



TE WHARE WĀNANGA O  
AWANUIĀRANGI

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## **FAMILY NARRATIVES AS A DEFINITION OF FAMILY IDENTITY IN A NEW CULTURE**

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An exploration into the influence of a new indigenous culture on  
the family stories and identity of South African immigrant  
families in New Zealand.

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy in Indigenous Studies at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

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Elriza Chimeni Vermeulen

Signature: 

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to acknowledge the participants in my study who were willing to trust me with their stories – I hope that I have done them justice. I also acknowledge my thesis supervisor, Professor Taiarahia Black, who was willing to explore a new culture.

Thank you to my family who listen to my tales with unfailing patience – you inspire me to document our family stories for future generations. I dedicate this work to my husband Hennie and son Hawke who, as co-trekkers, braved the journey with me to a new land – thank you for your courage, love and commitment to family.

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of my thesis is to examine family narratives as a definition of family identity in a new culture, by exploring the influence of a new indigenous culture on the family stories and identity of South African immigrants in New Zealand.

A mixed method research methodology is used. Grounded theory is used to provide an analytical framework for a narrative enquiry, and these Euro-Western methodologies are decolonised by incorporating elements and principles of indigenous theory. I interviewed nine first and second generation immigrants.

Four trends have emerged from my analysis. The first is family stories help immigrants' acculturation by grounding them in their cultural identity, reminding them of their successes, encouraging them to persevere through difficulties, giving them goals to strive for, enriching their lives and developing their resilience. The second is family stories develop family legacies, which forms part of the narrative inheritance passed down to future generations. In order to understand this inherited identity immigrants need to be connected to their culture, be prepared to share these stories and create occasions to tell the tales. The third is the immigrant has to negotiate the cultural distinctions between Māori and Pākehā cultures and find connections with each. The Te Tiriti o Waitangi is relevant to all New Zealanders including immigrants, and its relevance to the maintenance of the cultural identity of Māori and other ethnic minority groups needs to be explained to immigrants. The fourth is family stories have a pedagogic role in transmitting culture to second generation immigrants and there is a need for a hyphenated South African-New Zealander identity for immigrants who want to celebrate their integrated identity in a multicultural environment.

I argue three points. The first is the need for immigrants to integrate into New Zealand's multicultural society, while at the same time honouring their roots and personal family identity. The second is integrated cultural identities could accommodate four areas: families' cultural identity, mātauranga Māori, Pākehā knowledge and knowledge of the home country. The third is the integrated cultural identity could help immigrants to settle into New Zealand society. I conceived the Wagon Framework for Cultural Identity as a heuristic for immigrants to reflect on their changing cultural identity in a new country

This project represents an under-discussed field of the effect of a local indigenous culture on the cultural identity and family stories of an immigrant group, particularly when both cultures are a minority. My aspiration for my descendants is for them to establish meaningful relationships with both their South African heritage and their New Zealand culture.

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## PART ONE – The research story

### Structural overview of thesis

The thesis title is *Family narratives as a definition of family identity in a new culture: An exploration into the influence of a new indigenous culture on the family stories and identity of South African immigrant families in New Zealand*. The thesis is structured into four parts.

Part One is signposted as “The research story” and is composed of four chapters.

Chapter One is an introduction to the researcher and research context. Chapter Two offers an insight into the theoretical perspectives preceding the study. Chapter Three describes the research methodology and outlines the research design, ethics, data collection and data analysis. Chapter Four introduces the participants in the study.

Part Two of this thesis is titled “Analysis and interpretation” and is composed of four chapters, which corresponded to the enquiry line of the four research questions, i.e. family stories to aid the settlement process (Chapter Five); family stories to maintain tūrangawaewae (Chapter Six); the adaptation of family stories to a new culture (Chapter Seven); and a new narrative for next generation immigrants (Chapter Eight).

Part Three of this work is named “Mātauranga South African-New Zealand and comprises three chapters. Chapter Nine revisits the research questions and discussed the implication of the findings. Chapter Ten outlines a new knowledge framework based on the ox wagon. Chapter Eleven discusses the final conclusions and reflections on the research project.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Situating myself in this research

My ancestry is a mixture of Asian, African, South American and European and many of my ancestors included voluntary immigrants to South Africa (such as tradesmen and artisans) and involuntary migrants (such as convicts and slaves). Much of what I know about my forefathers and mothers is tied to the first settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, although I am aware of my lineage in medieval Europe. Many of my ancestors had migrated to the Cape from Germany, Holland, France, Spain, Denmark and Belgium in search of a better life, and they took up a life of farming or soldiering. A number of my Asian female ancestors, and a male indigenous African ancestor, arrived or were born at the Cape as slaves, and they demonstrated resilience in adapting and improving their circumstances. Groot Catrijn from Batavia, for example, arrived in 1657 as the first female convict to the Cape (her death sentence had been commuted to banishment as a slave) but died as a free woman with property. My African indigenous ancestry derives from Eva Kratoa, a Goringhaicona woman who acted as an interpreter, guide and mediator for settlers at the Cape, and my DNA ancestry also shows Nigerian and Masai origins. One of my African ancestors, Manuel van Angola, was kidnapped as a child off the coast of Angola by Portuguese slavers for transport to Brazil, subsequently transferred to a Dutch ship and left at the Cape as a child slave. My ancestors moved from the Cape to the interior of South Africa in a steady migratory spread (*trekboere*), as they searched for new grazing pastures for their livestock – my mother's ancestors for the most part taking the route through the Drakensberg Mountains to the Transvaal, and my father's ancestors settling along the coast around East London. My paternal great-great-grandfather emigrated from Ireland to South

Africa during the period of the Irish Potato Famine and my grandmother Fitzgerald moved from East London when she married my grandfather Petzer.

I was born in the mining town of Benoni, a lake town on the Witwatersrand plateau – and the hills that surrounded my hometown were mine-dumps. As the second daughter of a semi-liberal English-speaking father, and a conservative Afrikaans-speaking mother, I spoke primarily English at home but I grew up with a good knowledge of Afrikaans and spoke Afrikaans to my relatives. The cultural differences in South Africa between English and Afrikaans families were quite marked during my formative years, and negotiating the dual identity between English and Afrikaans culture often created challenges. This is particularly interesting to note as only two generations had changed my father's family from Afrikaans speaking to English speaking. I emigrated from South Africa to New Zealand in January 2001 with my husband and our eight-year-old son. We had two sets of South African friends who were living in Auckland at the time – and the rest of the New Zealand inhabitants were total strangers. The past seventeen years has been a journey of discovery as we adapted to our new life in a foreign country. One of the facts I had to come to terms with, for example, was New Zealand's participation in the Anglo-Boer War, a conflict where 27 000 Boer women and children (including members of my family) and about the same amount of Africans died in British concentration camps.

Most of my heritage I have discovered in the past ten years through genealogical and DNA research. I have found the discrepancy between the truth and the family stories I was told to be fascinating. For example, I grew up believing that my paternal grandfather (who died when my father was nine years old) had been born in Germany, making me one-quarter German. This defined for a large portion of my life who I



thought I was. In reality, I have discovered that my German ancestor actually arrived in South Africa in 1743 (nine generations ago), and that my lineage was closely aligned with all the major events in South African history for the past 360 years. This highlighted to me the effect that a family story has on your perceived identity.

The concept of family identity is one that we – as a small nuclear family in New Zealand – worked to cultivate. Our family motto of love, strength and honour became the deliberate credo by which we conducted ourselves – both as South African immigrants and New Zealand citizens. We have integrated the culture of our two countries and the process has changed us to the point where we are no longer solely South Africans, but have become a blend of the two countries. Our family stories reflect this duality.

## **1.2. Research context**

My ancestors came from all over the world to make a life in South Africa and through the process developed family stories – many of which were lost, and then regained, through time. In a similar fashion, I have developed new family stories in my new country, and some of these stories have been influenced by the tangata whenua (Māori term for indigenous people or people of the land) of New Zealand. As my future descendants will be New Zealanders, I ponder on the question of how our family stories may affect their family identity.

When families immigrate to New Zealand they bring with them their family stories from their home country. These, which could be in the form of personal histories, myths, legends or tall tales, are then carried down to their children. This combination of

personal stories and family myths and legends leads to a particular identity associated with a family in the home country. However, when an immigrant family comes to a new foreign country their identity is not known as they land in unfamiliar circumstances – physical, mental, spiritual and emotional. They may choose to hold onto their old familiar identity or create a new narrative for their family in the new country, or weave old and new stories together, and these choices could either help or hinder their settlement process.

I am interested in the role that family storytelling plays in developing a family's identity and holding a nuclear family together in their new country. It could be hypothesized that some immigrant families may abandon their stories and dilute their family identity while others may cling more strongly to them. This thesis investigates how immigrants develop new stories for their descendants and the role that Māori stories, as well as Māori culture and language, may play in influencing these stories. Immigrant children are exposed to Māori pūrākau at school and their parents are exposed to Māori culture in their workplace and social interactions. Māori, as the indigenous culture of New Zealand, has its own pūrākau (tribal narratives and legends), which may have significant similarities and/or differences from the immigrant's home country. In this research, I explore how the family stories may change when the values, beliefs, and behaviours of the immigrants' countries interact with the values, beliefs and behaviours of both Māori and Pākehā.

As Langellier and Peterson (2006, p. 47) note “family stories is always a cultural, not a natural, process of communication” (p. 112), and I examine how the change of culture influences the immigrants' stories. As a South African emigrant, I am particularly interested in the family stories from my birth country. I, therefore, focus on the

experiences of South African immigrants, by interviewing families that have immigrated to New Zealand in the past twenty years.

### 1.3. Purpose statement

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between family stories and family identity for South African immigrants and the influence of Māori culture on these stories and the immigrants' identity. A title for my thesis is:

*Family narratives as a definition of family identity in a new culture: An exploration into the influence of a new indigenous culture on the family stories and identity of South African immigrant families in New Zealand.*

Four research questions have been formulated for this research:

1. Does the migrant family's choice of either holding onto their South African family identity and stories or creating a new family identity and narrative in New Zealand, help, or hinder, their settlement process? This question is explored in Chapter Five.
2. How do family stories help immigrants to maintain their tūrangawaewae when faced with a new culture and a new country? This question is investigated in Chapter Six.
3. How are family identities influenced when immigrants experience the values, beliefs and behaviours of Māori? This question is examined in Chapter Seven.
4. How are new stories developed and told for second generation immigrants and their descendants in a bicultural and multicultural environment? This question is explored in Chapter Eight.

## 1.4. Thesis overview

### **Part One - The research story**

This section provides the introduction to the thesis, including the theoretical perspectives informing this field and the research methodologies and methods used. It consists of four chapters,

#### Chapter One - Introduction

The introduction chapter starts with an overview of the researcher which introduces the reader to the researcher's background. It is followed by the research context, the purpose statement and the research questions that have been formulated for the research.

#### Chapter Two – Literature Review

The literature reviews offers an insight into the theoretical perspectives preceding the study. The concepts of family identity, family stories, language, The Treaty of Waitangi, multiculturalism and acculturation are explored and discussed.

#### Chapter Three – Methodology

The methodology chapter is divided into six sections. Section 3.1 covers the research paradigms of this thesis, and postcolonialism, decolonisation, indigenous paradigms, axiology, ontology and epistemology are discussed. In addition, the mixed research methodologies of grounded theory, indigenous theory and mixed theory that are used in my research are described. Section 3.2 discusses the ethics considerations that are necessary when working with human participants. Section 3.3 explains the data collection and research procedures. Section 3.4 describes the data analysis process and

section 3.5 covers validity and reliability as the standards of research. The chapter closes with a summary.

#### Chapter Four – Participants

Background information regarding the emigration of South Africans to New Zealand is provided in the section 4.1 to provide context. The nine participants in the study are introduced in section 4.2 and the statistics of the participants are outlined in section 4.3.

### **Part Two – Analysis and interpretation**

Part Two is a substantial section composed of four chapters, which corresponds to the enquiry line of the four research questions,

#### Chapter Five – Family stories to aid the settlement process

Chapter Five considers whether the migrant family's choice of either holding onto their South African family identity and stories or creating a new family identity and narrative in New Zealand affects their settlement process. It covers four areas. Section 5.1 discusses the migrant story of the new immigrant and their aspirations for a better future. Section 5.2 examines the South African's connection to their ancestors who were immigrants to South Africa. Section 5.3 explores the migrations of ancestors within South African borders and perceived correlations between the historical Groot Trek and moving to New Zealand. Section 5.4 it considers the immigrant's knowledge of Pākehā and Māori culture before arriving in New Zealand. The chapter ends with a summary section.

#### Chapter Six – Family stories to maintain tūrangawaewae

Chapter Six scrutinises the way family stories ground participants in the present and help them maintain their tūrangawaewae. It covers four areas. Section 6.1 explores the use of family stories to create identity and form a lasting family legacy. The values and traits, family stories and family legacies that the participants consider important to their identity are examined. Section 6.2 considers the participants' connections to their culture, and the development of a family culture through stories. The role of family stories in creating a secret past for immigrants who are unwilling or unable to share their experiences is examined in section 6.3. The role of family stories in language maintenance is discussed in section 6.4. The chapter ends with a summary section.

#### Chapter Seven – Adaptation of family stories to a new culture

Chapter Seven explores the way family identities are influenced by new cultures and covers three areas. The connections that participants build with the Māori culture are examined in section 7.1, including Te Reo, food, cultural experiences, pūrākau and tikanga. The role of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in relation to the participants and Waitangi Day is discussed in section 7.2. The connections that participants develop with New Zealand Pākehā culture are considered in section 7.3. The chapter ends with a summary section.

#### Chapter Eight – A new narrative for next generation immigrants

Chapter Eight examines how new stories are developed and told for second generation immigrants and their descendants in a bicultural and multicultural environment. The participants' acculturation is discussed in section 8.1. The participants' views on the identity of a South African immigrant living in New Zealand, including their definitions of their ethnicity, place of standing and maintenance of culture is explored in section 8.2.

### **Part Three – Mātauranga South African-New Zealand**

Part Three comprises three chapters on the results and implications of the thesis.

#### Chapter Nine – Research questions revisited

Chapter Nine revisits the four research questions and discusses the trends that have emerged from the findings.

#### Chapter Ten - Mātauranga South African-New Zealander (from wagon to waka)

A heuristic to reflect on immigrant identity was developed on a conceived knowledge system that reflects my South African tūrangawaewae, which I have termed the Wagon Framework for South African-New Zealander Cultural Identity. The four elements of the framework, South African knowledge, family identity, mātauranga Māori and Pākehā knowledge are discussed both individually and in relation to each other.

#### Chapter Eleven - Epilogue

The epilogue is the final chapter and is divided into two sections. Section 11.1 discusses the final conclusions, contributions to new knowledge, limitations of the research and possibilities for future research. Section 11.2 describes my personal reflections on the research project.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1. Introduction to theoretical perspectives**

As my research explores the role of family narratives in defining the family identity of South African immigrants in Māori culture, the literature review has been researched with the key words of family stories, family identity, migrant stories and indigenous culture, with a subsequent focus on South African immigrant stories.

The theoretical perspectives are organised into six sections. The first section explores definitions of family identity. The second section, reviews the purpose and importance of family stories to immigrants. The third section discusses the language of South African immigrants in New Zealand. The fourth section examines Te Tiriti o Waitangi – the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to immigrants’ notions of the Treaty and attitude to Waitangi Day. Finally, the fifth section defines multiculturalism, acculturations and the theories of adjustment to migration, particularly in an indigenous culture.

It can be noted that there is limited literature available on the effect of a local indigenous culture on the culture identity of immigrants – when both the indigenous culture (such as the Māori in New Zealand) and the ethnic culture of the immigrant (such as the South African in New Zealand) is in the minority.

### **2.2. Family identity**

Philosophers and social scientists have grappled with the complex subject of identity since time immemorial, making the essentially simple question of “who am I” extremely complex. The complexity has led to multiple fields of identity theories which



diversify based on the theoretical roots of psychology (personal identity), socio-psychology (social identity) as well as research into cultural identity, language and various research paradigms (Bolaffi, Brocalenti, Braham, & Gindro, 2003; Burke & Stets, 2009; Kroger & Marcia, 2011; Schwartz, Luyckx, & Vignoles, 2011) As my thesis is based on the role of family stories in reviewing and maintaining family identity and the influences of a new culture on the family stories, the concepts of personal identity, family identity and cultural identity are explored in this section (2.3).

### **2.2.1. Personal identity**

Individual or personal identity is the way a person defines themselves based on their goals, values, beliefs, spiritual beliefs, standards for behaviour, self-esteem, views on future selves and their personal life story (Burke & Stets, 2009; Vignoles, Schwartz, & Luyckx, 2011; Wenger, 1998; Woodward, 1997). The concept of personal identity is, however, not fixed and the values and beliefs of individuals change based on their experiences. Wenger (1998, p. 149) suggests that “identity is a negotiated experience” developed not only when we participate in experiences, but the way that we see ourselves and others see us during these encounters. Personal identities are, therefore, not created by individuals independently, but need to be validated by others (Waterman, 2011; Woodward, 1997). This observation is supported by Schwartz et al. (2011, p. 3), who notes that “claims to a particular identity need to be recognized by a social audience if they are to be secure”.

