CASTE AWAY?

UNFOLDING THE MĀORI INDIAN

EDWINA PIO

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Winsome Sita Emery (née Grant) and her younger sister Beatrice Yates (née Grant) at the 2009 opening of the Unitec wharenui Ngākau Māhaki, carved by their nephew Lionel Grant.

WINSOME SITA EMERY AND FAMILY

Executive Summary

The Office of Ethnic Affairs commissioned this research on the Māori Indian in July – August 2008 with the aim being to produce a preliminary scoping study paper that examines the emergence of identity for the Māori Indian. This project is an initial exploration of the identity construction and work experiences of the Māori Indian. The 2006 census reports that there are 2,610 Māori Indian (1,299 males and 1,311 females). While such work can have many vantage points, this project is embedded in the broad field of identity and employment, with specific reference to mixed ethnicity and interracial or ethnic intermarriages.

Most of the individuals interviewed for this study identify strongly with the Māori community, while their links with the Indian community are more tenuous, particularly when there was an Indian and Māori wife. All the individuals enjoy Indian food and 'curry' was often mentioned among special recipes passed down from their parents/grandparents. Moreover, some Indian phrases were used, such as *chingwa* (Indian *jingwa*) for crayfish/prawns. Some of the participants also sang Indian songs which they had heard their family sing. All had a yearning to connect with the land in India – a few had visited the Indian subcontinent. The findings can be grouped into three themes: *acceptance*, *difference* and *rejection*. Within these three themes were four common threads, variously expressed: Identity (acceptance and belongingness, relatives/community, school), work experiences, cultural context (religion; food; clothing, including jewellery; and language), and the future (mokopuna*/*grandchildren*).*

The research has potential implications for the mokopuna of the future, particularly in a bicultural/multicultural nation such as Aotearoa where immigrants and Māori have merged in various ways and at various moments in history. This research has potential benefits for the tangata whenua in terms of a deeper and layered understanding of their whakapapa, to further understand and appreciate our combined cultural lineage and thus acknowledge and move towards greater enhancement of a harmonious New Zealand. Hence this project functions as an invitation to understand the woven strands in our life stories and appreciate the rich diversity of people within Aotearoa.

Prelude

The Office of Ethnic Affairs commissioned this research on the Māori Indian in July – August 2008 with the main aim being to produce a preliminary scoping study paper that examines the emergence of identity for the Māori Indian. The two phases of this research, which overlap and complement each other, are:

1. A brief literature review in the area of mixed identity/intermarriage/ ethnic intermarriage; and

2. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews with up to twenty Māori Indian along with an analysis of the emerging trends and challenges for this group.

Monthly reports between August 2008 and February 2009 detailed the progress of this project and included a detailed table with the literature in this area as well as information on the qualitative research for this project. The sources for this report include three broad domains: a literature search pertaining to mixed-identity; information from Statistics New Zealand and qualitative research based on interviews.

> In my hands I held a remarkable photograph, a woman of great beauty draped in an Indian sari. The woman was Māori. I try and look into her eyes to look for her emotions. Is she happy and joyous? Is she sad and grieving? My curiosity and imagination piqued, I ventured into that elusive and enigmatic world of the Māori Indian.

Many decades ago, in 1810, an Indian man, originating from Bengal on the east coast of India, is said to have jumped ship to marry a Māori woman in Aotearoa New Zealand[1]. In the years that followed, the oral tradition tells of Indian men plying their wares, as part of the country trade, along the meandering waterways of the great rivers in the North and South Island. Many of these men, who were few and far between, merged with the Māori communities, and eventually they became invisible – their Indianness was absorbed into the inclusiveness of the tangata whenua.

In Rotorua, a Māori man who worked as a guide spoke about his grandfather who was Indian, and had been saved by Māori from a shipwreck. No one else had survived. The rescued man was the only Indian in this Māori family and succeeding generations chose to identify with the Māori part of their heritage. A third-generation Indian woman recalls how a number of the early Indian pioneer men would live with and/or marry Māori women and have children with them. Saving for the cost of a passage on a ship back to India

took approximately ten years, and some of these men had wives back in India. Immigration laws in New Zealand in the 1800s and early 1900s did not encourage Asians and there was a preference for men in a pioneer society. It was also difficult for Indian women to come to New Zealand. The distance seemed formidable, and as well they were part of a complex weave of the Indian cultural traditions of a patriarchal society, respect for elders and looking after the land. A number of these early Indian settlers were from the Gujarat region of western India, and from the northern provinces, which under the British regime included the province of Punjab, a part of which today is Pakistan.

'Black Peter' (Edward Peter), who was purportedly an Indian man from Goa or Bombay on India's west coast and who helped find gold in Otago, is a famous example of an Indian pioneer man. He claimed to have originated from Bombay, India, and is said to have been a Hindu, which could mean he was an Indian. One report says that he landed in New Zealand in 1853 after spending time in California. While working on Run 137, a 5,000-acre farm between Horoata and Selwyn, Black Peter prospected successfully in the

Shareena Soloman (Ngai Tuhoe) presented with a korowai and patu on her 21st birthday.
PHOTO TAUHA TE KANI

Tuapeka together with a mate John Thomson, later of Waipori, and an America 'negro'. They prospected around Evans Flat and the neighbouring gullies. He later lived in a cottage at Port Molyneux until his health failed and he was removed to a benevolent institution in Dunedin where he died in June 1893. His importance lies in the fact that he had indicated to others where success may be found, though he struggled to be rewarded for his efforts. Black Peter had worked on a whaling ship and had been on gold fields in Australia; he was probably the first to set up a claim around 1858, but was only recognised by the Otago Provincial Council and received a reward in 1885.[2]

In the late 1800s and early 1900s a trickle of Indian men and later women started arriving from India. A number of them came directly to New Zealand but some came via Fiji and others via British colonies such as Burma or on steamships of the Empire, many of which were built in India and had Indian seamen on their decks. In this group of early Indian pioneer men were those who came to New Zealand as children (between 12 and 18 years of age). These young men were generally looked after by the Māori community, and tended to have unions with Māori women[3]. Most of these early migrants were from rural backgrounds and put in long hours of physical labour as their aim was to earn money to send back to India and then return home. Working as scrub-cutters, flax workers, brick-layers and drain-diggers meant that they were less of a target for racial hostility, had fewer language and social customs problems and competed less with Pākehās. The Punjabis and Gujaratis chose to express solidarity with each other as an Indian community despite caste differences which were considered important in India. They set great store in being good citizens of New Zealand and becoming self sufficient, while at the same time maintaining their culture.[4] Yet the caste system (*Brahmins* – the priestly highest class, *Kshatriyas* – the warrior caste, *Vaishyas* – the merchant class, *Shudras* – the lowest caste) and arranged marriages continued and still continue to hold sway within the Indian community, though such marriages have been decreasing in recent years.

