a true Māori just by looking at them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[5] Tribe.

[6] (Extended) family; family group.

[7] Genealogy.

	Perceived Appearance (PA)							
		Strongly disagree			Neutral			Strongly agree
1	I think it is easy to tell that I am Māori just by looking at me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	You only need to look at me to see that I am Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	When people meet me, they often do not realise that I am Māori.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	I think it is hard to tell that I am Māori just by looking at me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	I think it is clear to other people when they look at me that I am of Māori descent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	People would never know that I am of Māori descent just by looking at me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	People who don't know me often assume that I am from another (non-Māori) ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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