Burke & Stets (2009 p. 3) further defines identity as “the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique

person”. People identified themselves by the role they performed at a particular time, for example mother at home, manager at work or friend at a social gathering. These roles are conferred by either the individual or by society or both (Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker, 1980). Individual identity that exists in context of the wider community is called role identity or relational identity, and is influenced by the individuals who assume these roles (Burke & Stets, 2009; Vignoles et al., 2011; Wenger, 1998; Woodward, 1997).

A third category of identity is collective identity which Schwartz et al. (2011, p. 3) describes as “people’s identification with the groups and social categories to which they belong, the meanings that they give to these social groups and categories, and the feelings, beliefs, and attitudes that result from identifying with them”. Collective identity is also termed social identity (Burke & Stets, 2009). Conceptualising this concept further, Wenger (1998, p. 149) divides collective identity into “multimembership” which defines “who we are by the ways we reconcile our various forms of membership into one identity”, and “community membership” which defines “who we are by the familiar and the unfamiliar”. The idea that people have more than one identity based on their roles, their links to groups and the place their roles are enacted, is reinforced by Wenger (1998, p. 145) who observed “building an identity consists of negotiating the meaning of our experience of membership in social communities”. Woodward (1997, p. 1) supports this argument in her thoughtful assertion that “identity gives us a location in the world and presents the link between us and the society in which we live”.

Family identity arises from the relational and collective identity of the individual. An individual’s identity in a family is linked to their belonging to a specific family, and the

role they play in the family, such as mother, father, brother, sister (Burke & Stets, 2009; Galvin, 2006). In addition, families have sub-systems of couple relationships, sibling relationships and parent-child relationships, and the role of the individual in these sub-systems also connects individual identity and family identity (Scabini & Manzi, 2011).

### **2.2.2. Family identity**

Family identity can be defined as the family traits, vision and goals that characterise a group of people who are closely related by birth, marriage or adoption, which makes them a distinctive unit (Bolaffi et al., 2003; Galvin, 2006; Huisman, 2014; Nesteruk, Helmstetter, Gramescu, Siyam, & Price, 2015; Scabini & Manzi, 2011; B. Thompson et al., 2009). However, in modern society and through immigration, the concept of family can include created family, such as friendly neighbours or close friends, which Galvin (2006, p. 8) describes as “fictive kin”. In indigenous cultures the concept of family is broadened to include more distance relatives and ancestors (T. Black, 2014; Fraser, 2014; Mead, 2012). Māori, for example, link personal and family identity to whakapapa, which according to Kelly (2002, p. 87) is a “person’s way of knowing their identity in terms of connection to the ancestors and kin one lived with [and] to know the place of one’s whanau ... one had to know about one’s linear connection to ancestors and lateral connections to other individuals and whanau”. Family identity has, therefore, both horizontal and vertical connections to family members.

As family identity is created by the internal discourse processes of language and interaction, the communication that family members have with each other has an effect on their identity. (Barkhuizen & De Klerk, 2006; Galvin, 2006; Huisman, 2014; Scabini & Manzi, 2011). Family identity is also created by the external forces which

influence the family, such as membership of cultural groups, the culture in which the family lives, and the culture to which the family belongs (Barkhuizen & De Klerk, 2006; Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Huisman, 2014; Langellier & Peterson, 2006) .

### **2.2.3. Cultural identity**

Language is one of the common factors between family identity and cultural identity.

Guo and Dalli (2012, p. 129) defines culture as “those aspects of the social environment that are taken for granted by those who share the environment: customs, ways of being and acting and, in particular, a shared language”. The customs include tangible aspects such as dress, food, music, art and literature and intangible value and belief systems.

Culture is built on a common framework of meaning which expresses the values, belief system, communication and decision making models and customs of a social group which is passed down to the next generation (Bolaffi et al., 2003; Quest Rapuara, 1992; Stuart & Ward, 2011; Umana-Taylor, 2011; Unger, 2011).

Cultural identity has links to ethnicity, race and national identity. Bolaffi et al. (2003, p. 94) noted that during the period of British colonialism “the concept of ethnicity was often linked to race, people and nation, and traces of this ambiguity still remain today”. However, the New Zealand government considers ethnicity as a self-perceived measure of cultural affiliation to one or more ethnic groups and specifies that it not “race, ancestry, nationality, or citizenship”. According to the Statistics New Zealand census guide, an ethnic group has five characteristics: “a shared proper name; shared cultural elements such as religion, customs or language; a unique community of interests, feelings, and actions; a shared sense of common origins or ancestry; and a common geographic origin” (Statistics New Zealand, 2006, 2103). The South African

government, however, continues to define its population by race, using the terms Black African, Coloured, Indian or Asian, White and Other in population group statistics (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Race is usually based on physical biological traits such as appearance and skin colour, with negative connotations of prejudice and discrimination. The different approaches to cultural identity, and the different definitions between countries, mean that immigrants find the definition of ethnicity problematic at times (Bolaffi et al., 2003; LeBaron & Pillay, 2006; Sonnenschein & Van Meijl, 2014). In addition, mass media often used the term ethnicity when referring to racial discrimination and this further confuses the issue (Aberdeen, 2002; Beilharz & Hogan, 2002; Bolaffi et al., 2003; Wenger, 1998)). In this study, I use the New Zealand government's definition of ethnicity, and I only refer to race to describe South Africans, as per the South African government's description of its population.

#### **2.2.4. Migrant identity**

The role individuals play in their personal identity, family identity or cultural identity can cause tension when the roles are in conflict. This can occur when migrants move to a culture that has values which are different to their own or when their cultural identity conflicts with the national identity. Vignoles et al. (2011, p. 22) defines national identity as the “feeling of solidarity that an individual has with a country and its ideals”, and, as such, national identity can include or exclude different ethnicities – either voluntarily or by law. Sameness and difference are identity markers that can cause tension or conflict. Woodward (1997, p. 2) argues that “identity is most clearly defined by difference, that is by what is not”, and identity is based on the conflict between the merit value of the individual versus that of the society, where one is good and the other is bad. On the other hand, Wenger (1998, p. 147) convincingly asserts that the focus

should be on the balance of tensions between the individual and society, and points out that “acknowledging that there can be specific tensions between individuals and collectivity is very different from positing a dichotomy with fundamental divergence between them”. This study, therefore, aims not to make value judgements on the opinions of individuals or groups, but does explore the tensions that exist.

Immigrant families play a role in maintaining the culture of their home country. In reference to immigrants, Unger (2011, p. 812) asserts that cultural identity includes “people’s subjective orientation (a) toward their families’ culture(s) of origin (b) toward one or more ‘dominant’ cultures, or (c) toward a combination of these cultures”.

Immigrants can choose to identify with the country of origin or with their new country and families play an important role in this decision (Bolaffi et al., 2003; Durr, 2011; Guo, 2013; Ip, 2003). If immigrants choose to associate their cultural identity with their family’s original culture and their new country, a hyphenated, hybrid or overlapping cultural identity would result (Ashbourne & Baobaid, 2014a; Bol Jun Lee, 2007; Cornwell & Stoddard, 2001; Nesteruk et al., 2015).

Reyneke (2004) research study “n Prakties-teologiese narratiewe navorsing van die aanpassingsproses van 'n gesin wat van Suid-Afrika na Nieu-Seeland verhuis het” (English Translation: A practical theological narrative research of the adaptation process of a family that moved from South Africa to New Zealand) was written by a South African immigrant to New Zealand. It examined the adaptation process of a South African family in New Zealand, through a Post-Foundationalist Practical Theology research lens. Reyneke also thoughtfully shared his own family’s insights and experiences, alongside that of his research subjects, in this narrative research. The family described their perceptions before and a year after they immigrated to New

Zealand. The researcher noted that the family experiences affected their family's identity as they changed religions (Dutch Reformed to Baptist) and they changed their parenting style (from a strict positivism education of children to a new post-modern approach). The challenge of being South African parents to New Zealand children as they adjusted to a different style of education is further highlighted. Māori, as the indigenous culture, is briefly covered in the history section, but not explored as part of the family's adaptation process. Although the study examines the effect that living in New Zealand has had on the lifestyle, parenting and faith of a new immigrant family it does not look at the influence of mātauranga Māori.

Another study by a South African immigrant examined the immigration stories of nine South African families living in Wellington, New Zealand. This qualitative study by Small (2015) entitled *South African immigrants in New Zealand: Towards an ecomodel of assessment and intervention*, explored the adaptation process of the immigrants before and after their arrival with the aim of understanding their experiences. It also studied the factors that had an impact on their acculturation and adaptation. Although the researcher did not explore the views of the participants on the indigenous people of New Zealand, she did offer the experience of a pōwhiri as a way for migrants to be welcomed by Māori. This is a useful study as it offers suggestions for integrating into New Zealand society. It offers insights into hyphenated cultural identities from a psychological development point of view.

In their study "I Want to Hold Onto My Roots, but I Also Want to Experience New Routes" Nesteruk et al. (2015, p. 32) noted that children of immigrants to the United States of America may not fit in with their new or 'heritage' country as they are different to both and, therefore, have an experience of "not belonging anywhere" (p.

148). Similarly, Kobayashi and Preston (2014, p. 240) note that immigrants experience a “paradox of between-ness” as they negotiate the path between their old and new countries. In the same vein, Cain, Meares, and Read (2015, p. 1151) noted that “[o]n arriving in New Zealand, migrants are required to negotiate a difficult balance between holding on to past lives while embracing new lives, perhaps in the full knowledge that emotional equilibrium is often elusive”. In support of identity being affected by place, Wenger (1998, p. 149) succinctly asserts that “we define who we are by where we have been and where we are going”. Māori have a strong link to their land and use the word *tūrangawaewae* (place of standing) to describe the connection (Doherty, 2012; Mead, 2012). Doherty (2012, p. 31) clarifies *tūrangawaewae* as a person’s “physical connection to a space and place” as well as “a comfort zone, or a person’s point of view”, and this explanation is particularly pertinent to research into family and cultural identity. If, as Doherty (2012, p. 31) points out, “*tūrangawaewae* is the place one cognitively and physically returns to when challenged or feeling uncomfortable in order to regather their thoughts”, then place and space have a role to play in personal, family and cultural identity. Barkhuizen and De Klerk (2006, p. 295) argued that the personal and social experiences of migrants moved “backwards and forwards in time and physical space”, and migrants negotiated their identity based on both their current and future country (pre-immigration) and current and past country (post-immigration).

It is clear that immigrants experience a dichotomy between their home and new country and the importance of narratives and memory in negotiating this contradiction is alluded to in some studies. Reyneke (2004) interestingly notes that interpretation and telling of their stories helped one immigrant family find balance between clinging to tradition and culture and denying their tradition and culture. Similarly, Cain et al. (2015, p. 1151)



noted the importance of immigrants having a shared space, such as a South African store, where women could share their memories and stories, and thereby transform New Zealand “from a place of location into a space of belonging”. The purpose of research into family identity is to explore the ways that immigrants confront this dichotomy of old versus new, of then versus now, and establish if family stories can be used by immigrants to negotiate their cultural identity and their tūrangawaewae.

### **2.3. Family stories**

The literature review on family stories provides explanations on the use of terms such as story, narrative and narrative inheritance in the research study. It also conceptualises the links between family stories, family identity and family legacy,

#### **2.3.1. Story and narrative**

A story typically has a beginning, middle and end, usually with a plot and characters, whereas a narrative is the choice of how to relate the plot, what parts to include or leave out and how to tell the story (Benson, 2003; Coville, 2003; Hunt, 2005). For example, assume a woman called Mary had three experiences – marriage, pregnancy and childbirth – which form her story. The family narrative of Mary’s story, however, changes when the events are told in a different sequence. Mary fell pregnant, had a baby, married and then divorced is the narrative of a single parent; Mary married, fell pregnant and had a child is the narrative of a married mother; Mary fell pregnant, ran away from the altar and bore the child on her own is the narrative of a pregnant run-away bride. Narrative enables the content of a story to be viewed as separate from the experience being related. For this reason Stone (2004, p. xvi) points out that narratives

“direct us to scrutinise rather than engage with stories, drawing our attention away from content alone, to include awareness of form . . . , and in so doing, reminds us that content is neither interchangeable with experience nor inevitable in its presentation”.

### **2.3.2. Family stories**

In the context of this study, family stories are the narratives that a family relates regarding the exploits of the family and their ancestors, called big stories, as well as stories that arise from daily activities, known as small stories (B. Thompson et al., 2009). Langellier and Peterson (2006, p. 111) rightly suggest that “family stories refer to experience, and they evaluate experiences, characters, and acts from the collective perspective of family or an individual family member”. In analysing the argument of Stone (1998, p. 5) that “Almost any bit of lore about a family member, living or dead, qualifies as a family story—as long as it's significant, as long as it's worked its way into the family canon to be told and retold”, it can be seen that the story needs to be significant enough to be remembered, in order to be retold. Her reasoning of “working its way into” is supported by Langellier and Peterson (2006) as they observed that storytelling involves “remembering and forgetting stories; interpreting, reinterpreting, and emphasizing what has been marginal or muted”.

### **2.3.3. Family stories as definition of family identity**

Family stories may occur as full narratives or as disjointed notes that are pieced together into a narrative, but, no matter their form, family members are affected (and possibly transformed) by the stories they tell. This was noted by McGeough (2012, p. 17) in the following situations:

(1) family members may agree on the nature of a story, but how it influences their identities may differ; (2) family members may construct different meanings of a story but act as if they share understandings to maintain family cohesion; and (3) family members may piece together fragments and create an inaccurate version of a story that influences their personal identities long after the inaccuracy is corrected.

Similarly, Bylund (2003, p. 234) succinctly notes: “Family storytelling is an active process of reliving the past, and also creating a reality for the family”.

The purpose of family stories is not only for entertainment or to remember the past. Researchers have shown that family tales can be used to build family identities and foster family culture (Byers, 1997; Bylund, 2003; Fraser, 2012; Langellier & Peterson, 2006; Trees & Kellas, 2009). As Berger and Quinney (2004, p. 6) notes, family stories “are not merely ways of telling others about ourselves, but of constructing our identities, of finding purpose and meaning in our lives”. Similarly, Kellas (2005, p. 368) maintains family stories “affect and reflect family culture by communicating who a family is – its norms, its values, its goals, its identity”, and the ideas that arise from storytelling could be identity markers of the family’s attitude to family, society, and self.

Family stories also set the standard for family values and behaviour by creating a vision for family members to abide by, until these stories eventually develop into their family identity (Ballard & Ballard, 2011; Bylund, 2003; Huisman, 2014; Langellier, 2002; Meares, 2007). Family stories, therefore, define the way the family behaves in society. In this way, as Bylund (2003, p. 217) notes, family stories function “not as artefacts or

texts, but as a strategy of social control”. The content of the stories teach the family members a certain set of social behaviours for both inside the family circle and in the wider society (Kellas, 2005). In addition, the story that a family tells presents to society a version of that family and, by association, a version of the individual (Meares, 2007, p. 197).

However, as Kellas (2005, p. 386) points out “not only do our family stories shape us, but we also shape our family stories and our family identities”. When family members relate their stories they will adapt their narrative to suit their audience or to offer a version of their family they wish to portray. Marchitello (2003, p. 186) suggests that adaptations in literature have double “genealogies”. The first derives from the idealistic idea that adaptations will direct listeners – particularly children – to the original text; and the second originating from the idea of the subject and the nature of subject text itself, that exists behind a particular adaptation. *Fabula* and *sjuzet* are two terms originating in Russian Formalism and employed in narratology to describe narrative construction. *Sjuzet* is an employment of narrative and *fabula* is the chronological order of the retold events – the *fabula* is the raw material of a story, and *sjuzet*, the way a story is organized. The concepts of *fabula* and *sjuzet* can be used to suggest that adaptations of family stories not only recreate the family event being told, but also create secondary stories by, for example, the place where the story was told or the listener’s responses (Marchitello, 2003; Vermeulen, 2013). In my thesis, I will examine the family stories that are created by events, which in themselves become events where further family stories are told.

#### **2.3.4. Family legacy**

When family stories are told from one generation to next, a family legacy can develop.

B. Thompson et al. (2009, p. 108) defined family legacy as “strands of meaning that run through the family in ways that give it identity or sense, are constituted in communication through family storytelling, and are continually reshaped over time”.

Family identity is carried from one generation to the next. Time and storytellers ,therefore, have an important role to play in legacies as the story has to be told across generations (Langellier & Peterson, 2006; Stone, 1998).