Some authors argue that ethnic intermarriage facilitates integration.[5] Yet until fairly recently in a number of countries, intermarriage was discouraged by law,[6] and there was 'hysteria' associated with

Wāhanga-a-rangi Grant (née Fraser) with Mr and Mrs Edward Grant on holiday from Fiji at Whakarewarewa Rotorua in the 1950s. Edward is the brother of Wāhanga-a-rangi's husband Oswald Grant.
WINSOME SITA EMERY AND FAMILY

such marriages.[7] Some recent interpretations note that such marriages could be viewed as resistance to colonisation.[8] Furthermore, there are numerous examples of pioneer migrants, particularly in previous centuries, tending to marry among those considered lower down in the social hierarchy, or those who had similar status to themselves in the eyes of the host society, for example Native Indians with African-Americans, or Indian Sikhs with Mexicans.[9] New settler societies tended to have a high proportion of men. In some early migrant communities there were no women from the same ethnic community available, and bringing brides from the home country was too expensive. Some theories on ethnic intermarriage stress the importance of status exchange, where members of low-status groups will compensate for their lower status by marrying into higher socioeconomic status and cultural resources.[10] Marrying a 'local' could also mean access to residency and citizenship in the host country.

The Maori term for half-caste (where there is Māori and Pākehā lineage) is hāwhe-kāehe, though there were also derogatory terms such as utu pihikete (paid for in biscuits), huipaina (hoop iron) and o te parāora (out of the whaler's barrel).[11] It is yet to be ascertained what terms were used for the Māori Indian, besides the usual terms used for Indians such as 'curry munchers', 'black Hindu' and 'bloody Indians'. It is probable that in the early years of such unions, the mixed heritage served to bind the two communities and to give the migrants, in this case the Indian community, a sense of security in the new country. But as more Indian women came to New Zealand, such unions were generally frowned upon and both anecdotal evidence as well as this research points to the fact that such 'half-caste' individuals were, by and large, considered outcasts and were literally cast out by the Indian community. However, such children continued to be welcomed into the Māori community. When they were accepted, it generally meant that that the Indian man had married the Māori woman. This research produced a number of examples of such happy situations.

The census classifications in the early 1900s used the term 'race alien' for classifying Indians. An alien could not be appointed to the Public Service of New Zealand and was therefore barred from entering the army or police force (Public Service Act 1912, s. 36).[12] However, an exception could be made with the consent of the Governor General. Race aliens were not paid Old-Age and other pensions (Pension Act 1926, s.91). Table 1 provides an example of race aliens (Indian women) and their geographical location in the early 1900s.

Table 1: Race aliens (Indian women) based on provincial distribution, census 1916–36

Area	1916 Full Blood	1916 Mixed Blood	1921 Full Blood	1921 Mixed Blood	1926 Full Blood	1926 Mixed Blood	1936 Full Blood	1936 Mixed Blood
Auckland	3	2	14	10	23	38	34	48
Canterbury		2	1	6	1	19	2	26
Hawke's Bay		1		3		5	3	12
Marlborough						16	1	8
Nelson	1		2			3		3
Otago	1	2		5	2	27	1	12
Southland						11	2	4
Taranaki				2		2		4
Wellington		1	2	4	4	31	12	40

Source: Williams (1976), Table 9, p 107, census of NZ race aliens provincial distribution 1916-1936

Note: The 1926 and 1936 figures include Indian-Māori under mixed blood; race aliens were defined as full or half caste, from 1926 they were full or mixed blood (Census NZ 1921 and census 1916-1936).

Māori children, irrespective of their blood purity, were often cared for by the Māori community through various family members and they were aware of their lineage or whakapapa. But difficult economic conditions at particular times caused some men who had children with Māori women to desert them; for example, some European men went off to the gold fields, leaving their wives and children in a difficult position. As the 'gangs' or groups of Indian workers moved to various locations, they too may have left their part-Māori children, referred to in the census as 'mixed blood'. Thus in the early years of settler New Zealand, destitute, neglected, orphaned Māori and half-caste children were cared for in boarding schools under Governor Gray's industrial school system, for New Zealand classified half-caste children in the same category as neglected and destitute.[13] In this early period half-caste children, particularly when there was a European father, were seen as requiring

education to civilize them so that they could appropriately function in European society.[14] Research also indicates that British settlers intermarried with half-caste and quarter-caste daughters of whalers in Otago which was colonised from 1848 onwards, ushering in a new era of intermarriage, for intermarriage was seen as a way of welcoming and integrating newcomers.[15]

Mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion have always existed in India. The caste system initially served to delineate occupational groupings, but later became ossified, particularly with reference to marriages which had to be between members of the same caste and sometimes even the same sub-caste. Other forms of exclusion, such as racism, abound in the histories of nations. In New Zealand for example, Māori experienced racism, as did also Asians, Yugoslavs and Pacific Islanders in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. A 1929 Commission of Inquiry by Māori Minister of Parliament Sir Apirana Ngata was set up to ascertain how many female Māori were living with Chinese or Hindus, whether lawfully married or not, and to determine whether it be in the interest of public morality that the employment of Māori women and girls by Chinese and Hindus should be permitted.[16] The Commission condemned such unions, as miscegenation would result in an inferior population being produced, and recommended that Māori women must be 21 before accepting employment by Asiatics on the market gardens.[17]

Mother and son, Janie and Johnny Edmonds, Pukekohe, 1956.
EDMONDS FAMILY

Historically, in various parts of the world, children of mixed unions were referred to as *mestiza/mestizo*, or of 'mixed ancestry' or 'mixed blood'. This was a European term derived from the Spanish/Portuguese *mulatto*.[18] Such individuals were often marginalised. Census classifications sometime use the word miscegenation or cohabitation of persons of different races to refer to the children of mixed unions. An Indian woman in New Zealand spoke about her 'half-siblings' who were Māori, saying:

> When I was a child and we went shopping with my dad, some young Māori children would come up to him and call him Dad … they have the same family name as us, and apparently my dad provides for them and looks after them well. However, my mum is still alive and so we tend not to talk about this …

Other Indian women narrated similar instances. For example, one woman said:

> When I was a teenager coming home from school, this Māori woman approached me when I was standing at the bus stop and she said that she was my cousin … I looked closely at her and she looked just like one of my dad's sisters …

Categorisation by ethnicity is immensely complex in mixed marriages/unions, particularly when there is a historical lineage of different ethnicities. When completing official surveys, including the census surveys, New Zealand allows respondents to choose more than one ethnic group. Hence, 'while images of impermeable ethnic groups may be useful for political purposes, they disguise the true complexity of New Zealand society'.[19] Intermarriage, with its dual and multiple ethnicities, necessarily implies that multiple world-views or hybrid identities may influence what is commonly seen in policy debates as 'a Māori perspective' … as also a 'European perspective' or perhaps a 'Pacific, Chinese or Indian perspective'. Yet, 'regardless of the theoretical merits or otherwise of ethnic targeting, intermarriage and complex ethnicity creates some challenges for implementation of policies'.[20]

The questions to be asked are: How does ethnic data help identify the tensions between advantages and disadvantage? How can advantages be extended to the disadvantaged? How can this spread of advantages be implemented without 'taking away' from the advantaged? How can the advantaged be nudged into serving as role models/mentors/leaders, so opportunities are created for resource sharing? 'Ethnic data collections can be used positively to help identify and overcome disadvantages. However, they can also create negative stereotypes and an emphasis on broad ethnic-based disparities can disguise wider, but more complex, class-based inequalities.'[21]

Mixed Ethnicity in the 21st Century

Māori Indian snapshot in 2006[22]

The 2006 census reports that there are 2,610 Māori Indian (1,299 males and 1,311 females).

Interestingly, there are 567 Māori Indian reported between the ages of 0–4 years and 6 individuals are between the ages of 75–79 years; 24 speak French and 12 speak Japanese; 219 are Anglican and 99 are Muslim; 15 are in the category of CEO/GM/Legislator; 111 work for the central government, and 15 for the local government; 30 have a personal income between $70,001–$100,000; 300 are married and 33 have 6 or more children.

Summary of literature review process

In the area of the brief literature review, the keywords utilised for the search were the following: exogamy; interracial identity, marriages, relationships, children; Māori-Indian marriage, racial hybrids; mixed identity, marriages, children, parentage, couples; blurred identity, ethnic mixing, hybrid race, Chinese-Māori, Indo-Māori, Māori, Māori-Hindu, Māori Indian, New Zealand, Pākehā-Māori, half-caste.

The time frame for this search was January 2000 – June 2008 (with a few exceptions of sources published before 2000). The databases searched included the following: Multisearch (Business, AUT catalogue, general interest, social sciences, theses and dissertations), Proquest 5000 International, Ebsco megafile premier, official websites of Statistics NZ, Ministry of Social Development, Office of Ethnic Affairs, Department of Labour, Ministry of Women Affairs). There was a search at three levels. Level one included the

initial search using key words. This resulted in a total of approximately 800 documents (approximately 20 items per search). Level two consisted of scanning through these documents to look for issues pertaining to mixed identity and interracial identity. The final stage consisted of delving further to locate documents with a relevant New Zealand context. A select bibliography for this literature is presented at the end of this report (pages 29–33).

Methodology

Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi in its preamble heralds the issue of immigrants to New Zealand, coupled with the need for sustenance in a new country – the country of resettlement, New Zealand. Indians in New Zealand would fall under the category of immigrant (migrant). It is possible that with their interaction with the Māori they derived emotional and material sustenance and this sustenance may have flowed both ways. Hence, this research has a thematic link to the Treaty.

The Partnership Principle has been implemented through consultation with both Māori and Indian communities in order to appropriately reflect the spirit of this principle. This principle has also been implemented when one considers the linkages in terms of blood and the mixing of cultures between the Māori Indian. The research is exploratory and therefore there will continue to be an ongoing discussion with the Māori and the Indian communities in order to have an ongoing relationship pertaining to the collection, analysis and interpretation of data.

The Participation Principle has been implemented through the freedom given to individuals to choose to be a part of this project as well as through the open-ended questions which facilitate the control which the participant has on the information sharing. Thus, for example, some Indian families and some Māori families preferred not to talk about certain topics covered by the research and this was respected.

The Protection Principle has been implemented through the practice of cultural sensitivity for each of the participants and by ensuring that confidentiality and decorum are maintained throughout the research process. Furthermore, opportunities will be sought to enhance the information sharing with participants in this research through ongoing communication with them.

This research is thus sensitive to the values, practices and beliefs of the Māori Indian participants, as both a cultural and social group. The research has been carried out with a humble heart (he ngākau māhaki), and with integrity (kia tika o mahi).

Qualitative research

A qualitative approach has been used in order to explore the layers of identity and seek deeper engagement in how identity formation takes place as well as employment experiences of the Māori Indian. Participants were invited to take part in an interview of approximately one hour. Therefore, both micro and macro perspectives have intermeshed to shed light on large-scale societal processes and phenomena. In this context the task of the researcher is to deeply appreciate how and why people construct their life stories and in the process experience their identity. Furthermore, for a researcher who is also committed to connecting scholarship to social struggle and transformation there is both an intellectual and political purpose in making linkages between history, structures and individual lives.

The research is about the Māori Indian, and thus it is pertinent to note that the researcher-author is of Indian origin. This identification as an ethnic minority Indian has possibly facilitated a layered understanding and perhaps a richer class of life experiences of the participants, while at the same time generating tension in being consciously critical of research as a site of struggle. In this quest for cognizance, as the voiceless gain voice, based on the writings of scholars of colour and minority-group perspectives, the poignant hope is that this initial exploratory study on the Māori Indian will serve as a medium of awareness and sensitisation for the macro and micro worlds of work and perceptions of identity.

The interview protocol was developed based on the literature of ethnic intermarriage, management, ethnic studies, and diversity at work. The main aim of the research was to explore the lived-in and lived-through experiences pertaining to work and identity of the Māori Indian. The discussion guide had questions which ranged from how individuals see their identity to perceptions

by other people in the environment with reference to identity, as well as how work is secured and sustained in the employment trajectory.

Participants were recruited based on their mixed ethnicity and being introduced to the researcher by a member of either the Indian and/or Māori community, and/or persons of Māori Indian ethnicity. Hence the snowball method was utilised for recruiting participants. Participants were adults 20 years and above. The interviews were conducted in homes, community centres, at AUT University and in public places such as cafes.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 12 Māori Indian individuals, with the average interview time being 100 minutes and the longest interview being three and a half hours. In the recruitment of these participants it is crucial to note that since young children and babies were looked after by various members of the Māori community, blood and social relationships were two crucial aspects of mixed-blood individuals being 'mokopuna' or being brought up by various elders in the Māori communities. Hence at times a person may identify with a particular ethnicity based more on social relationships than on blood.

The age range of the participants was from 30 to 60+ years. Interestingly, the majority of the participants in the research showed the researcher photographs and documents of their Māori and Indian connections. The 12 individuals who were interviewed in the current sample were located in Wellington, Pukekohe, Auckland and Rotorua. They belonged to a number of key families among the Māori Indian and their progeny today would be upwards of 50 in each of the families, with a range from 50 to upwards of 300 individuals. It is acknowledged that there are a number of other key families to be interviewed in various parts of New Zealand and it is hoped that this process will take place in 2010–12. Within the short time frame available for this part of the project (approximately 12 months) it was challenging to locate Māori Indian individuals. While a number have been located, the next issue is time to interview them and this is particularly relevant as the various families are spread in various parts of New Zealand.

Analysis of the transcripts was done through a combination of manual coding of themes and computer analysis using Leximancer as software.