#### **2.3.5. Narrative inheritance**

Family stories create the family identity, and then the family stories are carried over generations, the family stories and identity create the family legacy. The body of stories, experiences and identity that are told to the next generation is the family’s narrative inheritance, and it is this narrative inheritance that creates the family legacy (Ballard & Ballard, 2011; Goodall, 2005). As Ballard and Ballard (2011, p. 81 ) eloquently note “We have a past we are born into and handed down through story, but with each handing down, we pass another part of our narrative inheritance to our children”. In analysing the concept of narrative inheritance it is important to note that family stories need to be continually told, remembered and retold in order to be retained.

#### **2.3.6. Connections of family stories to immigration**

Research into content of family stories indicates that family narratives can help family members to deal with difficult situations (Koenig Kellas & Trees, 2006), advise the younger generation in a new environment (Ashbourne & Baobaid, 2014a), form their

cultural identity (Kellas, 2005; Langellier, 2002; Sonn, Quayle, Mackenzie, & Law, 2014), and deal with immigration (Comello, 2012; Yuen, 2008). Feiler (2013) argued that knowledge of their family history increased children's self-esteem and enabled their feeling of control over their lives. The stories of the heroic exploits of their ancestors could help the present generation to cope with current problems (Siim, 2014). Although the family stories of different ethnic groups focussed on a variety of themes, Bylund (2003, p. 232) noted that the common factor was how their family dealt with difficult times, emphasising that "although the nature of those hardships varies, their inclusion in family stories does not". Although family storytelling has been researched in a number of different disciplines the stories in "ethnically diverse families has been limited" (Bylund, 2003, p. 215). As Kellas (2005, p. 366) asserts, "notably less research has focused on storytelling in families, especially how meaning and identity are negotiated communicatively as stories are told amongst family members".

The investigation of immigrant family stories and the role it plays in family identity and acculturation in New Zealand is an under-researched area. The *Integration of Immigrants Programme* (Spoonley et al., 2007-2102) investigated the economic integration of immigrants (including South Africans) into New Zealand society, but, as their focus was on the economy, cultural integration was not explored to any depth. Cain, et. al. (2015) noted that although the "'participants' hopes, dreams, aspirations and expectations of migration" were recognised, the research was focussed on the economic implication of the migrant. This focus did not provide the full picture of the migrant's experience to enable a clear understanding of their reasons for migrating or "how they develop a sense of connection to their adopted homeland and communities and what encourages them to remain" (Cain, Meares, & Read, 2015, p. 1142). The

research reports from this study, however, provide data which will be useful for study into immigrant family identity.

It can be seen from the literature that family stories can create a new reality for families, which forms family identity, fosters family culture and cultural identity, and can develop into a narrative inheritance to foster family legacies. Studies show that the purpose of family stories is entertainment, remembering the past, setting the standard for family values and behaviour, dealing with difficult situations and immigration, and advising the younger generation in a new environment. A version of the family and, by association, the individual family member, is presented to society by means of family stories. The change that may occur when an immigrant family's narrative (i.e. that version of the family) meets the Māori culture is an under-researched area, and one that is explored in my research.

## **2.4. Language**

The language section of the literature review deals with the role of the language as a cultural identifier for immigrants. The languages of New Zealand and South Africa and the effect of government language policies are explored. Language concepts relevant to immigrants such language maintenance, language retention, language attrition or loss and linguistic longing are clarified. The section ends with the role of family language policies in immigrant families.

### 2.4.1. Official languages

Although the official languages of New Zealand are English, Te Reo Māori and New Zealand Sign Language, many immigrants perceived New Zealand to be a monolingual English-country, as approximately seventy eight per cent of the population only speak English (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2006; King, 2001; Statistics New Zealand, 2006, 2103). On their arrival, the newcomers were unsure of the status of Te Reo Māori as an official language, and were surprised by the bilingual signage in the country as they rarely heard the language spoken in daily situations (Winbush & Selby, 2015). Hundreds of Māori words relating to daily life, fauna and flora, are integrated into New Zealand English. These words are commonly understood in New Zealand by non-Māori speakers, but will not necessarily be understood by new immigrants

Although New Zealand and South Africa share English as an official language, both have words loaned from other languages spoken in their respective country's (Winbush & Selby, 2015). A few examples of borrowed words that have made it into South African English are: rand, braai, trek, apartheid and veld from Afrikaans; indaba and impala from Zulu; and bobotie and sosatie from Malay (Bosch, 2000; Willemse, 2017). New Zealand English includes Māori words such as marae, whanau, iwi, kia ora and kiwi. Apart from vocabulary the two forms of English have their own expressions and colloquialisms which can lead to misunderstandings between South Africans and New Zealanders (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005; Winbush & Selby, 2015).

Although English is the primary language of business in South Africa, it is listed as the first language of only 9.6 percent of the South Africa population (Statistics South Africa, 2012). South Africa has eleven official languages: Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, Sepedi, SeSotho, SiSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, IsiXhosa and



IsiZulu. The top three first languages of the population are IsiZulu (22.7 percent), IsiXhosa (16 percent) and Afrikaans (13.5 percent). Afrikaans is the first language of seventy five percent of Coloureds and sixty percent of Whites (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005; Bosch, 2000; Statistics South Africa, 2012). Primarily white English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans immigrate to New Zealand. In the 2013 New Zealand census, 26,877 people identified Afrikaans as one of their languages (Statistics New Zealand, 2006, 2103).

The choice of a government's national language and the implementation of governmental educational and language policies can have a profound effect on the survival of indigenous languages and/or be a driving force for change if people either want or do not want to speak it (Arnold, 2001; Hinton, 2001a, 2001b; King, 2001). Afrikaans and English became the official languages of South Africa in 1948 when the white and predominantly Afrikaans National Party came to power and instituted apartheid. The government segregated education by race with separate schools for white, Coloured, Indian and African. It then further divided the white population by language, as it was compulsory for a white child to attend a public school that used the language of the child's home – Afrikaans or English. In this way language became both a racial and ethnic divider, as well as a cultural unifier for white Afrikaners (Louw, 2004; McCormick, 2006). Afrikaans was the predominant language of the civil service and defence force and became to be viewed by the African population as the “language of the oppressor” (L.Thompson, 2001, p. 211). It was used extensively in the media and Afrikaans and English bilingualism was enforced in schools, on product packings and in the media (Louw, 2004). In 1976, black schoolchildren in Soweto protested against the government language policy which stated that Afrikaans should be the teaching

language for half their subjects; thereby starting the national unrest which would eventually bring about the end of apartheid in the early nineties (Barkhuizen, 2006; Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005; Louw, 2004; L. Thompson, 2001). The attitude toward Afrikaans is changing as efforts are made to reclaim its history as a southern African language and free it from the taint of oppression. Louw (2004, p.43) warned that “a decline in the use of Afrikaans was in evidence, even among native Afrikaans speakers” but McCormick (2006, p. 107) believes “that standard Afrikaans will gradually change to accommodate the new order without the need for any formal campaigning, and that it and other dialects will continue to be lingua francas within large parts of South Africa”. Currently, it is the third most spoken first language in South Africa and is also spoken in Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe (McCormick, 2006; Willemse, 2017).

In the New Zealand context, the effect of language policies can be seen in the government’s treatment of the Māori language (Te Reo Māori), which almost led to the demise of the language. When English was made the official language of schools in New Zealand in 1867, Māori, ‘was virtually outlawed in schools and many Māori schoolchildren over succeeding generations were punished for speaking the language of their home’ (King, 2001, p. 120). Two world wars, a depression, the effect of Māori moving to urban areas and the onset of television, as well as parents’ desire to see their children succeed in a Pākehā (New Zealand European) world, contributed to the language being spoken less at home. By the 1970s the language was primarily spoken on the marae and the number of first language speakers had declined. The 1970s saw a rise in Māori activism which led to language revitalisation movements and the opening of the first bilingual school at Rūatoki in 1977. This meant that for the first time in over one hundred years, Te Reo became, as King (2001, p. 121) noted “the language of

literacy for Māori children”. The past forty years have seen the New Zealand government support and fund the implementation of language policies and programmes. Te Reo Māori is now available for teaching and learning in preschools, primary schools, high schools and tertiary institutions, as both first and second language, enabling it to not only be revitalised but to flourish (Black, 2012b; King, 2001; Smith, 1997, 2017).

#### **2.4.2. Language maintenance**

As part of adjusting to a new culture, South African immigrants have to decide whether they wish to retain Afrikaans as either a first or a second language. New Zealand Statistics, noted in a 2005 report “Concerning Language”, that “maintaining one’s first language and passing it on to the next generation is perceived as important to both cultural and personal well-being” (p. 3). The report also noted that the term language retention is used to “describe the proportion of people able to speak one or more of the first languages, excluding English, of their ethnic group” (p. 47) and the main predictors of language retention in New Zealand were birthplace of parents, multiple ethnicity, the ability of mother to speak English, and the age of the mother. Statistics from this report indicated that language retention was more likely if children had overseas born parents, affiliated with one ethnicity only, had a mother who could not speak English or had a younger mother.

If languages are not maintained language attrition can occur. Attrition takes place when vocabulary is lost and the structure of the language is made simpler, and where additional words are not created to add to the richness of the language (Barkhuizen, 2006; Kopke & Schmid, 2004). Maintaining your first language when it is not spoken in your new country is difficult. Barkhuizen and Knoch (2005, p. 217) assert that

linguistic longing refers to the “emotional response to the realisation that (1) opportunities for using and exposure to one’s mother-tongue have diminished and (2) the consequences may be individual language loss (i.e. attrition) and/or intergenerational language loss (i.e. shift)”. This shift is often hastened when contact with other ethnic groups and language is increased, although Hebrew, Welsh and Māori are examples of minority languages where preservation and renewal is occurring (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005; Kasten & De Graaf, 2013; King, 2001). In some circumstances, studies show that South African immigrant parents were resigned to their children’s language shift and felt powerless to influence it. Barkhuizen (2006, p. 75) noted that “some [parents] tend to rationalise their feelings by maintaining that the positive outcomes of their migration easily outweigh the linguistic negatives”.

Hinton (2001a, p. 39) argued that language planning and language policies can be external at a government or national level (macro-level), or they can be internal at a community or family level (micro-level). Often the macro-level policies of government have an effect on the micro-level planning by the family as the family has more control on internal language plans policies. New Zealand’s lack of a clearly defined language policy makes planning for language maintenance by immigrants difficult, and activities tend to be ad hoc and at community level. Barkhuizen and Knoch (2006, pp. 3-15) concluded that “providing immigrants with a structure (or a framework or a lens) with which to interpret language practices in a country would help ease the burden of their ongoing micro-level language planning”.

Language loss, for example, is slowed down when cultural tradition is fostered and deliberate strategies are put in place to maintain the mother tongue. These strategies can be divided into three areas: increasing exposure by reading and listening to

Afrikaans media, associating with other Afrikaners and maintaining contact with family and friends in South Africa; instituting a language policy of speaking Afrikaans in the home; and teaching Afrikaans to their children (Alzayed, 2015; Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005, 2006; De Klerk & Barkhuizen, 2009; Hinton, 2001b; Smith-Christmas, 2016; Stuart & Ward, 2011). An explicit family language policy with regard to speaking the first language could be introduced by immigrant families, if they desired to retain fluency in that language (Arnold, 2001; Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2006; Hinton, 2001b; Hinton & Hale, 2001). Parents decide, either deliberately or by default, on a family language policy with regard to retaining first, second or third languages. This could be, for example, to forsake Afrikaans and concentrate on English; have one parent speak in Afrikaans; or make a concerted effort to retain Afrikaans using language strategies (Barkhuizen, 2006; Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005).

The language spoken by families has an influence on their family identity and the language used to tell family stories is discussed in Chapter Six. As many South African immigrants are bilingual or multilingual, exposure to another new language such as Te Reo Māori could be embraced, accepted or rejected, and prevailing attitude and assimilation of Te Reo is explored in Chapter Seven.

## **2.5. Te Tiriti o Waitangi – The Treaty of Waitangi**

The section offers a brief introduction to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi). The incorporation of this founding document into the family stories of South African immigrants, and the immigrant's perception of the relevancy of the Treaty to their lives, is covered in Chapter Seven.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi was meant to define the relationship between the British Crown and Māori, when the British first came to New Zealand in the mid nineteenth century. It was a statement of principles signed by representatives of Queen Victoria of England and representatives of Māori iwi and hapū, as a means to govern the relationship between the indigenous people and the new settlers.

The Treaty consists of three articles relating to participation, protection and partnership. It is written in English with a Māori translation. However, the English version states that Māori cede sovereignty of New Zealand to Britain, whereas the Māori version translated sovereignty to *kāwanatanga* which implies governance rather than sovereignty. Some Māori believed they would have the ability to govern their own affairs and others believed that the Crown's authority would only extend to the new settlers. Another discrepancy in the second article relates to rights of Māori. In the English version they have the right to the 'full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties', which are all tangible items. The Māori version 'te tino Rangatiratanga o ratou w[h]enua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa', includes the word *taonga* (treasures) which is intangible (Immigration New Zealand, 2015; Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2017; Treaty Education for Migrants Group, 2009).

Although these discrepancies in translation and the different viewpoints between English and Māori have led to misunderstanding, efforts have been made in the past fifty years to clarify and honour the Treaty. The Office of Treaty Settlements steers the negotiations process on historic treaty settlements. The Treaty is now cited in a number of New Zealand Acts, thus providing legal recognition to all New Zealanders (Orange,

2012; Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011). However, as Hill (2010, p. 311) notes, “new migrants often find the concept of the treaty as a living document hard to understand”. Durr (2011, p. 516) observes that some immigrants feel that the biculturalism aspect of the Treaty “intensifies their feelings of alienation and they feel unable to fully embrace the Treaty” while others “support this policy as a key feature of New Zealand and value the Treaty of Waitangi as a unique document”. The signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 is commemorated, annually, on 6 February. This national holiday is used in some communities to celebrate cultural diversity (Winbush & Selby, 2015), for example Nelson’s International Kai Festival and Ashburton's Multi Cultural Bite.

The attitude of immigrants in the twenty first century regarding Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Waitangi Day has not been widely researched. In Chapter Eight of this thesis, I explore the perceived relevance of the Treaty to immigrants, and examine the family stories that may develop from family activities on Waitangi Day

## **2.6. Multiculturalism**

Multiculturalism and strategies for adjusting to immigration is conceptualised in this section. Family stories and a strong family identity may help immigrants cope with adjustment issues and culture shock and, therefore, acculturation terms are defined in order to frame discussions in the research study. In addition, the concepts of multiculturalism and melting pot in relation to hyphenated identities are explored.

Multiculturalism is a concept which emphasises cultural diversity – by preserving heritage cultures and identity – and equal participation of ethnic and cultural groups in society – by social equity and inclusion (Berry & Sam, 2013, Nesteruk et.al. 2015)).

Melting pot is the opposite of multiculturalism and describes a situation where immigrants from different countries are encouraged to merge their identity into that of their new country. The idea originated in the United States of America, and the term *E pluribus unum* which is Latin for “from many, one” is found on American coins (Berry & Sam, 2013; Bolaffi et al., 2003; Cornwell & Stoddard, 2001).

Different nations have different views on the merits of multiculturalism versus melting pot. Cornwell and Stoddard (2001, p. 1) argues that not only are societies diverse, “but also that they vary significantly in the ways their diversities play out, in the ways nations, or racially or ethnically identified peoples, exist in tension with bounded and internationally recognized states”. Space is an important consideration in multiculturalism as immigrants living in a particular environment have to balance their “current citizenship with their hereditary identity”, and either of these factors could be influenced by ethnicity, religion, race or political and economic inequality (Cornwell & Stoddard, 2001; De Klerk & Barkhuizen, 2009; Dupont & Lemarchand, 2001; Small, 2015). Cornwell and Stoddard (2001, p. 3) point out that “nation as place has been disjoined from nation as ancestry”, leading to national identity being ambiguous depending on whether one considers nations as a particular space or country, or nations as an ethnic, cultural or indigenous group. This ambiguity has arisen from colonisation, slavery and immigration.

As discussed in the identity section of this literature review, there is a link between cultural identity and stories, which rely on remembering. If ethnic groups are marginalised or segregated then their memories turn to an imagined homeland, leading to discontent with their present circumstances (Grbic, 2010). As Cornwell and Stoddard (2001, p. 4) point out, ethnic groups living in countries where they are not indigenous,



“may not be allowed by the dominant group to consider themselves ‘at home’ [and] in other cases where they could so consider themselves, they do not want to”.

Different countries have different ways of dealing with the issues. For example, in African countries, such as Kenya and South Africa, which have multiple ethnicities, the daily tasks in the home such as cooking and family life are conducted in the first language, while the language of business (and in Kenya’s case citizenship) is English, the least spoken language to many (Cornwell & Stoddard, 2001; L. Thompson, 2001). In countries such as Canada, the United States of America, New Zealand and Australia, the indigenous people are in the minority, and form global alliances to advance their interests. Societies have mixed populations brought about primarily through immigration, which results in inhabitants being of diverse cultural backgrounds. Governments have political and social discourse that either encourage or discourage hyphenated (hybrid) identities. Cornwell and Stoddard (2001, p. 10) notes that in the United States of America “persons of mixed heritage whose homes may be bilingual or multilingual find themselves cast into one of a few fixed racial or ethnic categories”, which they find problematic but which is in keeping with the government’s ideal of a melting pot. It can be noted that the New Zealand government has a long list of ethnicities and languages that residents can use to clarify their identity (*Concerning language*, 2005; Statistics New Zealand, 2006, 2103).