Findings

Themes & interwoven threads

Three general themes, which intertwine in the individuals stories, emerge from the interviews:

Theme one – acceptance of the 'mixed' heritage with a spirit of inclusiveness and eagerness to embrace difference.

Theme two – feeling different and as a consequence struggling to come to terms with the larger community as the community sent signals which indicated that being different was not ok.

Theme three – feeling rejected but still longing to be embraced equally by both communities.

Within these three themes were four interwoven threads, expressed variously: identity (acceptance and belongingness, relatives, school); work experiences; cultural context (religion, food, clothing including jewellery, and language); and the future (mokopuna).

Overall there are strong indications historically that, to use the words of a participant: *The Pākehā treated all of us equally badly – the Māori, the Indians and the Chinese*. However, as difference melted into difference, the current century sees mixed identity as a definite advantage, for one can have a treasure house of more than one culture and its mores. And as another participant said: *We can legally play rugby for two, three and four nations!* However, it is important to learn from the past and to move toward a future where wisdom, intelligence and peoples of all colours can truly be themselves, nurtured by a country which accepts and values difference.

Software analysis

Using software analysis Leximancer, a thematic analysis was done of the participants in this research. As an illustration, one of the Māori Indian woman's analysis (age range 30–40 years) indicated the importance of the Indian side of the family, which was a largely unexplored area and for which there was hardly any 'belongingness'. Yet there was yearning for knowing that part of the self which is Indian. The grandmother who is Māori wore a sari and this was a clear memory of this Māori Indian woman. She identifies as Māori, but also

acknowledges the fact that if things in her family had been different, the Indian side of her life would be more easily acknowledged.

Another illustration is that of a Māori Indian man (age range 40–50 years) whose analysis indicates the importance of the family and the grandfather who is Indian, as well as the aunties who are Māori, along with the mix of various ethnicities. In speaking about his own upbringing as well as that of his children he spoke of the market gardens, of Indian boys wanting to associate with the Māori boys as they would be protected by the Māori boys, of working hard from an early age as one did what had to be done to contribute to the family finances, and of the mixed heritage of recent children which is acknowledged widely by families as well as schools.

Each of the four interwoven threads mentioned above is presented below through extracts from the interviews.

Identity

Some do not like to acknowledge their Indian side as they were brought up by Māori.

All brought up under one roof, and if there were any disagreements we had to sort them out. Finding out one's 'true' self, often comes with maturity in years and experience.

He (father) did not really tell us much about his Indian side.

I don't mind people knowing me as Indian and Māori.

Although I do not practice it (Indian culture), when we are around our Indian relatives we respect the culture.

We take off our Māori hat and respect the Indian culture.

Dad never encouraged us to go to India … he always said negative things about India and said we wouldn't be able to handle it.

It is a bonus being mixed.

Some of the grandchildren look like Indians.

One girl had an Indian father but she never accepted him and everybody thinks she is our (Māori Indian) sister … we do not mind, as we have a number of half siblings.

Names such as: 'curry', 'Hindu', 'black Hindu', 'curry muncher', 'rag head', 'bloody Hindu'.

In my heart I have had no priority for being Māori or Indian, I am both.

We did not know anything much about being Māori and we do not want that for our children.

I was aware that something was different but did not know what.

The Indian part is always there and has to be acknowledged.

The Māori are easily proud of whom they are and how they go about things and they can be quite fierce.

We are pucca [true] Brahmins.

I became seriously proud of my Indian side.

We were not allowed to go to the marae.

We are probably related to 70 percent of people in the area.

Being a Māori and an Indian gave me the skills to do practically anything.

We had Māori and Indian names.

Figures 1 and 2 present aspects of identity through ethnic group composition of the Māori Indian, age range.
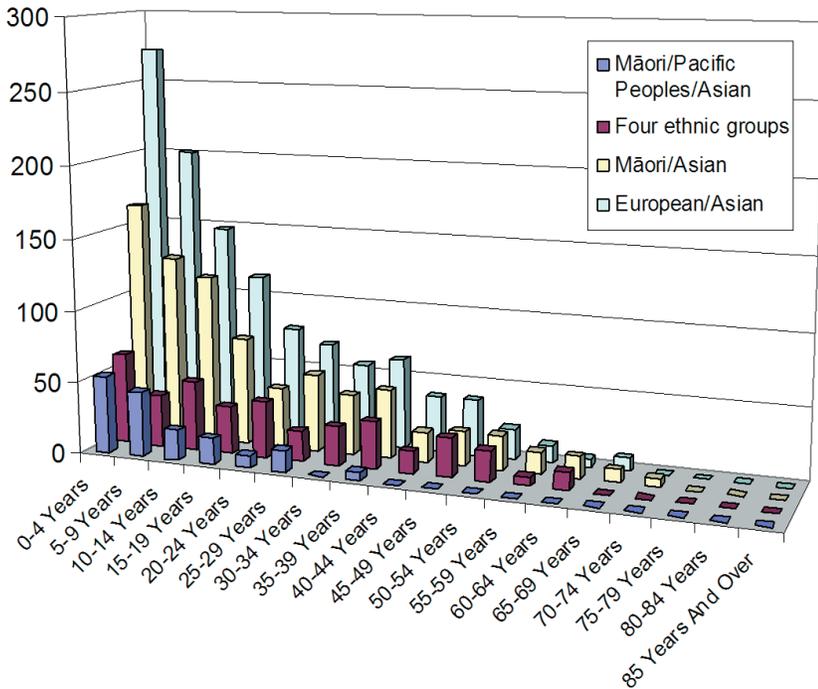
Figure 1: The Māori Indian based on ethnic group composition (total = 2,610)
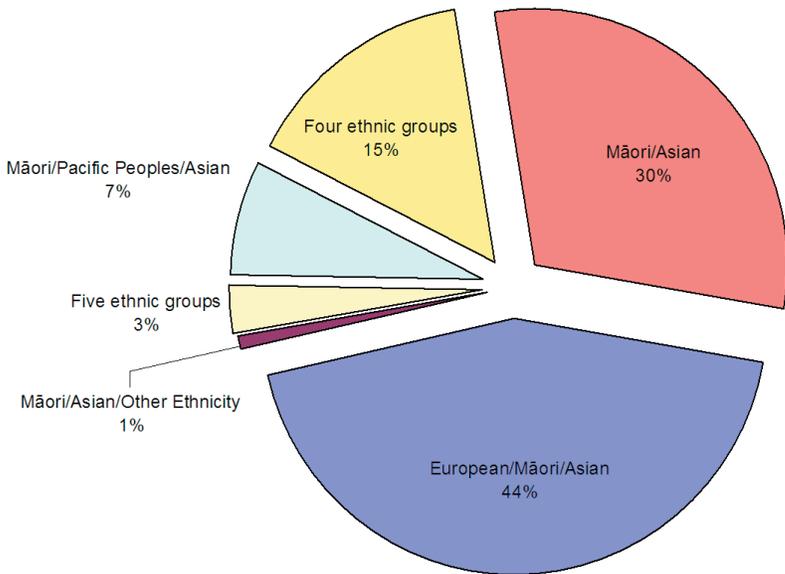
Note: Confidentiality rules have been applied to some data where there are very few individuals. All graphs prepared by Statistics New Zealand from census 2006 data for Dr Edwina Pio, Ref EWJ 21504.

Mixed identity seems to be pronounced among this group of Māori Indian with many individuals acknowledging more than two ethnicities. Ethnicity is based on a respondent indicating they are both of Māori and Indian ethnicity, regardless of any other ethnicity they may identify with.

Figure 2: Ethnic groups by age

Figure 2 legend:
- Māori/Pacific Peoples/Asian
- Four ethnic groups
- Māori/Asian
- European/Asian

Y-axis: 0, 50, 100, 150, 200, 250, 300

X-axis categories: 0-4 Years, 5-9 Years, 10-14 Years, 15-19 Years, 20-24 Years, 25-29 Years, 30-34 Years, 35-39 Years, 40-44 Years, 45-49 Years, 50-54 Years, 55-59 Years, 60-64 Years, 65-69 Years, 70-74 Years, 75-79 Years, 80-84 Years, 85 Years And Over

Work experiences

He was a taxi driver.

Dad used to clean buses.

Dad was employed by the Māori gangs who cut scrub etc.

Dad wanted to work for himself and he started a small sawmill employing Māori, Pākehā and Indians.

Dad had racehorses and was known as a maharajah (king)

Our family had top jockeys.

Worked for Land Information.

Worked as a labourer.

Worked as an executive assistant.
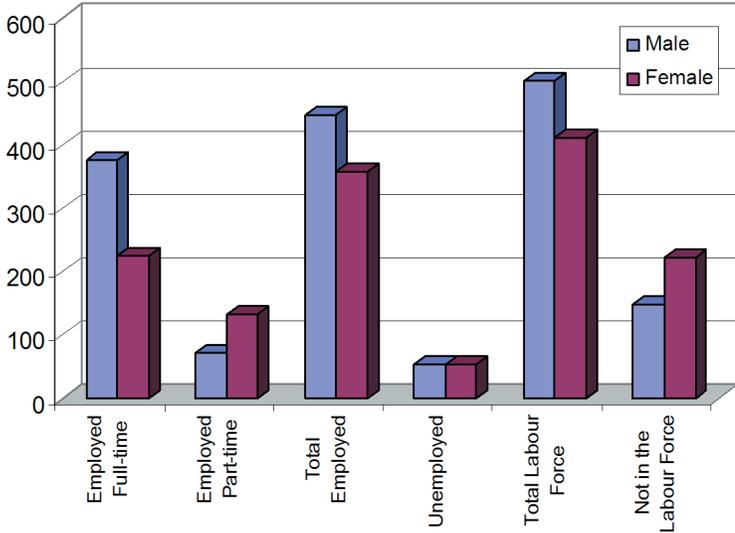
Worked as a chief executive.

We had market gardens.

On a number of boards in the country.

My dad was a conjurer, a magician and my mum had a beautiful voice and played the piano.
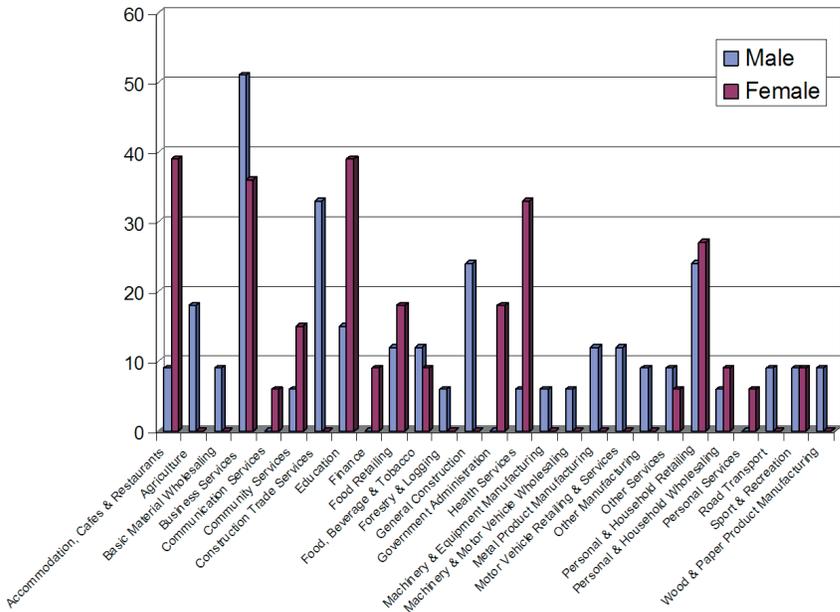
Aspects of work pertaining to the Māori Indian people.

**Figure 3: Work and labour force status by gender (total = 1,284) (aged >15)**

While there seems to be a more or less matching number of men and women who are unemployed, there are more women in part-time work than men and also more women not in the labour force than men.

**Figure 4: Industry by gender (total = 904) (aged >15)**

Large numbers of both men and women work in business services. However, there seems to be a concentration of women in business services, education, health services, accomodation, cafes and restaurants.

Figure 5: Personal income by gender (total = 1,284) (Aged >15)
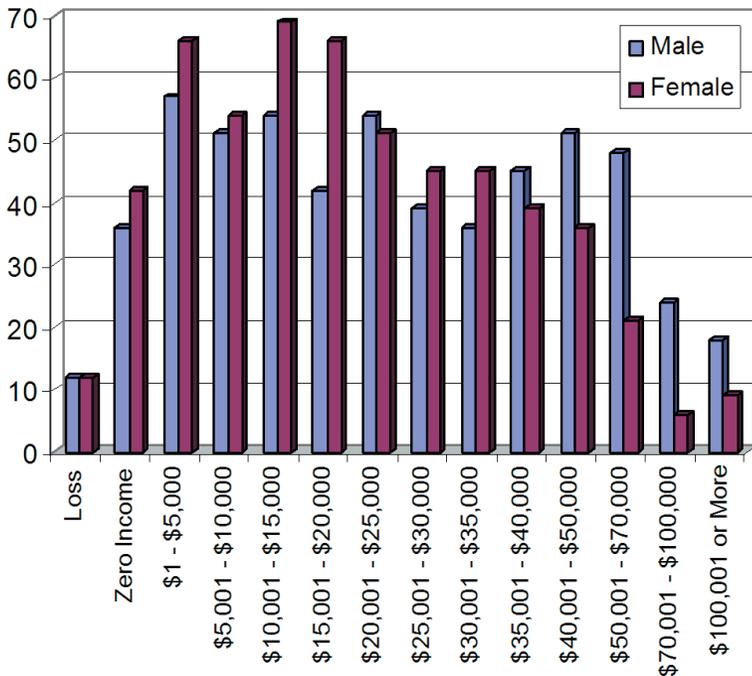
More women seem to be in the lower income brackets than men.