Dupont and Lemarchand (2001, p. 311) propose that multiculturalism is formed from culture diversity as well as the “social, political and history in a specific context”. For this reason, Cornwell and Stoddard (2001, p. 11) argue that “postcolonial or new independent states are in many ways more open to conceiving a nation as hybrid or creolized because they face self-consciously the task of nation-building out of arbitrarily

bounded space”. In some instances, such as postcolonial Canada, the desire for multiculturalism – as opposed to melting pot – was to be inclusive of all cultures in the country (Berry & Sam, 2013). However, in other countries, such as South Africa, the desire was to segregate the population, with the aim of maintaining the purity of one culture – the white Afrikaner. The problem with both these countries is that multiculturalism had an official status defined by law and policy, that was in conflict with the desires of the population (Kotze, Coetzee, Elliker, & Eberle, 2015; L. Thompson, 2001). After 1994, the concept of many cultures by apartheid was replaced with the rainbow nation (Small, 2015). The change in emphasis is best described by the change in 2000 to the official motto on the national Coat of Arms of South Africa, from the Latin motto of *Ex unitate viras*, (unity is strength) to the Khoisan phrase *!ke e: /xarra //ke* (diverse people unite). The symbols !, /, and // are click sounds of the Khoisan language of the indigenous /Xam people of Southern Africa (Brand South Africa, 2016). First nations in Canada have also rejected official multiculturalism and are seeking true multiculturalism as they believe the power structures of the federal government “has dealt with them as though multiculturalism never existed” (Dupont & Lemarchand, 2001, p. 329).

Some criticism of multiculturalism as a paradigm is that the adoption of only certain cultural items such as music and food does not address deeper issues such as assimilation, segregation, government policies and social constructs, and that immigrants need to have deeper connections and understanding of these issues as they relate to other ethnicities (Dupont & Lemarchand, 2001; Grbic, 2010; Omura, 2014).

New Zealand is considered to be a multicultural society which welcomes immigration of skilled workers from all over the world. In New Zealand, Māori are recognised as

the indigenous people of New Zealand. The question that faces immigrants is how their ethnic identity can be integrated into a multicultural society without undermining or overwhelming the Māori culture. Ethnic groups need to explore as Dupont & Lemarchand, (2001, p. 330) exhorts, “What should we integrate into beside our own ethnic community”. Immigrants have to decide on what factors of New Zealand, Māori and other cultures they want to adopt. Cornwell and Stoddard (2001, p. 120) notes that “cultures can be shared and taught, they can be transmuted and abandoned, they can adopt new influences”. An output of my study is the Wagon Framework, a heuristic for reflecting on the cultural identity of the South African-New Zealander, which attempts to address the issues raised on cultural identity and multiculturalism.

### **2.6.1. Acculturation**

Acculturation can be defined as the changes that occur in cultural practices of immigrants, when they come into contact with one or more new cultures. Bolaffi et al. (2003, p. 1) argued that acculturation referred to both “the process of cultural change” and the “resulting condition”. There are two factors that need to be considered in acculturation: the first is the immigrants’ desire or ability to retain their heritage culture and the second is the amount of contact the immigrant has with the new culture (Nesteruk et al., 2015; Small, 2015). When these two factors are taken into consideration, Berry and Sam (2013) defined the four strategies that immigrants could use when adapting to a new culture, as integration, separation, assimilation and marginalisation. When these two factors are applied by the general public with relation to migrants then a society of, respectively, multiculturalism, segregation, melting pot or exclusion, could result (Bolaffi et al., 2003; Dupont & Lemarchand, 2001; Grbic, 2010).

South African immigrants could, for example, use integration as an acculturation strategy if they wish to retain their cultural identity and have daily interaction with New Zealanders – this would result in multiculturalism. If, on the other hand they wished to retain their cultural identity and avoid interaction with New Zealanders, then they would use separation as a strategy. If New Zealanders forced separation upon the immigrants (i.e. they would not associate with the immigrant) then segregation would result. In the situation where South African immigrants do not choose to maintain their cultural heritage and actively embrace New Zealand society, then assimilation is the chosen strategy. If assimilation is sought by the New Zealand society then it is termed melting pot. When immigrants are not able to maintain their cultural identity and have little contact with New Zealanders then they are marginalised. If this marginalisation is forced upon them by New Zealanders then it would be termed exclusion or discrimination (Bedford, 2004; Berry & Sam, 2013, pp. 152-153; Winbush & Selby, 2015, p. 49).

Integration is the strategy that is allied with multiculturalism, which requires cooperation between the immigrant and the host nation. Specifically, Bolaffi et al. (2003, p. 151) argue that it is a “gradual process which leads foreign ... groups to live together, characterised by the mutual process of adaptation and acceptance and dependent on the capacity of two groups to compare and exchange values and behavioural models”. The implication of this statement is that integration is not an instantaneous process or a one-way street. It requires time to develop and groups to communicate with each other on their cultures. It is also a process where both the immigrant’s culture and the host culture have value that can be exchanged for mutual benefit (Bol Jun Lee, 2007; Guo &

Dalli, 2012; Hill, 2010). Integration is also related to place, as the heritage culture will adapt when it is placed in a new environment.

### **2.6.2. Culture shock**

The feeling of anxiety or loss that immigrants may experience when they move to an unfamiliar cultural environment is termed culture shock (Igoa, 1988; Trlin, 2010; Winbush & Selby, 2015). As Winbush and Selby (2015, p. 47) note this cultural disorientation arises when newcomers “do not understand subtle cues and symbols of social intercourse, behavioural rules and codes” and “stress about the changed environment and demands of settling into a new culture, such as working, learning and socialising in a second language”. Similarly, Bennett and Rigby (1997, p. 160) assert that it is “the need for multiple adjustments in behaviours and attitudes in a short space of time that results in culture shock”. Reyneke (2004), noted that some immigrants had experienced crime and violence in South Africa and felt they could not return to the country. These semi-voluntary immigrants experience a form of cultural bereavement, which includes a feeling of guilt for leaving the home country, and may mourn the loss of their language or culture. This cultural bereavement also forms part of culture shock, as does homesickness and the feeling of loss of friends (Pietersen, 2000). Culture shock can be exacerbated when Afrikaans is the home language and the immigrant has to cope with New Zealand English, as a second language. Social support was identified by researchers as an aid to stress relief and a strategy for managing culture shock (Bennett & Rigby, 1997; Pietersen, 2000).

The investigation of immigrant family stories and the role it plays in family identity and acculturation in New Zealand is an under-researched area. A research study conducted

by Meares (2007), entitled “From the rainbow nation to the land of the long white cloud: Migration, gender and biography” used Biographic Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM) to examine the change and transition experience of six South African migrants to New Zealand. In-depth interviews using narrative-seeking questions based on the migration story of the participants. The researcher argued the importance of understanding gender and migration from an individual’s viewpoint and developed a gendered theory of migration. Her findings indicated that disruption is a key characteristic of migration even when the immigration experience is positive. The findings of Meares (2007) are relevant to my research as they provide an insight into skilled migration from a sociology point of view, and offer comparative data to the emigration experience of South Africans. The participants’ views on their race, ethnicity and cultural identity are also useful for discussion in my study. The interaction of the immigrants with Māori, however, is not covered at all in this study. It can be noted that Meares, in her study, incorrectly attributes the origin of the term “rainbow nation” as a description for South Africa, to Nelson Mandela. It was actually first coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu after the first democratic elections were held in 1994 and later elaborated upon by President Mandela during his first year in office (Kellerman, 2014; Nevitt, 2010).

It can be seen that the adaptation process for immigrants is complex and their experiences can range from a positive integration process to a negative marginalisation affect. The element I examine is whether South Africans are able to integrate tikanga Māori into their acculturation process, and to what extent they are able to create a hyphenated cultural identity if that is their aim.

## 2.7. Summary

The theoretical perspectives focussed on the elements that are covered in my research, i.e. family identity, family stories, language, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and multiculturalism in order to lay the foundations for the detailed discussions in Part Two and Three.

The purpose of my research into family identity is to explore the ways that immigrants confront the dichotomy of the old heritage versus the new culture, and to establish if family stories can be used, by immigrants, to negotiate their cultural identity and their tūrangawaewae. In the context of this study, the relationship between personal, family and cultural identity was clarified, in order to examine migrant identity.

In the research study, family stories include two types of stories: big stories or biographies of family and ancestors; and little stories, which are tales that arise from daily activities. The family stories can both construct and inform the family identity, depending on their narration. When the family stories are told to the following generation they form the family legacy. The narrative inheritance is the body of family stories that create the family legacy. The language used to tell family stories also has an influence on their family identity. It can be seen from the literature review that the issues relating to a changing family identity of South African immigrants have distinctive complexities that merit further investigation.

Analysis of previous New Zealand migrant studies has elucidated that the interaction between the indigenous culture and South Africans is an under-researched areas that will be pertinent to my thesis. The interactions between the two cultures include elements such as: the eating of Māori foods or use of Māori cooking methods; the change that may occur when an immigrant family's narrative meets the Māori culture;

the absorptions of mātauranga Māori into family stories; prevailing attitude and assimilation of Te Reo into the language of South African immigrants; and the attitude toward Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Waitangi Day

An understanding of the terms relating to theories of migration such as culture shock, integration, separation, assimilation, marginalisation, multi-culturalism, segregation, melting pot and exclusion is necessary in order to understand if South Africans are able to integrate tikanga Māori and New Zealand Pākehā/ European knowledge into their acculturation process.



### **3. Methodology**

The methodology section tells the research story. It includes a discussion on the research design, an explanation of the collection of data and methods for data analysis and an outline of the ethical considerations.

#### **3.1. Research design**

The research design section describes the conceptual framework or research paradigm that has been used for this thesis research. Creswell (2009, p. 8) urged researchers to acknowledge that “their own backgrounds shape their interpretation [which] ... flow from their personal, cultural, and historical experiences”. The research design clarifies my personal philosophies and the beliefs systems that underpin the research methodology.

##### **3.1.1. Research paradigm**

A research paradigm outlines the belief system on the way the research elements connect, and the way we establish meaning from the data (Bryman, 2012; Chilisa, 2012; Wisker, 2008). Creswell (2014, p. 6) equates research paradigms to worldviews that are “a general philosophical orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher brings to the study”. Research paradigms influence the way research is conducted and results are interpreted (Bryman, 2012; Chilisa, 2012).

It can be noted that the majority of current research is based on Euro-Western paradigms. This means that most research is underpinned by the belief system of inhabitants from Europe and Western civilisations, even when non-European or non-Western subjects are the focus of the study (Chilisa, 2012; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1996). Postcolonialism and decolonisation are two paradigms that are relevant to my research.

### *3.1.1.1. Postcolonialism*

Colonisation occurs when a country takes over another and subjugates the inhabitants by replacing their social, political and/or economic systems. The result is that inhabitants lose authority and tenure of their values, beliefs and knowledge and are taught that what they believe in is inferior to that of the colonising power (Aberdeen, 2002; Chilisa, 2012). Mead (2012, p. 10) noted that when the British colonised New Zealand, they replaced mātauranga Māori with a “different system of knowledge together with its values, its philosophies and worldviews”, which the British considered “superior and better suited to modern life”. Another example of colonisation was the scramble by European countries to rule Africa in the nineteenth century. In 1840, the European powers of Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain allocated to themselves countries in Africa to conquer and rule, resulting in the large scale subjugation of the people of Africa and initiating periods of conflict across the continent (Chilisa, 2012; L.Thompson, 2001; Van Rooyen, 2000). Colonisers changed names of countries, mountains, rivers, places and regions to suit their own history and, thereby, devalued the original appellations. Colonisers worldwide also tend to dismiss the indigenous population as uncivilized, and indigenous knowledge as irrelevant and inferior (Aberdeen, 2002; Chilisa, 2012).

Postcolonial researchers study the impact of colonisation on the inhabitants of the colonised country, and includes the experiences of a variety of people that are affected by colonisation (Bolaffi et al., 2003; Chilisa, 2012). Chilisa (2012, p. 12) refers to postcolonialism as the “continuous struggle of non–Western societies that suffered European colonisation, indigenous peoples, and historically marginalised groups to resist suppression of their ways of knowing and the globalisation of knowledge”. In contrast, Bolaffi, Brocalenti, Braham, & Gindro (2003, p. 222) proposes that

postcolonial researchers “deploy Western intellectual resources in an effort to provide novel understanding of the impact of ... colonial eras on both the colonised and the colonisers”. For example, the colonisation of South African Khoi San and Khoi Khoi people began with the Dutch colony in Cape Town. The settlers then moved to the interior and, over a period of time, developed their own culture and language (Afrikaans) which was different to the Dutch colonisers, and unique to the Southern Africa context. These trekkers and settlers were, in turn, colonised by the British and travel further inland to escape British rule. In doing so, they came across and imposed colonisation on the local African tribes (who themselves were colonisers), and repeated the colonisation cycle (L. Thompson, 2001; Van der Waal, 2015). Postcolonial studies of Afrikaners in South Africa could, therefore, examine their role as both colonisers and colonised. (Note: I am not proposing to cover this aspect in my research but I offer it as an example of postcolonial studies). Postcolonial paradigms, however, are still most often based on Euro-Western knowledge systems, and this can be problematic for people who have born the impact of colonisation.

### *3.1.1.2. Decolonisation*

Decolonisation is a study paradigm where the worldview is focussed on the indigenous people who have been marginalised because of colonisation (Chilisa, 2012; Lee-Morgan, 2016; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1996). Researchers following a Euro-Western paradigm denigrate the knowledge of indigenous people as superstitions or myths, and research is conducted **on** research subjects, rather than co-constructed **with** participants. Chilisa suggests that decolonisation is a “process of conducting research is such a way that the worldviews of those who have suffered a long history of oppression and marginalisation are given space to communicate from their frames of reference”. A number of indigenous knowledge frameworks have developed in response to

decolonisation and from the desire of indigenous people to have a voice from within (T. Black, 2014; Bol Jun Lee, 2008; Doherty, 2012; Fraser, 2014; Hart, 2010; Kovach, 2010; Meyer, 2014; Porsanger, 2014).

### *3.1.1.3. Indigenous paradigms*

Indigenous worldviews have arisen from the need of indigenous people to have their own intellectual voice, to regain control of their knowledge and to have their knowledge valued (Battiste, 2000; Fraser, 2009; Hart, 2010; Porsanger, 2014). According to Hart (2010, p. 2) indigenous worldviews have “a strong focus on people and entities coming together to help and support one another in their relationship”, with an emphasis on “spirit and spirituality”. There is a commitment to community, family and family relationships. Chilisa (2012, p. 40) notes that indigenous research paradigms are “shaped by the set of multiple connections that human beings have with the environment, with the cosmos, the living, and the non-living”.

The indigenous knowledge of Māori is termed mātauranga Māori and it refers to the customs, practices, knowledge and philosophy of Māori (Doherty, 2012; Mead, 2012). This study aims to be inclusive of indigenous knowledge systems, and although it is a study of the effect of an indigenous culture on immigrant family stories, rather than the indigenous culture in itself, the indigenising of the research methodology can aid decolonisation (Black, 2012b; Chilisa, 2012; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1996). I believe it is appropriate for a study of the effect of a new indigenous culture on immigrant identity to include aspects of indigenous research knowledge systems, particularly if the new immigrants are from a country with a history of colonisation or a track record of oppressing its indigenous population, such as in South Africa. In consonance with the view of Tuhiwai-Smith (1996, p. 39) that “there is a need to center our concepts and

world views and then come to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes”, I propose that this concept could be applied to immigrant and identity studies in two ways. First, the more awareness and understanding that immigrants to New Zealand have of the viewpoint of Māori and their role as the tangata whenua of New Zealand, the less likely they will perpetuate colonisation viewpoints. An understanding of the importance and relevancy of tangata whenua will promote human rights and social justice, and, as Porsanger (2014, p. 205) points out, “support indigenous peoples’ efforts to be independent: not only legally, politically, or economically, but ... intellectually”. Second, the four core issues that should be negotiated in indigenous research: respect, reciprocity, reliability and relevance, will bring a different viewpoint to intersection of family narratives, family identity, immigration and a new indigenous culture.

The axiology, ontology and epistemology form part of the research paradigm.

#### *3.1.1.4. Axiology*

Axiology examines the value judgements in research frameworks and looks at types of values and moral judgements (Archie, 2007; Elliot & Isaacs, 1988; Merriam-Webster, 2016). In the context of my research, axiology raises the question of the worth of human values. As a researcher of cultural and family identity, I consider it pertinent to clarify my personal axiology. I believe that the stories and experiences of people have value – even when they are not representative of my own views.