Figure 6: Employment status of the Māori Indian and total people in New Zealand
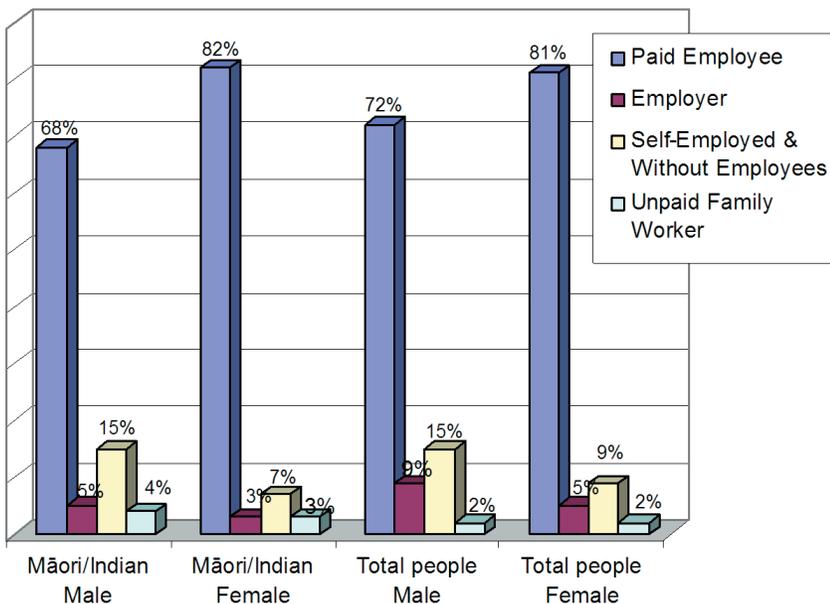
The profile of the Māori Indian closely matches that of the total people in New Zealand with reference to employment status.

Cultural context

We did not follow our dad (Muslim), we sort of followed our mum (Christian).

We speak English and Māori.

My dad saved my mum from beatings with her first husband who was Māori and so he was always welcomed by my mum's Māori family.

Dad knew a bit of Māori but when he made mistakes they (Māori) would laugh and he did not like that as he was a very proud man.

My dad did not eat pork.

My dad would cook his kai first and then my mum would make pork curry.

Indians around here, if they wanted anything they would come to my dad.

My dad never pushed religion on us.

People could count on us, we had market gardens for the community and people could come there and take what they needed.

We know some Indian nursery rhymes and if anyone asks if I can speak Hindi, I just rattle it off.

I am called the spice girl as I sing and always say that I am half Indian.

If the Māori woman married an Indian man, she wore a sari.

Indian clothes are pretty, colourful and feminine.

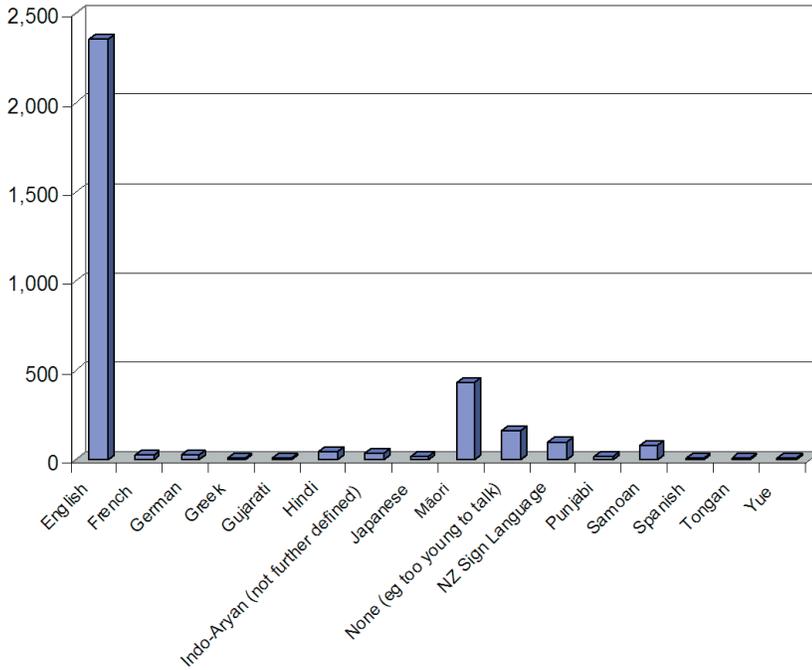Indian culture is quite guarded and suspicious of others.

I want my children to be aware of and acknowledge all parts of their heritage.

The Māori are always accommodating.

Naming your child 'India' is cool.

Figures 7, 8 and 9 present various cultural data.

Figure 7: Languages spoken (n, 1 or more language = 2,541)

English is the most commonly spoken language, followed by Māori, despite the large difference in numbers of those who speak Māori, as indicated in Figure 7. This probably ties in with the historical fact that Te Reo was not allowed to be spoken in schools and also to the qualitative research carried out for this project on the Māori Indian, where a number of individuals were very keen that their children spoke Māori. In the above figure the various languages also indicate the possibility of mixed lineage of various ethnicities.