#### *3.1.1.5. Ontology*

Ontology is the study of the nature of being, or as Wisker (2008, p. 67) notes, it is “how you experience and perceive yourself in the world”. Indigenous ontologies highlight the relationships that people have to environment and to each other, and I examine this

aspect in my research by looking at the connections that immigrants have formed to New Zealand.

This research was approached from the point of view that an individual's perception of reality is his or her reality and, therefore, multiple realities can be constructed from one narrative. Furthermore, these realities – which may differ from my own – need to be respected and, therefore, a respectful relationship between researcher and subjects will weave through the research.

#### *3.1.1.6. Epistemology*

Epistemology is the study of knowledge and the way we interpret knowledge and can include intuitive, authoritative, logical and empirical knowledge (Bryman, 2012; Henrichsen, Smith, & Baker, 1997; Wisker, 2008). Bryman (2012, p. 711) incorporates this concept in his suggestion that epistemology is “a stance on what should pass as acceptable knowledge”, and Chilisa (2012, p. 21) echoes this in her thoughtful assertion “how does one know if something is true”. The knowledge of indigenous epistemologies is wider than standardised Western knowledge based on what can be proved and includes oral accounts (Battiste, 2000).

As I am actively involved in the research – both from the point of view of being a South African immigrant, as well as conducting the research interviews and discussions – the research will be approached from an emic perspective. I believe that because of our experiences, my knowledge and that of the participants in my study have value as acceptable knowledge.

### 3.1.2. Research methodology

Based on the axiology, ontology and epistemology above, a qualitative design has been selected for this research project. Although I use the Euro-Western methodologies of narrative inquiry and grounded theory, I have decolonised the methodologies by incorporating elements and principles of indigenous theory. This section outlines the mixed method research methodology that is used and explains the integration of the methods.

#### 3.1.2.1. *Grounded theory*

In exploring how the data could be analysed I searched for a technique that would allow me to engage with the data in a way that allowed the data “to talk to me” and mitigate any preconceived notions that I might have. I decided that two techniques of grounded theory (the construction of analytical coding of data and memo-writing to expand on categories) were sympathetic to my aims, and could provide an analytical framework for my narrative study. As Charmaz (2014, p. xii) rightly suggests, grounded theory is useful for “creating an analytic edge to your work” and “[w]hether you pursue ethnographic stories, biographical narratives, or qualitative analyses of interviews, grounded theory methods can help you make your work more insightful and incisive”.

While classic grounded theorists seek to uncover theories from the data with the researcher as an observer, Charmaz (2014, p.10) argues that data and theories cannot be discovered, but are constructed through “past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices”, leading to the concept of constructivist grounded theory. Her ethos is echoed by Wisker (2008, p. 213) in her succinct assertion that grounded theory “grows theory from that experience in action”. As the knowledge and meaning of my research is based on the families’ stories,

emotions, perceptions and experiences, I have used the tools of constructivist grounded theory methodology. As Charmaz (2014, p. 187) notes, constructivism “assumes that people including researchers, construct the realities in which they participate” and, therefore, the social environment and historical context have an effect on the meaning of their experiences. Experiences are not, as Creswell (2009, p. 8) observed “simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others ... and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals’ lives”. Constructivism supports my personal ontology. It is also sympathetic to both grounded theory and narrative analysis (Charmaz, 2014; Creswell, 2014; Wisker, 2008).

Intensive interviewing was selected as the primary method for data collection. When combined with grounded theory, intensive interviewing enables researchers to exercise analytical control of their material. In addition, as Charmaz, (2014 p. 29) notes “qualitative interviewing provides an open-ended, in-depth exploration of an aspect of life about which the interviewee has substantial experience, often combined with considerable insight”, which I believe to be the situation in my study. A limitation to interviews is that participants are not equally eloquent and some people are more comfortable than others in conversational situations. In addition, participants’ responses may be inhibited by the presence of the researcher.

#### *3.1.2.2. Indigenous theory*

Some of the questions addressed to participants and the analytical codes used to categorise the research data incorporate not only the physical and mental aspects, but also the spiritual elements. In keeping with decolonisation indigenous research, the interview guide in my study includes questions that invite responses on connections to



the environment, community and to family. The design of the interview guide is discussed further in Section 3.3.

In addition to the interview guide, the analytical codes gleaned from the data explored an indigenous theory aspect. Meyer (2014, p. 158) developed an insightful *Holographic Trilogy of Enduring Knowledge Systems* which emphasizes remembering as the spiritual aspect of the physical perception. For example, Māori physical is Mohiotanga, Mental is Mātauranga, Spiritual is Maramatanga and Yoga Sutra's concept of physical, mental and spiritual is respectively, perception, conceptualisation and remembering. This knowledge system resonates with the themes of family stories and family identities, which require participants to remember and conceptualise. The grounded theory tools, therefore, incorporates aspects of indigenous knowledge epistemologies.

The research study was also conducted in a way that is in keeping with indigenous knowledge research. Four "R's" should be considered when doing indigenous research, namely respect, reciprocity, reliability and relevance (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1999; Kovach, 2010; Porsanger, 2014). Respect involves conferring with the studied people, considering local power relations in ethics, respecting their worldviews and considering how the outcomes will be distributed. Reciprocity examines the collective nature of the research and highlights the responsibility of the researcher to give back to their community. Reliability examines the competency of the researcher, the motivations of the research and who will be advantaged by the results. Relevance examines the author of the research design, examines what data could and should be employed, and who owns the research.

### ***3.1.2.3. Narrative theory***

Narrative analysis occurs when participants provide personal histories and stories or when participants and researchers construct a narrative collectively (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Creswell, 2014). As my research study has a strong focus on narratives, narrative theory inevitably played a role. In particular, narrative analysis was used to compare the responses during the writing up phase, and to relate the responses to the broader environment.

### ***3.1.2.4. Sample size***

There are no set rules with regard to sample size in qualitative studies (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 1990; Wilson, 2017). Previous qualitative studies for doctoral research into South African immigration to New Zealand use between one family and nine participants (Meares, 2007; Reyneke, 2004; Small, 2015). In consonance with the assertion of Barkhuizen (cited by Wilson, 2017, p. 6) that “one participant can tell you an enormous amount if you make those broader connections”; Patton (1990, p. 184) noted “sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources”. Taking factors such as the purpose of the research, the narrative style of the study and the available resources into consideration, combined with the specific focus on rich narrative detail, eight participants were sought to take part in the study. A ninth participant was added later as she was engaged to one of the original eight participants.

### ***3.1.3. Summary***

As this study is designed to investigate the influence of a new culture on family narratives and family identity and examines the influence of a new indigenous culture

on these stories, I have used elements of grounded theory and narrative inquiry to explore the participants' responses. These two methods complement each other in achieving these two aims, and researchers have successfully combined the two methods when examining storytelling in immigrant families in Canada (Ashbourne & Baobaid, 2014a, 2014b). Constructivist grounded theory is used to code the data and establish categories and themes for exploration. Narrative analysis is then used to link the narrative to the broader context. The Euro-Western methodologies have been decolonised by incorporating elements of indigenous theory.

### **3.2. Ethics application**

As the research included interviews with human participants, an ethics application was submitted as per the Code of Ethical Conduct. During this process the benefits and risks to the research applicants were covered. The ethics application was approved prior to commencement of the research. (See Appendix 1 for Ethics Approval Letter).

The project benefitted the participants by providing them with recordings and transcripts of the family stories they related to the researcher, and to have an avenue to tell their story. It was noted that participants could experience emotional distress as they remember the past, particularly if they had endured culture shock or had traumatic experiences. The migration process is an emotional one for some people and there was a small possibility that this could possibly lead to emotional distress. To manage this risk I ended the interviews on a positive note and provided enough time for individuals to relate their stories in order for them to achieve completion. In addition, I provided participants with the opportunity to withdraw from the interview if it caused them distress and to change the topic if they did not wish to answer a particular question.

An information sheet outlining the purpose of the study, participant recruitment and involvement, project procedures, statement of rights and support processes was made available to participants in written and digital format in English and Afrikaans (see Appendix 2 for English and Afrikaans versions of the information sheets). Participants signed a form indicating that they had been fully informed and they had consented to the interview (Appendix 3). The right to privacy and the right to withdraw from the research project were highlighted again at commencement of the interview process.

### **3.2.1. Conflict of Interest**

The research participants were approached objectively, fairly and honestly in order to achieve valid results.

### **3.2.2. Protecting research subjects**

Every effort was made to protect research participants and the ethical considerations of avoiding harm to participants, confidentiality and privacy, informed consent and the participants' right to withdraw were discussed in the ethics application.

#### ***3.2.2.1. Avoid harming participants***

Participants had the choice to answer the questions and to control the pace of the questions.

#### ***3.2.2.2. Confidentiality and Privacy***

All information (name, places and events) that could identify the research subjects were changed. Participants were also able to select their own pseudonyms so they could retain ownership of their name as a form of personal identity. They are able to identify themselves in the research but their privacy is protected.

### ***3.2.2.3. Informed Consent***

Participants were fully informed of the purpose and content of the research and consent to participate was obtained in writing from the participants.

### ***3.2.2.4. Participants' rights to withdraw***

Participants had the right to withdraw from the project at any stage before they provided approval of the final transcripts.

## **3.2.3. Integrity of Research**

Protecting the integrity of the research is an ethical consideration that is discussed in Section 3.5 – Standards of research.

## **3.2.4. Ngā Uara**

The values or ngā uara of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi were adhered to during the conducting of this research. The following is an extract from a Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi internal document:

“Whanaungatanga empowers and connects people to each other and to the wider environment. It reminds us of our reciprocal responsibilities to each other as well as to our vision. ... Manaakitanga acknowledges our responsibility to behave at all times with generosity and respect, and in a manner that is consistent with enhancing the wairua and mana of past, present and future. ... Pūmautanga is to be steadfast and committed to doing the right thing, in the right way, in all that we do with and for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi”.

In keeping with these values participants were provided with refreshments and/or a meal during the interview, and received a small koha (gift) to thank them for participating in the research.

### **3.3. Data collection**

Extant texts such as government immigration statistics, public websites and news reviews were consulted for background information.

#### **3.3.1. Recruitment of participants**

The empirical study consisted of interviews with South African immigrants who arrived in New Zealand in the past twenty years, in allow for close interaction between subject and researcher. The participants of the research were limited to South Africans who had immigrated to New Zealand in the past twenty years, and were over 18 years of age at the commencement of the study. Information packs on the research study were distributed through personal South African contacts and to cinema attendees at an Afrikaans film. Eight participants fitting these criteria were initially selected. A ninth participant was added later as she was engaged to one of the eight participants.

#### **3.3.2. Research procedures**

Participants were selected. Copies of the interview guide were given to selected participants after they signed consent forms agreeing to join the research.

##### ***3.3.2.1. Interview Guide Design***

In preparation for interviewing the participants, I designed an interview guide to ensure that data would cover the areas that I wished to explore, and to ensure that the questions

were framed in the same way to all the participants. I carefully examined the research questions for this study and then composed thirty six exploratory and explanatory questions that would be addressed to each participant in an individual face-to-face interview. (See Appendix 4 for interview guide).

The first questions were designed to set the participants at ease with conversational questions such as, “Where did you live before immigrating to New Zealand” and “Tell me a bit about your family”. Intensive questions that required the participant to reflect, such as “what family traits define you as a family” were interspersed with more relaxed questions, such as “what languages do you speak”, in order for the participants to have a more positive experience. The interview guide also included narrative questions, such as “tell me some of the stories you share about your parents, grandparents or ancestors” and “what stories did your parents tell you when you were growing up”. Participants were also invited to share stories relating to physical places in South Africa that they connect to, and were asked how they maintained home when they were geographically displaced.

In order to explore the participants’ use of Te Reo Māori (Māori language), a list of one hundred commonly used Māori words was constructed. The list was sourced from “50 Māori words every New Zealander should know” (*Māori Language.net, 2015*) and “100 Māori words every New Zealander should know” (New Zealand History, 2015).

Participants were asked to complete the list and tick a box to indicate whether they recognised, understood or used the Māori word. (See Appendix 4 for survey list).

Comparisons were made between the participants’ answers and the outcomes are discussed in the findings section.

### *3.3.2.2. Interview process*

The interview process consisted of three contacts. The first contact was face-to-face, by telephone or by email, and served as an introduction to the research study. It covered the participants' questions with regard to the study and dealt with any concerns they may have had. The second interview was held face-to-face at a place of the participants' choice. This interview, which lasted between two to three hours, covered the questions on the interview guide, and the completion of the Māori word list. The participants were offered the opportunity to break the interview into shorter sessions, but all the participants opted for one longer interview. A third interview to clarify any queries from the second interview was held either face-to-face or by email, depending on the query involved.

Two of the participants chose to be interviewed at their place of employment, two were interviewed at the homes of their friends and five were interviewed in their own homes. Although six of the nine participants have Afrikaans as a first language, only three of the participants chose to answer the questions in Afrikaans. Interviews were conducted in Wellington, Auckland and Tauranga.

The intensive interviews were digitally recorded using Voice Recorder software on a laptop.



### **3.4. Data analysis**

#### **3.4.1. Transcription**

The interviews were transcribed word for word, including notes for laughter, and any hand actions. The transcriptions were then read while listening to the data to ensure that it had been accurately copied. I was the only person involved in the transcription and translation of the data. Participants had the opportunity to review transcriptions of their data for accuracy (respondent validation) and to add additional information if they wished to do so.

#### **3.4.2. Analysis**

##### ***3.4.2.1. Coding***

The data was analysed according to grounded theory. The first step involved naming each line of data with an action word and required close reading of the transcriptions. The second step started the sorting process by looking for frequent codes and for new ideas. The codes examined the perception, conceptualisation and remembering aspects of the stories as well as the story itself. The codes were then used to categorise the data within one interview and across interviews, and to extrapolate the chapter and section themes. The deconstruction of the responses into bits of data allowed for close examination and analysis.

##### ***3.4.2.2. Memo-writing***

The grounded method theory technique of memo-writing (writing short pieces on the codes) was used to scrutinise the codes and seek links between the codes and between the experiences of various participants, in order to form categories. The memos were further examined to establish what it revealed to us about the participants' experiences,

and relating these to the broader social context. In this way the data was reconstructed to allow for narrative analysis.

### **3.4.3. Findings**

The vertical threads of the participants answers were analysed, as well as the horizontal threads across the questions, which enabled me to build a picture of the individual participant and to compare the participants with each other (Barkhuizen & De Klerk, 2006).

Four broad narrative threads were identified by the analysis of the data, and these are discussed in the four chapters that constitute Part Two – Analysis and Interpretation. These four threads also tied in with the four research questions identified for this project. In addition, the coding elucidated a number of themes in these narrative threads. The themes are discussed in the sections and sub-sections of the four chapters.

### **3.4.4. Results**

As a result of the findings, a knowledge framework for South African immigrants wishing to retain or reflect on their cultural identity in their new country was created. A teaching and learning tool to reflect on the family's cultural identity was developed on a conceived knowledge system that reflects my South African tūrangawaewae, which I have termed the Wagon Framework for South African-New Zealander Cultural Identity.

## **3.5. Standards of research**

Quality research should be valid and reliable. In reference to qualitative research, the additional terms of credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity),

dependability (reliability) and confirmability (objectivity) are used (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014; Uwe, 2015).

### **3.5.1. Validity**

Each participant has their version of reality and the research evidence is credible if it represents these different realities accurately (Chilisa, 2012). To ensure credibility in my research, the transcriptions of the data were read while listening to the original recording. Participants were able to validate their own data as they were sent transcripts of the prescribed data to check for accuracy and to allow them to make any amendments or emendations if required.

Transferability is the ability of the research findings to be duplicated, which can be difficult in qualitative research designs that rely on individual experiences.

Descriptions of the participants' background are provided in my research and their views permeate the research. This enables transferability and allows the reader to determine if the study can be used in similar settings (Chilisa, 2012).

### **3.5.2. Reliability**

To enable confirmability (objectivity) in my research, an interview guide was used to ensure that the interviews were conducted in a consistent manner with all the participants. The process for obtaining the data was documented and followed. In addition, I provide details of my background and my reflections on the study to reveal any hidden bias.

Dependability in the research results is enabled by clearly documented and followed research procedures (Bryman, 2012; Chilisa, 2012). Only one person transcribed, coded and categorised the data and this also encouraged consistency across the research findings.

### 3.6. Summary

The study explored family narratives as a definition of family identity in a new culture. A qualitative design that includes grounded theory and narrative analysis combined with indigenous frameworks is used. Interviews were conducted after recruiting suitable participants. Constructive grounded theory was used to analyse the data. The codes sought during analysis incorporated physical, mental and spiritual elements, which is in keeping with indigenous knowledge epistemologies. The codes and categories were used in narrative analysis to relate the participants' stories to each other and to the broader social and historical environment. The findings were written up considering stories of the past, present and future. A heuristic to reflect on the cultural identity of the family was developed on a conceived knowledge system that reflects my South African tūrangawaewae, which I have termed the Wagon Framework for South African-New Zealander Cultural Identity.