Figure 8: Religious affiliation (n, 1 or more religion = 2,181)
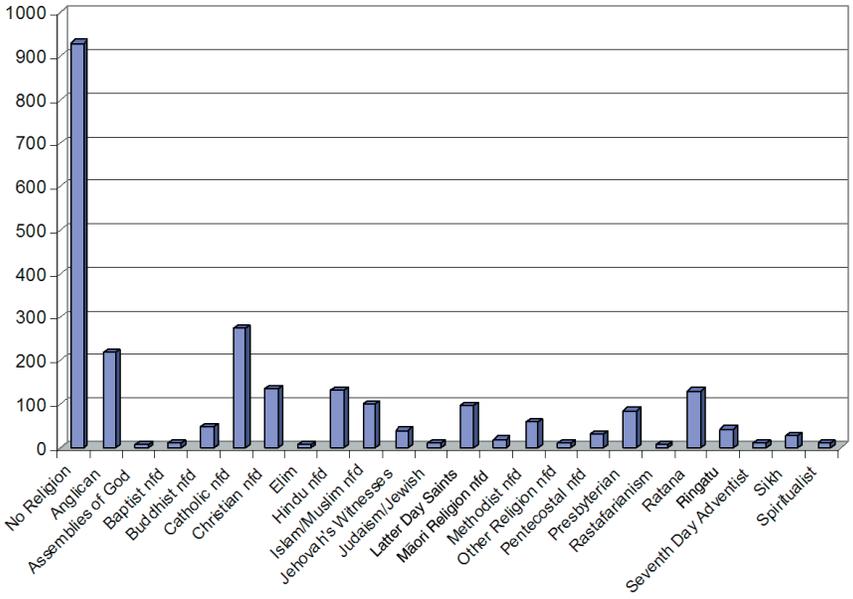
No religious affiliation seems to be the preferred mode, followed by Catholicism, as indicated in Figure 8.
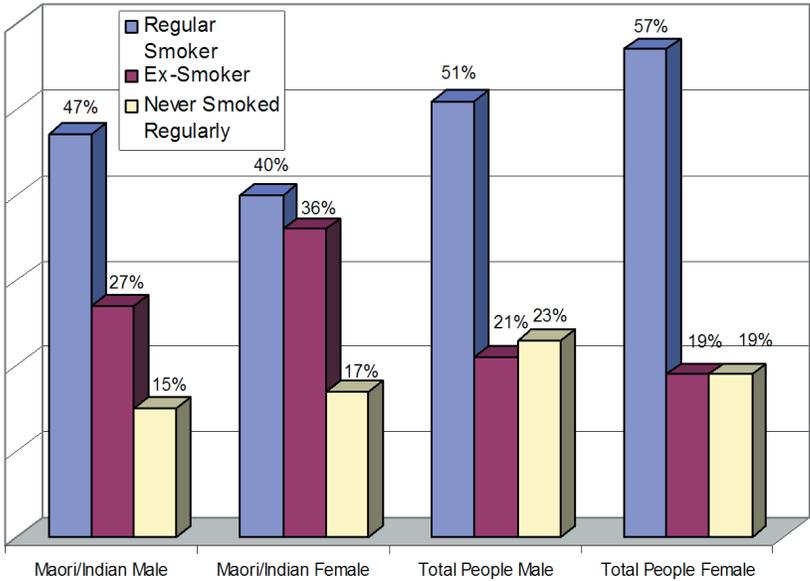
Figure 9: Smoking status

Figure 9 shows that more Māori Indian men and women smoke compared to the general population.

Future

I actually think the future is very good for people of mixed heritage.

I think it's good to see Indians, Māori, Chinese, Pākehā, and Africans intermarry.

I'm not a prejudiced person and this is the future – with mixed people.

The past was different, we have to open ourselves and now Indian people have opened themselves too and the reason is that this is to survive.

But the future too can be like the early days of the past when the Māori and Indians mixed and there were movies shown once a month for all to attend and the children played together and it was a family event.

Nicknames do not worry me, they indicate acceptance.

My children have four different ethnicities and in school they speak a mixed language with their friends.

My grandchildren think it's cool to be Indian.

We have Māori and Indian names.

Soloman whanau celebrate Shareena's 21st birthday at Mataatua Marae, Rotorua.
PHOTO TAUHA TE KANI

Summary of Threads and Themes

Table 2 depicts the intersection of the threads and themes as a summary of the findings of this research.

There was a strong desire among the participants to respect both sides of their families and to learn about their mixed heritage and with this a desire to follow the appropriate protocols. Overall the Māori community seemed to be more accepting of mixed heritage than the Indian community in the perception of the participants, which was also linked to their childhood memories. However, it must be stressed that the participants also emphasised that in the New Zealand of today there is a tremendous mix of different ethnicities and that this may be the way of the future, despite the need to always have a space for oneself within a community which gives one the right and responsibility to "sit by the fire".[23]

Table 2: Depiction of the threads and the themes

	Theme 1: Acceptance	Theme 2: Difference	Theme 3: Rejection
CULTURAL CONTEXT	Enjoys both Māori and Indian foods, respects the cultural norms of both cultures. In general does not practise religion, but remembers each of the parents performing their own separate religious rites: e.g. Mother Māori Christian, Father Indian Muslim or Hindu.	Enjoys both Māori and Indian foods, but identifies more with one or other culture, depending on which side of the family, the Māori or the Indian, was responsible for their upbringing.	Enjoys all kinds of food, but remembers the Indian food when there were specific instances of acceptance by the Indian side of the family.
	The women love wearing the sari and Indian jewellery and tend to wear them for cultural functions and weddings.	The women love wearing the sari and Indian jewellery and tend to wear them for cultural functions and weddings.	The women would like to find out more about their Indian roots but are not sure how to go about this as they do not feel a sense of belonging or connection with their Indian side – hence aware of the sari but have not tried wearing it.
	At school remembers teasing, but sees that as part of growing up and children's behaviour, remembers names such as rag head, but made no difference to the security of their cultural context. In these instances the Indian side was usually a well-acknowledged member of the community.	At school remembers being called terms such as Black Hindu, Curry muncher, Hindu	At school identified more with Māori, but if fair skinned felt that Māori teachers did not view them kindly as they preferred the darker skin children who looked more Māori.

	Theme 1: Acceptance	Theme 2: Difference	Theme 3: Rejection
IDENTITY	Eager to embrace mixed identity and enjoys having more than one ethnicity, feels accepted by both the Indian and Māori relatives and thus enjoys the dual/mixed heritage.	Eager to embrace more than one ethnicity, but a level of discomfort as feels different and therefore not fully accepted by either one community or both communities of the Māori and Indian.	Eager to embrace all parts of the self in terms of ethnicity, but has felt rejected by one community (generally Indian) and thus has felt more of an outcaste with Indians, but has been accepted by the Māori community.
IDENTITY	Has been able to carve out a space for self based on mixed ethnicity, but in general has chosen to identify more with the Māori part of self, while also acknowledging the Indian part. However, where the Indian community has been accepting, the individual can either wear the Māori or the Indian hat depending on the context.	Has felt an urge to search for roots and find out the heritage and lineage from forebears. This has sometimes resulted in visits to India as well as the ancestral sites of the marae from the Māori side.	Has a longing to belong to the Indian and Māori communities. Has nostalgia for stories told about India based on the father's/grandfather's memories. Needs a facilitator to transition self into the Indian community. In many cases has strongly identified with the Māori community who have been much more inclusive of mixed identity.
WORK	Being Māori Indian has not necessarily given an advantage or disadvantage at work. However, the mixed heritage has often been considered special – for example has the brains of the Indians, but the cultural capital of the Māori	Being Māori has given an advantage at work, and being Indian adds to the novelty value.	Strong identification with the Māori community and with Māori organisations.

With increasing ethnic intermarriages, such unions are viewed as an indicator of integration by ethnic and host country communities.[24] In the scholarship on this area, studies indicate that ethnic exogamy tends to occur more frequently among second-generation immigrants and those who have arrived in the host country at a younger age as well as those who are more highly educated.[25] Moreover, opportunities to meet people of other ethnicities and the role of the family, religion and the state also play their part in the complexity of interracial marriages.[26] In predominantly white countries, darker skins are not viewed favourably[27] and there is a focus on racial boundaries. Furthermore, when immigrants have difficulties speaking the host language, there are fewer opportunities for social interaction and hence cultural distance may be maintained.[28] Age of migration is also a factor that is pertinent to mixed marriages, as the younger the migrant, the less likely they are to be socialised in their home country.[29] Yet the opposite could also be true in that ethnic communities are particularly careful to instruct and socialise younger members of their group into the mores of their culture. For example, there is a perception that some sections of the Indian community in New Zealand tend

to be more culturally conscious of their Indian roots, as shown both in their behaviour and strong traditions.