## 4. Participants

### 4.1. Immigration to New Zealand from South Africa

South Africa has been the top six places of migrant nations to New Zealand since 2001. From 1948 to 1994, the Republic of South Africa followed a political system of racial segregation termed apartheid, where the white minority government followed a policy of race separatism and denied freedom of movement and basic human rights to the African, Indian and Coloured majority. Some people who disagreed with the policies of the apartheid system elected to emigrate and the number of South Africans living in New Zealand increased from 1000 people in 1911 to 2685 people in 1986 (Cain et al., 2015; Meares, 2007; L. Thompson, 2001; Walrond, 2015).

In South Africa, the first democratic election was held in 1994 after white voters elected to share power in a 1992 referendum. During the post-apartheid years, violent crime increased dramatically and approximately 400 000 skilled people left the country ((L. Thompson, 2001; Walrond, 2015). Due to the education policies of the both the pre-apartheid colonial powers of Britain and the Netherlands, and the apartheid government, which favoured and financed white education above that of African, Indian or Coloured groups, most of the members of the emigrating skilled labour force were white.

New Zealand had changed its immigration policy in 1986 with the introduction of a point system for skilled migrants. Thousands of South Africans took up this offer and the number of South Africans (by birthplace) living in New Zealand increased by almost 1000 percent, reached 26 061 people by 2001. Between 2001 and 2013, the overall population of New Zealand increased by eleven percent. However, during the same period the number of South Africans (by birthplace) increased a further fifty two

percent and the number of Afrikaans language speakers in New Zealand by fifty three percent.

In the 2013 New Zealand census, 26 877 people identified their ethnicity as South African, 1098 people identified as Afrikaner and 255 identifying as South African Coloured (less than one percent of the South Africans in New Zealand). If there are less than 100 people identifying with a particular ethnicity then there will not be a profile for them, as in the case of South African Indian or South African Other (Statistics New Zealand, 2006, 2103). These statistics show that the overwhelming majority of South Africans living in New Zealand would have been classified as White in South Africa., and, therefore, not unexpectedly all the participants in my study are white.

#### **4.2. Introduction to participants**

The list of participants below has been arranged in the order of their arrival in New Zealand. The participants selected their own pseudonyms to protect their identity.

**Noddy** is a twenty five year woman who was born in New Zealand two years after her parents emigrated from South Africa. They immigrated in search of a better future for their children during the late 1990s. Her parent' first language is English. Although she is classified as a second-generation immigrant as she was born in New Zealand, her answers to questions have been included in this research as her family (including two siblings born in South Africa) is very strongly South African, and she is engaged to another research participant, Mike. She is the ninth participant in the study. She is an accountant and lives in a rural location on the North Island.

**Hagrid** is a twenty four year old man who immigrated in 2001 with his parents to New Zealand, when he was eight years old. They moved from Cape Town. They were

permanent residents on arrival and they obtained citizenship in 2004. His father's first language is Afrikaans and his mother's first language is English, although they are both bilingual, His home language is English and he speaks very little Afrikaans. He attended New Zealand primary and secondary school and university. He is engaged to a New Zealand Pākehā. His parents moved for better economic opportunities and education. He lives in Wellington.

**Elna** is a forty five year old woman who immigrated in 2002 with her husband and brother to New Zealand, when she was thirty one. They were permanent residents on arrival and they have since obtained citizenship. She has worked in the education sector in Auckland, Hamilton and Tauranga. She moved to have an overseas experience and to gain a New Zealand passport for travel. Her first language is Afrikaans and she was raised on a farm in the Ellisrus (now Lephalale) region. She has lived and worked in Carletonville (now Merafong).

**Hanna** is a forty six year old woman who immigrated in 2003 to New Zealand, with her husband and two year old daughter, when she was thirty three years old. They were permanent residents on arrival and have obtained citizenship. She works in the government health sector in Tauranga. She moved to provide better future and education for daughter. Her first language is Afrikaans and she grew up in Benoni, a large city near Johannesburg.

**Gert** is a twenty eight year old man who immigrated in 2005 with his parents and sister when he was seventeen years old. He attended New Zealand secondary school for two years and graduated with a business diploma from a polytechnic. He is a permanent resident and owns his own business. He has always worked in private enterprise. He is married to Sansa. His parents moved for a better future for their children. His first

language is Afrikaans and he attended an agricultural school in a rural area of Limpopo before immigrating.

**Libby** is a twenty seven year woman who immigrated with her parents, in 2006, when she was sixteen years old. She attended New Zealand secondary school for eighteen months and is a citizen. She is married to a South African immigrant who she met in New Zealand, and has a baby daughter. She was angry with her father for removing her from South Africa at the time, but realised it was for a better future. Her first language is Afrikaans and she lived in towns and on a farm before immigrating. She lives in Auckland with her Afrikaans-speaking husband and child.

**Sansa** is a twenty four year old woman who immigrated with her mother in 2007 to New Zealand, when she was sixteen years old, on a student visa. She attended New Zealand secondary school for three year and is a permanent resident. She is currently studying and teaching part-time in Auckland and is married to Gert. She was eager to move to fulfil her late father's dream of a better future for her. Her first language is Afrikaans and she lived in Pretoria before immigrating.

**Mike** is a twenty eight year old man who immigrated in 2008 with his parents and two brothers, when he was twenty years old, on visitor's visa. He is a permanent resident and dairy farmer in the Manawatu area. He is engaged to Noddy. He immigrated in search of a better future. His first language is Afrikaans and he was raised in urban areas in South Africa.

**Ann** is a twenty six year old woman who immigrated in 2012 with her husband when she was twenty two years old. She is on a work visa and is employed as a beauty therapist in Auckland. She moved to have a better future, and to be with her husband,



who is a permanent resident. Her first language is English, although her father was Afrikaans, and she attended school and worked in Cape Town.

### **4.3. Participants statistics**

This section provides statistical comparisons between the participants in the research study re gender, age, residential status, and duration of time in New Zealand, education level and Afrikaans as a first language. The statistics are for description purposes and were used to assist me in comparing their accounts.

#### Age

The age range of the participants was from mid-twenties to mid-forties, with an average age of twenty nine years. Three participants fell into the twenty to twenty five years old age bracket; four were between twenty six to thirty years old: one was in the forty to forty five years old age bracket and one in the forty to fifty years old age bracket.

The participants were aged between eight and thirty three years old when they immigrated. Only the eldest two participants had been adults when apartheid ended in 1994 – they had been in their early twenties at this time.

#### Residential status

The resident status in New Zealand of the participants provided variety. Five were citizens, three were permanent residents and one was in the country on a work visa.

#### Gender

Research was co-constructed with three men and six women, totalling nine participants (see Figure 1). An effort was made to recruit both male and females but they did not need to be in equal amounts.

#### Period of time in New Zealand

At the time of the interviews, participants had spent between four and sixteen years in New Zealand; one had spent less than five years, three had spent six to ten years, three had spent eleven to fifteen years and one had been in New Zealand for more than fifteen years

#### Language

Six participants spoke Afrikaans as a first language and all were fluent English speakers. Two of the participants whose first language was Afrikaans, spoke English as their home language in New Zealand, and one participant whose first language was English spoke Afrikaans as her home language in New Zealand.

#### Education level

All of the participants had undertaken tertiary study (seven in New Zealand), and four had completed level six or above.

#### Marital status

Six of the participants were married to South Africans and four had met their partners in New Zealand. The other three participants were engaged to be married; one to a New

Zealand Pākehā, and the other two (a New Zealand South African and a South African) to each other.

#### 4.4. Summary Table of Participants

Name	Male or Female	Years in NZ	Year of Birth	Age at time of interview	Place lived in South Africa	Date of arrival in New Zealand	Age on arrival in New Zealand	Residential status	Home language in South Africa	Home language in New Zealand	Education level	Marital status	Occupation
Noddy	F	25	1991	25	NA	Born	25	Citizen	English	English	Tertiary	Engaged	Accountant
Hagrid	M	14	1992	24	Cape Town	2001	8	Citizen	English	English	Tertiary	Engaged	Logistics
Elna	F	12	1971	45	Randburg	2002	31	Citizen	Afrikaans	English	Tertiary	Married	Manager
Hanna	F	13	1970	46	Benoni	2003	33	Citizen	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Tertiary	Married	Manager
Gert	M	10	1988	28	Tzaneen	2005	17	Permanent resident	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Tertiary	Married	Self-employed
Libby	F	9	1989	27	Krugersdorp	2006	16	Citizen	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Tertiary	Married	Administrator
Sansa	F	8	1991	24	Pretoria	2007	16	Permanent resident	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Tertiary	Married	Student / Teacher aide
Mike	M	7	1988	28	Pretoria	2008	20	Permanent resident	Afrikaans	English	Tertiary	Engaged	Farmer
Ann	F	3	1990	26	Cape Town	2012	22	Work	English	Afrikaans	Tertiary	Married	Beauty therapist

Figure 1 Summary table of participants detail

## **PART TWO – Analysis and Interpretation**

Part Two discusses the findings of the research study under four chapters. Chapter Five looks at links to the past and examines family stories to aid the settlement process.

Chapter Six looks at the present and scrutinises family stories to maintain tūrangawaewae. Chapter Seven looks at the present and explores the adaptation of family stories to a new culture. Chapter Eight looks to the future and considers the family's narrative inheritance for the next generation.

### **5. Family stories to aid settlement process**

“Our life-paths are paved with story — stretching back, the stories we tell ourselves about what happened to us, why it did, and how it made us who we are; stretching forward, the stories we tell ourselves about what is possible, what we want to achieve, and who we want to become” (Popova, 2017, p. 3).

Family stories connect us to our past, ground us in the present and guide us to our future. In order to examine the first research question for this study – ‘Does the migrant family’s choice of either holding onto their South African family identity and stories or creating a new family identity and narrative in New Zealand, help, or hinder, their settlement process’ – the connections that the family has to their past is explored. This chapter discussed how family stories connecting the migrating family to their past. Four themes emerged from the data analysis and form the four sections of this chapter. Section 5.1 discusses the migrant story of the new immigrant and their aspirations for a better future. Section 5.2 examines the South Africans’ connection to their ancestors

who were immigrants to South Africa. Section 5.3, explores the migrations of ancestors within South African borders and perceived correlations between the historical Groot Trek and moving to New Zealand. Section 5.4 considers the immigrant's knowledge of Pākehā and Māori culture before arriving in New Zealand. The chapter ends with a summary.

The stories of the participants are related using their pseudonyms. A summary table of the participants can be found in Section 4.3.

### **5.1. Aspirations for a better future**

South African immigrants move to new countries in search of improved economic opportunities, better educational standards and safer communities (Chamberlain, 1998; Meares, 2007, 2010; Meares et al., 2011; Philipp & Ho, 2010; Tabor, 2014; Van Rooyen, 2000). Van Rooyen (2000, p. 74) described crime as "a monster that is terrorising South Africa and devouring its people at a rate of 25 000 per year" and noted that sixty percent of South African immigrants cited crime and violence as their reasons for leaving. South Africa has amongst the highest statistics for violent crime (murder, rape, assault and hijackings) in the world (Africa Check, 2016; Van Rooyen, 2000). Other push factors for immigration included a declining economy and falling education standards. New Zealand was selected due to perceived cultural similarities to New Zealand, particularly for English South Africans (Small, 2015; Tabor, 2014).

One of the first new stories that South African immigrants to New Zealand will divulge revolves around their reasons for leaving the country of their birth. The story will be told often as immigrants are regularly asked "Why did you leave South Africa?" by

other immigrants and by New Zealanders. The majority of participants of this study emigrated for better opportunities for their families, and in particular for their children. While many people might think of moving it is sometimes a singular event that acts as a catalyst and pushes them into taking the final step (Tabor, 2014; Winbush & Selby, 2015). The birth of a child, for example, makes you realise that you need to look to the future for better opportunities for your family, as noted by participants Hanna, Mike, Noddy and Libby.

The birth of Hanna's daughter spurred them to immigrate. She felt that the future possibilities for her daughter were limited in South Africa and, as she and her husband wanted their daughter to have a good education and a variety of opportunities, they decided on New Zealand.

*When my daughter was born we decided that given the situation at that stage in South Africa, in terms of education and providing her with better future, we would explore options. New Zealand was one of the options we explored and we came here. I think before my daughter came we would have stayed. When she was born, this was the focus; you want to make sure that you do everything within your power to provide the best that you can. Coming here I think, it has enabled us to do that.*

Similarly, the birth of a younger brother persuaded Mike's family it was time to move as his parents did not want to raise their new baby in a country with a high crime rate. He and his older brother were settled in occupations and considering the possibilities of working overseas, so they opted to join their parents in the move to New Zealand.

*" ... so when my mum was pregnant with my brother, my mum and dad did not want to bring him up in the country anymore. It was not that safe in the area that we were living.*

Noddy's parents decided to move when her sisters were young, for similar reasons to Mike's parents.

*My dad could see how things were going at the time ... and it was getting dangerous and they didn't want to bring up my sisters there – they didn't know I was on the way.*

Sansa immigrated with her mother but part of the impetus to move was to fulfil her late father's dream to find a safer place with more opportunities, and to reunite with relatives.

*We moved for a better future and New Zealand was the best option because we had an aunt and uncle that lived here and my father always want to come here. It was part of his dream that we leave and have a better life here. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Libby's parents decided to move for the sake of a better life for her, their youngest daughter. They believed there would be better economic prospects in New Zealand. Libby remains in New Zealand for the same reason – she believes there are better opportunities for her daughter to “get ahead”

*For my parents it was definitely a better life for them and their last child - for me. Their goal was to leave South Africa and to come here for a better life. There is more for us to do in New Zealand than there would have been in South*



*Africa. If I had my daughter in South Africa, there would be no future for her, but here there are so many opportunities for her.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Libby also felt that it was important that her child understand the sacrifices that were made in order for them to have a better future, and planned to tell her the reasons for the family's emigration from South Africa.

The concept of moving for a best future for the next generation supports the findings of Meares (2007), Pietersen (2000), Reyneke (2004) and Small (2015) in their studies of South African migration to New Zealand.

As violence is prevalent in South Africa, many immigrants are able to relate a single incident that acted as the impetus for them to put words into action, and take the final step to immigrate. Sansa tells a story of an armed robbery at a neighbour's house as being the single event that spurred them to action.

*So the big story for me is the evening that my mother decided that we were going to move. My mother woke in the middle of the night – it was still dark outside. I slept with her in her bedroom, with the door locked and the alarm switched on, as she didn't feel it was safe for me to sleep in my own room. When she woke up she climbed up on her dresser to look out her window to see what was happening at the neighbour's house as she had heard a commotion with the neighbour yelling. She saw the neighbour running into her house shouting that they had stolen her car. My mother told me to remain in the bedroom. She went out and switched on the alarm before she left the house. The thieves had left but they had stabbed the neighbour. It was fortunately only in her arm but at that stage there was so much blood and it was dark and they were worried that she*

*had also been stabbed somewhere else. They had stabbed her with her own screwdriver, stolen from her own Wendy house on her property while they tried to steal her car! My mother returned and told me that she was taking the neighbour to hospital to have her checked over. Our private security company come over later but the police only arrived two days later. ... When my mother returned - it wasn't even daylight yet - she emailed her employer to tell him that we were making plans to move if he wanted to find someone to replace her before we moved. That was the biggest thing that stood out for me. This is the story that I mostly tell if New Zealanders ask me how things really were. We came across for a better life. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

The indignation that Sansa feels comes across strongly in her telling of the tale. The audacity of the opportunistic attackers to use her neighbours' tools in the assault still rankles many years after the incident happened. The security issues that South Africans face are highlighted in this anecdote as Sansa and her mother shared a bedroom with a locked internal door, an alarm and an on-call private security company. The physical structure of the home was not secure – even with these measures. The place that should be considered a safe space – the home – no longer felt safe with the neighbour being attacked. Cain et al. (2015, p. 1148) noted that “One of the most significant transitions associated with our participants’ migration from South Africa to New Zealand was the shift away from an ‘ecology of place’ characterised by fear, anxiety and hyper-vigilance”. Sansa equates a better life with a life free from possible violence and assault, a place where home is a safe space.

Elna had experienced numerous burglaries, attempted robberies and potential hijackings, but it was an armed robbery and assault while away with a group of tourists that spurred her and her husband to action.

*We had a really good Scottish friend ... and he used to say to me “South Africa is the best, and how can you think of going elsewhere?” He had come to sunny South Africa through the mines when he was young, so he always just defended South Africa. But then one day, I took a group to the Wild Coast ... but, my Scottish friend and I don’t gamble, so we went for a walk and we got attacked. These three guys jumped out of the bush and just stripped us of everything. He was very sick – he had cancer – so he was quite frail then. You know, he had just had chemo the week before, but he tried to fight them off, so, he got hurt quite badly. I just dropped everything. But that was the turning point. When he got up off the sand there, he said “Just take your stuff and go Elna. This is not the country it used to be” and he was really quite sad. It was quite bad to see that defeat in somebody who always fought for the country, despite all the bad stuff happening. So, I went home ... and said “Oh, this has happened”. ... and hubby said “Are we going to wait until you get raped before we make the move or are we going to be proactive?”*

Elna noted that this assault was the final straw as they had experienced threatening behaviour before this particular incident, but insists her reason for immigrating was more pull than push factors.

*I guess it was a little bit of push, but we decided we didn’t want to feel like we have been thrown out of the country. We want to make a choice. We decided to come over, have a look, and then make a choice – that’s what we did. We came*

*across, travelled for five weeks, and then went back and started the process. So, why did we come, I guess, wanted the career experience, wanted the overseas cultural experience and wanted the adventure. I was curious to see what we could do out here.*

Elna emphasised that although she had been the victim of violent crime, the primary reason for immigration was the desire for new adventures and experiences and her curiosity of new cultures. These pull factors, she observed, enable her to take control of her immigration experience as she did not want to feel that she had been driven out of the country of her birth. However, it was a violent assault that pushed them to making the final decision to leave South Africa.

The anecdotes of the participants illustrate the push factors for immigration. South African immigrants choose New Zealand for its climate, size and lifestyle (Van Rooyen, 2000). Mike noted that his parents considered New Zealand, Australia and Canada as possible countries for emigration. They ruled out Canada as the weather was too cold for his mother. Australia was vetoed as his father was not comfortable with the age that was needed to qualify for residence. Mike's father heard favourable accounts of New Zealand from a relative who had immigrated and was convinced that it was the place to raise a child. This correlates with previous research studies which show that New Zealand has the preferred climate over Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom for some migrants (Small, 2015; Tabor, 2014).

Many South African consider immigration but not every South African immigrates. For the participants of the study the desire for a better future for their children or a final incident of violence impelled them to take the final step of migration. A better future

meant having a good education and improved employment prospects in an environment with a low crime rate (Meares et al., 2011). It also meant a lifestyle focussed on a balance between work and recreation, with opportunities for travel and adventure. The emigration journey to New Zealand forms part of the narrative inheritance of the immigrant, as it recounts the pathway from old to new – from past to present.

## **5.2. Connection with ancestors who were immigrants to South**

### **Africa**

A theme that emerged from the analysis was that participants were the descendants of immigrants, and connected with the family stories of these family members when they knew them. In addition, the immigration experiences forms a large part of the family story for the next generation as it is a significant experience that will affect each family member in a different way. As Dawson (2005, p.7) notes that some immigration journeys were based on “choices that were informed, considered and based on optimism, other whose journeys began with displacement, desperation, fear and confusion”.

South Africa’s colonial history started when the Dutch East Indian Company established a refreshment station at the Cape in 1652. Many South Africans are able to trace their ancestors to the first inhabitants at the Cape of Good Hope, either through the indigenous San and Khoikhoi, who lived in the area, or through the settlers. These seventeenth century settlers were voluntary migrants, such as employees of Dutch East Indian Company (DEIC) who remained in South Africa after their contracts expired; French Huguenots fleeing religious persecution; as well as sailors, farmers and labourers. The settlers also included forced migrants such as indentured servants, slaves

and convicts. Many of these forced migrants intermarried or had children during their enslavement or after they were freed. Examples of other waves of immigration to South Africa include the 1820 British Settlers, the indentured Indian sugarcane workers from 1860 onwards, and refugees from neighbouring African states in the twentieth century (Robertson, 2017; L. Thompson, 2001). The stories of these immigrant ancestors form part of the family story of South African immigrants. A number of the participants fell into this category, with some having family that had immigrated to South Africa 350 years ago, and others having a more recent history of immigration to Africa.

Hagrid's mother had done extensive family research and, as a result, Hagrid knew his lineage back to sixteen generations. He has pride in his past and felt that knowing his heritage and having a long lineage is something to be valued. Knowing that he had a diverse lineage gave him a sense of place in the world, and this helped in adjusting to new situations that arose from immigration. In the modern age where travel was more prevalent, it gave him a sense of identity being able to visit places where his ancestors had lived. He noted.

*Yes, definitely. In the past I could say like, look I can trace my heritage sixteen generations on this side, and fourteen and thirteen on that side. Knowing that's where I come from is really cool. I do enjoy that ... 'cause at least then I can say... look I've got a bit French in me, I've got a little bit of Indian in me, and not just saying I guess I've got South African in me, then what else, cause there is a lot of people in South Africa. In today's day and age where travel is so diverse, you have people left, right and centre, knowing where your original bloodlines are, I think is quite cool.*

As South Africa has a large population and travelling to an even wider world, the sense of being able to identify with people with whom you share an ancestral heritage – even if it is distant and small – is perceived by Hagrid to be both remarkable and desirable. In order to have family stories you need to know your family. If you do not know either the characters or the countries or areas of origin of your ancestors then you may not have a story to tell about them. This gives you a starting point for interacting with a new environment, introducing yourself to a new person by sharing your story or introducing a new person to others but sharing your connection with them, either in a story or a shared country of origin. When immigrants share their family stories they enable their new country's residents to understand their journey. Dawson (2005, p. 7) memorably observed that the personal stories of immigrants introduces “real individuals, their lives and inner worlds” at a time in New Zealand's history “when ‘migrants’ is a collective, depersonalised label, when the word ‘refugees’ conjures up displaced and faceless hordes, when the notion of ‘them’ and ‘us’ still persists”.

Gert knows that he descends from a farming family and is aware that his family history includes immigrants from Europe and the United Kingdom.

*I know quite a bit. So on my mother's father's side - he was third generation German and his father came over in the first World War. They moved from Germany. ... My father's mother was fifth generation Scottish in South Africa and my father's father has been in South Africa for a long time. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Narrative inheritance is the collection of family stories that we receive from our parents and grandparents, which influence the way that we conduct ourselves (Ballard &

Ballard, 2011; Goodall, 2005). In order to have a narrative inheritance it is, therefore, important that parents and/or grandparents relate stories of the family to the next generation. Immigration often ends up distancing children from their grandparents, and then the responsibility of narrative inheritance will become the task of the parents. When a family immigrates to a new country the grandchildren may end up not knowing anything about the history of the family, unless a concerted effort is made to tell the story. Sometimes, the history of the family may not be known due to circumstances beyond the control of the individual, and the family story - the part of the whakapapa - is lost. Hanna is not interested in her lineage, although her brother has tracked down the family tree. She has no stories of her great-grandparents and this part of her whakapapa is lost. Her maternal grandmother was abandoned as a baby in Zimbabwe and knew naught of her parentage while her paternal grandmothers' parents were killed in a car-crash when her grandmother was young. Her paternal grandfather's family stayed in Zimbabwe when he immigrated to South Africa. She relates her grandmother's story.

*It is one of those sad stories of being left in front of a church, so, I don't know much about my great grandmother because of that. What I know and that is because my grandmother stayed with us, and we ask about grandmothers and things like that. My grandmother was abandoned as a new-born baby on the doorstep of a church in Zimbabwe. The church took her in, and she was brought up in an orphanage and then she was adopted later in life, as a pre-teen.*

By sharing her “sad” story of being abandoned at birth, Hanna's grandmother had provided insight into her personal and emotional life, which provides the opportunity



for an older generation to offer insight into life experiences (Taylor, Fisackerly, Mauren, & Taylor, 2013).

Libby is also not interested in her family history. She knows her paternal grandfather was a Polish refugee and her maternal grandparents were Afrikaans.

*My oupa was one of the refugees - I can't remember what war it was - but they escaped in a boat and then came to South Africa. That is where he met my ouma at that time, and my ouma was a South African. She is an English South-African so my father was actually brought up English and he always speaks English to his sisters. But my mother's side is all Afrikaans, and they were all born in South Africa.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Ann's mother did not tell her much about her grandparents. She knows that her paternal grandparents died before she was born and her maternal grandmother's family was from the Isle of Man.

*My grandmother, I know she and my grandfather are also South African, but I know my grandmother side were all from Isle of Man in England. Yea, I don't really know too much about it, but I [know] that there are some roots back there.*

Sansa knows something of her maternal and paternal grandparents, but has no knowledge of further stories.

*I don't know everything about my ouma – all her brothers and sisters. I know my oupa on my father's side, but I don't know much about my late ouma and that family. Further back, I don't really know. On my mother's side I know who my*

*ouma and oupa are. She has said she is third generation from Germany, but I don't know. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Mike does not know the history of his family as it was not discussed or retold.

*It was not something that we talked about a lot. Obviously I know my mum mother – ... but I don't know where my great or great great-grandparents are or where they all come from. My dad was adopted and Portuguese.*

The way that the new immigrant to New Zealand deals with the immigration process creates a story. Knowledge of how your immigrant ancestors coped with their settlement, and their stories of resilience in the face of adversity, can serve as a guide and inspiration for your own process of through the difficult time of immigration (Feiler, 2013; Koenig Kellas & Trees, 2006; Stone, Gomez, Hotzoglou, & Lipnitsky, 2005; Trees & Kellas, 2009). The anecdotes of Hanna, Libby, Ann, Sansa and Mike show that if an effort is not made to tell the family history then the exploits of the migratory family is lost – not only to the grandchildren but also to the family that is left behind in the country of origin. As children of immigrants to South Africa, they knew very little about the original migratory family story, because their parents had not related it to them. If South African families to New Zealand want to maintain their migratory stories as part of their family legacy and part of the narrative inheritance, then they will need to make a concerted effort to do (Ryan, Pearce, Anas, & Norris, 2004).

### 5.3. Connection to the Groot (Great) Trek in South Africa

The third theme that emerged from the data in relation to family stories to aid the settlement process was that family stories connected the participants to the internal migrations of their ancestors in South Africa.

Many emigrants from South Africa have historical connections to trekboere. In the seventeenth century, the free burghers farmed and sold their produce (mainly wine and wheat) to the refreshment station for passing ships at the Cape of Good Hope. At the end of the seventeenth century, many farmers switched to the more lucrative stock farming in order to provide meat for the burgeoning colony. Grazing licences were obtained from the Dutch East India Company but land could not be purchased. This led to the establishment of *trekboere* as stock farmers roamed eastward in search of better grazing for their animals and fresh pastures for sons starting their own herds. These farmers lead a nomadic lifestyle. This restless spirit has been termed the *trekgees*. Ransford (1972, p. 5) eloquently noted “they would move if they were annoyed by wild animals or hostile natives or by tax collectors, but more often they trekked for no more reason than a quenchless hope that better pastures lay beyond the next horizon”.

In order to keep control of these pioneers, the Cape Government continually expanded the border of their territory. By the end of the nineteenth century the colony borders extended to the Great Fish River (almost 1200 km from Cape Town), where the trekboere came into conflict with the Xhosa people residing in the area. During the same time period Britain conquered the Cape Province and attempted to establish dominance over the stock farmers in the wider colony. The trekboere were largely descendants of German, French and the Dutch settlers, and they shared a common

language (which they called the Taal or Boeretaal) and the same Christian values. Historians have noted that although both groups spoken dialects of Dutch that would develop into Afrikaans, there is a cultural difference between the trekboere who migrated to the north of the country, and the settlers who remained at the Cape (Ransford, 1972; Webb & Kriel, 2000; Willemse, 2017). Trekboere lived simply and were able to move with all their belongings packed in an ox wagon. They also had to be self-sufficient, creating their own food, furniture, clothes, soaps and medicines. Their self-sustainable lifestyles lead to a fiercely independent people who wanted self-government in a peaceful and free environment. As a result the trekboere left their homes and pastures to trek inland and away from British colonial dominance. These pioneers were called Voortrekkers and the series of journeys made by between 15 000 and 20 000 people between 1835 and 1854 is termed the Great Trek (Heymans, 1986; Van Niekerk, Stander, & van Zijl, 1982). During the Voortrekkers journeys northwards and eastwards, they came into conflict with African tribes (Xhosa, Zulu, and Sotho) who lived in the area. These tribes are migrated down from middle Africa at about the time the Dutch were colonising the Khoisan of the Western Cape (L. Thompson, 2001). The journeys of the Voortrekkers and their struggle for independence were annexed by the National Party during the apartheid years, to sweep up nationalism fervour and create folk heroes (L. Thompson, 2001; Webb & Kriel, 2000). The history of South African during the apartheid years promoted the viewpoint of the Voortrekkers and not the indigenous people of Southern African (the Khoisan) or the African tribes. The migrations of South Africans in search of peace and prosperity over the past twenty five years has been likened to the Great Trek, as they search for new opportunities and figurative greener pastures (Chamberlain, 1998; Van Rooyen, 2000).

Hagrid knew his lineage including his indigenous roots and his trekboer ancestry. He had pride in his past, and drew strength from the toughness of his ancestors, the knowledge that his way was different, and the ability to identify with different ethnic groups no matter where he was in the world, because he may have ancestors who originated from the country he is visiting or the region in South Africa he may be travelling through. His knowledge of his trekboer lineage included the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War and offered their desire for independence as examples of their hardiness.

*I know that I am directly related to Khoi San, but then a bit about the Boer.*

*Probably the most I know is about our Boer heritage, the Boer War and the trek that they had to do, where they grew up, the independence from the English*  
*Ahh, pretty tough, the Boer were, I mean that is my first thing. The Boer were, they were hard people. They were tough.*

Sansa noted that she “felt like a Voortrekker when it came to developing a new life in New Zealand by moving around the country and checking out the best place for us to live”.

Elna expressed her connection with the Voortrekkers and likened her emigration to their journey. He enjoys history and felt that immigration allowed her to explore new territories in the same way her forefathers explored South Africa. Her focus, however, is not on conquering new territories, but on the hardships that had to be endured on these journeys.

*I kind of think sometimes that our legacy – being me and hubby – small family, is probably going to be - the link is going to be that we kind of went over the*

*mountain like the Voortrekkers, as well. To me ... I kind of like the closing of the loop. I really have an appreciation for people that went barefoot across the mountains kind of thing, but we associate with that because we feel like we have done the same thing. I feel like part of the legacy would be, my dad's ancestors have done it, and his children have done it. So there is sort of a link.*

Elna also mentioned her sub-conscious link to the *trekgees* of her ancestors.

*There must be something in the psyche that must have remained from those guys that went barefeet over the mountain to some extent.*

Ransford (1972, p. 210) noted that even after the Great Trek, some trekkers moved out of South Africa and into Namibia, as one trekker explained “a drifting spirit was in our hearts, and we ourselves could not understand it”. The connection to the *trekgees* of their ancestors forms part of the narrative inheritance of some immigrants. This inheritance offers a form of comfort and Hagrid and Elna drew strength from the stories of their ancestors’ explorations into the interior of South Africa. Their independence, hardiness and self-reliance served as a source of inspiration, and this part of their narrative inheritance formed part of their family identity. For this reason, family stories about migratory journeys of their ancestors have helped participants to settle in their new county. Knowledge of their history enables them to connect to the ancestors, and this, as Kasten (2013, p.9) points out, “usually provides an essential sense of security and self-esteem”.

#### 5.4. Knowledge of Pākehā and Māori culture before arriving

In order to examine the effect of a new culture on South Africans, it is necessary to establish what the participants knew about New Zealand and its inhabitants, pre-immigration.

Many immigrants perceive New Zealand to be a country with low crime statistics, friendly inhabitants and idyllic pastoral scenes - seemingly a perfect place to bring up children. In addition, the similarities between barbecues and braaivleis, love of sports like rugby, and a mild climate draw South Africans to New Zealand (Harrison & Nortje, 2000; Meares, 2007; Reyneke, 2004; Winbush & Selby, 2015). Often, their perceptions of the country are derived from the stories of other South Africans or families of immigrants. However, very few South African immigrants have had personal contact with a New Zealander-born Pākehā or Māori before they arrived in New Zealand. This section explores the immigrant family's perception of New Zealand before their arrival.

Five of the seven participants had never met a New Zealand Pākehā, and none of the participants had met Māori before immigrating. Their primary sources of information were books, the internet and second-hand accounts of life in New Zealand from South Africans who had migrated. Gert's father had researched New Zealand before their arrival, both on the internet and by reading books.

*We saw a lot of those typical New Zealand scenery books that show lovely, amazing scene – so that is what we knew. We knew it was a very green country, that the weather wasn't that warm, so we knew a little but not a lot. I didn't know much about the Māori. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Sansa's aunt and uncle lived in New Zealand and they had told her stories of their life in the new country. She had never met any New Zealand Pākehā or Māori, and derived her idealistic view of the country from photographs in books. She had the impression it was a wealthy country with sophisticated inhabitants.

*A born Kiwi – never ever. My wonderful aunt sent me a little book from New Zealand on the country. My uncle in South Africa had done research and the people in New Zealand sounded to me like the people I knew in South Africa. I was, at that age, a little idealistic and it sounded to me that people were possibly happier and more accomplished than we were. My uncle read somewhere that there was a dishwasher in every house - I am not sure why that stood out for me. Possibly because we didn't have a dishwasher and I had washed so many dishes. There was a picture of people walking on a beach with a sailboat in the background. These looked like normal people but they sounded happier, like a little ring bubble. I thought it looked like a dream world. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Libby did not know much about New Zealand but she observed that, by immigrating, she had discovered a story concerning a relative who had lived in New Zealand. She, contrary to Sansa, had an impression that New Zealand would be primitive.