Second-generation migrants generally have more socioeconomic resources than their parents, leading to geographical mobility and residence in non-ethnic neighbourhoods, as well as higher levels of education, often resulting in higher level employment. Such movement results in more opportunities to meet people of the host society and the possibility of less frequent interaction among co-ethnics. Yet interracial marriages can be a source for psychological distress as the couple may experience intense disapproval and social pressure from both their ethnic communities.[30] Traditionally, 'mutually exclusive identities did in fact marginalise the multiracial person and the interracial couple by promoting the assumption that the ideal family was racially and ethnically homogeneous'.[31] Yet, current research indicates that marginalisation for such marriages is declining, and questions the notion that exogamous marriages are very different from endogamous ones.[32]

Today in areas of New Zealand which are horticultural, a number of the orchard workers are Indians who tend to marry among the local Māori population, as well as occasionally have unions with Pākehā. For example, 2,613 identify as Māori Indian in the 2006 census, of which 1,311 are females.[33] It is notable that 'rates of intermarriage are especially high for well-educated Māori and Pacific peoples'.[34] According to the 2001 census, Asian individuals tend to marry among Asians (88%); marry Europeans (8.4%); marry Māori (1.7%) marry Pacific peoples (1.6%).[35] Thus unions where partners are from different ethnic groups or exogamous unions transmit more than one ethnicity to their children. Moreover, differences in timing of migration also have an influence on the interethnic marriages. Children from such unions have the potential to align with more than one ethnic group. The New Zealand census recognises this, allowing individuals to tick more than one box for their ethnicity, or to identify with multiple ethnic groups. However ethnicity is not only biologically transmitted but also socially transmitted and hence can be a fluid process and a significant mechanism for change.[36]

Limitations

Despite the integrity and depth of this project within the constraints of the timeframe and other resources, a number of limitations have to be mentioned. Firstly, it is necessary to have more contact with the Māori community and to spend more time with them to further discuss this research. Secondly, more resources are needed to interview a number of leads which have developed through this research, as well as the importance of having conversations with senior members of both the Māori and Indian communities. Finally, a deeper understanding of the census data would be made possible through comparisons of the Māori Indian with the general population, the Indian population and the Māori population.

Future Research

The limitations presented above point to exciting possibilities for future research. There is need for further interviews, deeper analysis and more conversations with elders within the Māori and Indian communities. A documentary of Māori Indian individuals going back to India to the village of their Indian ancestor is an interesting concept that could be explored. A conference presentation, journal entries and a book are other possibilities, depending on availability of resources.

Coda

Drawing on The Bill of Rights for Racially Mixed People,[37] a number of rights have been developed for individuals of mixed heritage:

I have the right not to… justify my existence in the world, … keep the races separate within, … be responsible for people's discomfort with my physical ambiguity, … not to justify my ethnic legitimacy;

I have the right to identify myself… differently than strangers expect me to, … identify differently than how my parents identify, … differently than my brothers and sisters, … different in different situations; and finally

I have the right to… create a vocabulary to communicate about being multiracial, … change my identity over my lifetime – and more than once, … have loyalties and identify with more than one group of people, … freely choose whom I befriend and love.[38]

And so as the wind blows through the blood-red pōhutukawa, I look again at the picture of the Māori woman in the Indian sari. I know her heart is happy for her story has been told and she has been acknowledged in her love of two cultures.

Johnny and Elaine Edmonds and family, Wellington, 2009.
EDMONDS FAMILY

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Notes

1   Nancy Swarbrick. 'Indians', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated April 9, 2008. www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/Indians/en Retrieved March 21, 2009

2   Mayhew, W.R. (1949). *Tuapeka: The land and its people – A social history of the borough of Lawrence and its surrounding districts*. Dunedin: Whitcombe & Tombs. p.21); Read, Gabriel (1966), from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. www.TeAra.govt.nz/1966/R/ReadGabriel/en Retrieved September 16, 2007 from www.TeAra.govt. nz/1966/G/GoldDiscoveries/en; www.intune.co.nz/gold.html

3   Pio (2008)

4   Based on numerous discussions with first and second generation Indians around New Zealand

5   Hwang, et. al. (1997)

6   For example in South Africa especially during the apartheid era (1948-1994); see Darity, Mason and Stewart (2006) and in Australia in 1901 in the newly constituted state of Queensland marriage between indigenous women and non-indigenous men were restricted; see McGrath (2005); Robert (2001). In the USA for example 29 states possessed laws which prohibited intermarriage, and a Negro in these laws was defined as one-fourth or more Negro blood to persons with any trace of Negro blood; Golden (1958)

7   Hyslop (1995); See also Beaglehole, A. Immigration regulation. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated September 21, 2007 www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/ ImmigrationRegulation/en where the desire to keep NZ white and prejudice against the Asians was accompanied by a sense of the dangers of miscegenation, or interbreeding of different races.

8   Plane (2000)

9   Basran (1993)

10 Qian (1997)

11 Boyes (2006)

12 Hall (1931)

13 Newman (2007)

14 Newman (2007)

15 Wanhalla (2004)

16 Lee (2007)

17 Lee (2007)

18 Mestizo (2007). In Encyclopedia Britannica, retrieved November 29, 2007 from Encyclopedia Britannica online: www.britannica.com/eb/article-9052254

19 Callister (2007), p. 155

20 Callister (2007), p. 152

21 Callister (2007), p. 153

22 Tables specially prepared by Ewan Jonasen, Statistics New Zealand, for the author. Ewj21921 Māori Indian

23 Emery (2008)

24 Kalmijn and Tubergen (2006); Neckerman et. al. (1999)

25 Kalmijn and Tubergen (2006); Golden (1958, 1959)

26 Kalmijn and Tubergen (2006)

27 Qian and Cobas (2004)

28 Kalmijn and Tubergen (2006)

29 Kalmijn and Tubergen (2006)

30 Bratter and Eschbach (2006); Piper (1997)

31 Bratter and Eschbach (2006), p. 1027

32 Bratter and Eschbach (2006)

33 Census 2006, information provided by Robert Didham from Statistics NZ, Christchurch

34 Callister (2007), p. 150

35 Callister et. al. (2005)

36 Howard, S. and Didham, R. 'ethnic intermarriage and ethnic transference amongst the Māori population: implications for the measurement and definition of ethnicity (www.stats.govt.nz/…/0/ EthnicintermarriageandethnictransferenceamongMāori.pdf – retrieved 29 Nov 2007).

37 Root (1992)

38 Boyes (2006)

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