*The funny thing is that my Oupa's brother lived in New Zealand years ago. I only found that out when we immigrated here. But I didn't know him - he died many years ago. We didn't know any New Zealanders in South Africa. I never knew how large New Zealand was because I was not interested in rugby. I was sixteen and I was not in that culture. I didn't know New Zealand was that big, so when my parents said we were going to New Zealand I thought we would have*



*to sell vegetables next to the road, and have to live in a hut. My mother didn't realise it either and she stocked up on make-up brands, not knowing that there were so much more here. So, we didn't really know anything about New Zealand before we came here. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Ann's husband was a South African immigrant who had lived in New Zealand for a couple of years before personal circumstances drove him to return to South Africa, where Ann met him. He had told her about living in New Zealand.

Hanna received her information on New Zealand from a migrant family in New Zealand.

*No, we didn't know any, but what happened is that the nurse that worked in the pharmacy where my mother used to go – her sister and family came here. So we said “can we make contact with your [family]”? You know, you have all these questions if you don't know anyone, and they were fantastic and in fact, they rang us. We were out in February, and that December they were in South Africa, and they arranged that we meet them. You know, and we could continue to ask all our questions.*

Elna had met two New Zealand tourists and she was impressed by their independence. She and her husband also travelled to New Zealand on a holiday (a trip known to South Africans as LSD – look, see, decide), in order to obtain first-hand knowledge, before making their decision.

*We went to Victoria Falls, and I met New Zealand girls there who hitch-hiked from UK down to Zimbabwe – I was like “you must be crazy”. So we met them there and had some conversations. Well, we weren't sure which one [New*

*Zealand or Australia] we would do – I just wanted to go overseas, I didn't really care where to. The weather would have stopped me [going to Canada or United Kingdom]. So, what we decided to do was to go and have a look – a LSD. So, we stopped in Australia, in Sydney, but we mainly came to New Zealand. Then we travelled for five weeks. This was four or five years before we came to live here.*

Hagrid's parents had met a New Zealander missionary who had spent time in South Africa during the nineties, and had married a South African woman. They also had a South African friend who had immigrated in the nineties and married a New Zealander. He had provided them with information on the country, particularly with regard to the education system.

The picture of New Zealand as a peaceful, idyllic country is seen as a respite from the violence of South Africa. However, these idealistic perceptions taken from coffee-table picture books often lead to unrealistic expectations of the country. This, in turn, contributes toward immigrants experiencing culture shock as they try and reconcile their expectations with reality. If the disillusionment experienced is large, it can lead to maladjustment and unhappiness in the immigrant's life (Pietersen, 2000; Reyneke, 2004; Trlin, 2010). The New Zealand immigration website warns new settlers that similar cultures can be misleading particular in relation to "subtle social differences" and settlers should expect to be confused by New Zealanders' attitudes of "friendly but reserved" and 'open but respectful' (Immigration New Zealand, 2017). This attitude made it difficult to make friends in New Zealand, as Small (2015, p. 373) observed, the "Kiwis were friendly, but they were not as warm and hospitable as South Africans were".

There participants had obtained very little information on the indigenous culture of New Zealand or the role of Te Reo in New Zealand society, before moving to New Zealand.

### 5.5. Summary

This chapter discussed how the narrative inheritance of South African immigrants helped their settlement process by connecting the migrating family to their past. As Reyneke (2004, p. 790) notes “[b]alance between that which was and that which is must be reached before there can be any mentioning of a successful adaptation in a new country”.

The findings showed that the participants moved for better economic prospects in a country with less violence and crime than South Africa. Their aspiration for immigration was a better future for their families. The stories of their family who had been immigrants from other countries or *trekboere* inspired them and enable them to make connections to their ancestors. Participants had obtained their knowledge of New Zealand cultural society from books or other migrants, and very few have personally spoken to either Pākehā or Māori before their arrival. This can lead to unrealistic expectations of settlement in New Zealand. In addition, culture shock can be exacerbated as the reality of a living in a different culture is experienced. It was evident that detailed and accurate information on New Zealand helps immigrants to be better prepared for the challenges that will be faced (Reyneke, 2004; Small, 2015).

The implications of the data are discussed in Chapter Nine.

## 6. Family stories to maintain tūrangawaewae

“If you don’t recount your family history, it will be lost. Honor your own stories and tell them too. The tales may not seem very important, but they are what binds families and makes each of us who we are” (L'Engle, 2007, p. 140).

Chapter Six looks at the present time and scrutinises the way family stories ground us in our present and help us maintain our tūrangawaewae. Four themes regarding the connection between family stories and tūrangawaewae have emerged from the data. First, the use of family stories to create identity and form a lasting family legacy is explored in section 6.1. Second, the connection to culture created by family stories is considered in section 6.2. Third, the role of family stories in creating a secret past for immigrants who are unwilling or unable to share their experiences is examined in section 6.3. Fourth, the role of family stories in maintaining the language of the birth country is discussed in section 6.4.

If an immigrant’s place of standing is physically relocated and the immigrant is further mentally placed outside their tūrangawaewae or, as Doherty (2012, p. 31) describes it “comfort zone”, then how do they maintain their place of standing? Stuart and Ward (2011, p. 127) noted that youth adjusted better to immigration if they had good family relations and valued their cultural identities. Traits that epitomise strong families is commitment to family, appreciation and affirmation, time together, communication, a sense of humour, sharing responsibility and roles, common interests and goals and compassion (Kuzma, 1992; McKay, 2017)

## 6.1. Family stories to create identity and legacy

As discussed, the content of family stories often highlights the values that the family considers to be important and highlights the traits of the family. These values and traits form the family's identity. When the anthology of family stories forms part of the family's narrative inheritance, then it defines the family legacy. Section 6.1 examines the values and traits that participants believe define South Africans and the types of stories that are retold as part of the family legacy. In order to provide context for the discussion in Chapter Six, Afrikaner identity is discussed. Seven of the participants are either Afrikaans or have one or more Afrikaans parents.

The apartheid Nationalist government (1948 – 1991) in South Africa deliberately constructed government, language, education and media to further their political agenda. L. Thompson (2001, p. 198) notes that “most Afrikaners experienced little but the Nationalist world perspective from cradle to grave: at home, in Afrikaans-language schools and universities, in Dutch Reformed Churches, in social groups, on radio and television, and in books and newspapers”. This view is supported by Webb and Kriel (2000, p. 20) who observed that history was constructed from the Afrikaner viewpoint and the Christian National Education (CNE) syllabus was a “major agent of Afrikaner nationalism” with the aim of “making sacred a distinct Afrikaner identity, based on a version of Calvinism”. Although most of the participants in my study received their education after apartheid ended, they were raised by parents who studied under CNE, and their upbringing would have been affected by it. Although children who attended English public schools would not have received the same level of indoctrination as those in Afrikaans schools, they did follow the same school curriculum – with subjects such as history and religious instruction promoting the National Party viewpoint – and

studied Afrikaans as a second language (Webb & Kriel, 2000). There was a wide variety of both Afrikaans and English speaking white South Africans, along the scale of conservatism and liberalism. The influence of religion, language and race on national identity, however, was more pervasive in Afrikaners society than English ((Bosch, 2000; Louw, 2004; Van der Waal, 2015). The Anglo-Boer war and British colonialism also created a set of social and political tensions between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (Barkhuizen, 2013).

Gert and Sansa noted that there was a cultural, language and heritage difference between English and Afrikaans South Africans. Sansa emphasised the traditional gender roles of the Afrikaans culture was still prevalent and needed to change.

*The heritage and food we eat is often different. Even if we are all South African, there are certain things that the boeretannies (boer aunties) used to do that English folk might not have done. There are, perhaps, certain expectations in the Afrikaans culture, such as to be married before you live together and have children. I think the thing that is still strongly alive in the Afrikaans culture is that the woman stays at home and looks after the children and she is not the one that, for example, is more educated and so on. These attitudes are something that the Afrikaans culture is still working through.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Reyneke (2005) offered an insightful study into the acculturation of an Afrikaans family in New Zealand, and explored the path the family negotiated to integrate into New Zealand society. In his study, he described Afrikaners as proud of their traditions which mean they had to fulfil their familial responsibilities to their parents and children. They are religious and attend regular Christian church service – usually one of the

conservative religions such as the Dutch Reformed Church. The father is the head of the house, and usually the breadwinner and the mother takes care of the family at home. The children are respectful towards elders and disciplined if they misbehave. This strict, conservative way of living based on strong Calvinist values was referred to as Afrikaner culture or conservative upbringing by the participants.

### **6.1.1. Values and Traits**

The majority of the participants felt that having a strong supportive family was a value considered to be important by South African immigrants. Love and family unity were two traits that most participants highlighted, as well as fairness, hard work and respect. This section also examines the participants' perceptions as to the similarities of their family values to that of New Zealanders.

#### **6.1.1.1. Family values**

Sansa placed importance on a supportive family, and her family slogan is “love and unity”.

*I have always felt it was really important for family to be together, to support each other and to love each other. I did not have much to do with my father's side of the family, but my mother's side of the family helped us a lot, particular after my father died. They supported us and were there for us. I think loving and supporting the family - being that unit, respecting each other. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

The anecdotes she shared highlight the way her family offered concrete support to her and her mother. She divulged that her uncle would braai for them and he mended their

roof when it leaked. Sansa further noted that part of providing support was keeping in contact with her family.

*I think communication is important because that side of the family gets upset with me if I don't communicate with them regularly - so I think communication is also a big thing.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Sansa noted the importance of communication as part of a reciprocal system of support. Her family provided support but expected regular communication in return. The communication served as both a way of providing support and receiving support. Gert agreed with Sansa and added that he believed that family values are important to South Africans, with a focus on “respect for each other, keeping to our traditions and making the effort to get together with each other”.

In a similar fashion, Libby believes that family should come first. She placed emphasis on loyalty and unity with family members, as well as a friendship circle with other South Africans.

*For me it is important that family come first and that you stand together, especially us, as we came to New Zealand, we try to stay together, and that is how we survived things, and especially with our friend circle, we stay together. We are stronger when we are together. For me, you stay with your family, and when you marry you stay with one person. I would say these are mainly South African values. It is what we have personally been through and all the stuff we have seen, it is easier and better if you stay together as a family and keep to that value. Definitely, especially here in New Zealand. In South Africa we were always a close family. My dad always cared for his family. He always made*



*sure that we had a roof over our heads; and my mother stuck with her husband, and I would like to keep this for my daughter.*

Libby's family description where her father was the breadwinner and her mother supported him, is in keeping with a traditional conservative Afrikaner background. Her concept of a supportive family was doing family activities together. Family loyalty was paramount and meant inclusiveness in invitations to social events.

*My mother and father both worked but, like one thing is, if they couldn't take us children when they went visiting to someone's house, then they didn't go at all. If children weren't welcome at a wedding, then they didn't go at all. That is what I would like to keep.*

The idea of parents taking a holiday without their children, or children not seeing their parents regularly, are in Libby and Gert perceptions, examples of not having a supportive family. Libby believes that love and strength are two traits that underpin family values. She follows a traditional conservative concept where the father, as the head of the house, cares for his family, and the family, in turn, support him in his endeavours, as well as each other. She felt that immigration strengthened the family and brought them closer together.

*It would definitely be love, and you need to definitely need to have love for yourself. My husband is strong, and he does a lot for his family. He is the father of the house and looks after his family. I am also a strong person as well as a loving one. Strength would also be one of those traits. It doesn't matter what the situation is, you need to be strong and show love to yourself and your nearest, and then things will be fine. My mother always said that when she married, it was until death us do part. There were tough days for us all to*

*endure and financial hardship when we moved to the farm. No matter what, the family stands together and is strong together. When we came over to New Zealand, this meant even more. It made my parent's relationship stronger and it made our family stronger. Immigration made it stronger. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

In this narrative, Libby mentions strength nine times. The Afrikaans word she uses is “sterk”, which, depending in the context it is used, can also be translated as resilient, durable, diligent, enduring and having spiritual qualities. It is vital for her to have a durable family who support each other through the tough times. She finds strength in the conviction of her family ideals, in perseverance through financial hardship and in the enduring marriages of her parents and in-laws.

Hanna humorously defines her family traits as “loud but caring and compassionate” and her values are focussed on family, in keeping with her family slogan of “Family is forever, family is important, family first”.

*Being there for family, supporting family. I think that everything that goes with the word family – love, support, caring, compassion, responsiveness. I think that, when I grew up as a child, if there was some difficulty – if there was help needed the family was there and they all supported, and what needed to be done to support each other.*

As Hanna placed importance on family support, she had to recreate the feeling of family in New Zealand when she immigrated with only her husband and child. She did this by turning close South African friends into pseudo-family and by recreating family

traditions. She recognised that it took time to find friends with shared values, build meaningful relationships with new people and make connections with new places.

*It took time. It did not happen – it certainly took time. It's like your close South African friends became the family, and your Kiwi friends became the friends, if that makes sense. I think, in my experience, there is a perception that all South Africans are friends, whereas it is not necessarily. I may not be friends with everyone because I may not have been friends with them in South Africa, so why would I want to change that here. You still have friends that have the same values and norms that you have. We are fortunate that we've got a good group of friends that we all just became families to each other. So when it is a birthday, we would all arrive at the front door with balloons and the birthday person would be showered with "Happy Birthday" or "Veels Geluk Liewe Maatjie" – because that's what happened in my husband's family and in my family.*

As part of her settling in process, Hanna recreated her family's birthday traditions for her wider circle of South African friends in New Zealand. This trend supports previous studies. Meares et al. (2011, p. 41) observed that it was important to South African immigrants "to put energy into creating customs and rituals in their new networks of friends".

Mike valued love and had an appreciation for the struggle his family went through to settle in New Zealand, and he would not want to lose his appreciation for the journey he has taken to get where he is.

*I would say that the love and family, of your immediate family, I think it is really strong ... and that is something that I would never want to lose really. And, probably, even though we've got a better life here, in New Zealand, being able to live how we want and more freely, we also remember the struggle and the hard times and not to judge ... because you don't know where other people are from. We know where we are from and how hard we had it.*

Mike believes that a better lifestyle equates with freedom of choice. The “struggle and hard times” that his family experienced has taught him to be more accepting and less judgemental of others. In a similar fashion to Mike and Noddy, Elna’s core values are focussed on respect, fairness and hard work. She also perceived a similarity to the way Māori view family.

*I guess the core values would be the same. Respect for other people. Fairness to other people. The whole notion of you have to work hard to make it in life. Family is important, which I always think relates well to the way that Māori look at the world and family. Well growing up it was probably quite typical traditional South African I imagine in my mind. So we were brought up to be really diligent, really work hard to get somewhere, lots of self-discipline, no excuses acceptable for not doing stuff, try everything and be involved with people all the time.*

Diligence, hard work, self-discipline and doing what you are supposed to do are traits that Elna considers are traditional South African and were taught to her by her parents. This is in keeping with the conservative Afrikaner childhood described in the beginning of this chapter. Her mother was very involved in community activities and taught her daughter to be supportive of ill or less privileged people.

*People, other people are important. But where I grew up, I do value the value of it and it sometimes dictates how I end up. But the way that I grew up with my parents being engaged with people all the time. Mum worked for cancer foundation. She supported many people that got sick, and she would help out with whatever.*

Elna noted that her family slogan's related to hard work and caring for others.

*Try everything would be one. "Kannie dood van kruiwa stoot" [Can't die from pushing a wheelbarrow]. Something like "you can't do it never exists". Never, never say you can't. My husband has one that is entrenched in his family is "gee net 'n bietjie meer om" just care a little bit more".*

Ann finds that trusting and supporting her husband and having their small family support is important. She struggled during her first year in New Zealand with the lack of family support and returned to South Africa for a period of time. She notes the importance of being committed to the process and made the decision to return to New Zealand although she still misses her mother.

*Trust is a big thing. I came over for my husband in the beginning. I actually went back to South Africa, because I didn't want to be here and I wasn't happy. But I then made the decision to actually come for myself. For me, that first year was awful because I blamed him and didn't trust him and he brought me for no reason. The reason he came was because he always wanted to join the police and obviously in South Africa that is not a good thing to do, so that was kind of the main reason we came, and obviously a better life and future for our children.*

Anne's family slogan is tied to a phrase that her mother used to sign her birthday cards. She has continued her mother's tradition and believes it has helped her to be more accepting of change.

*One thing my Mum would always say to me which has kind of stuck - would always write on birthday cards is the song from Rod Stewart, "May you stay forever young". I think just living every day, and just making the most of every situation you are in and accepting what going on around you and just trying to make everything work and being young at heart.*

Hagrid believes that family is important and a close family is one that takes care of each other during difficult times.

*We have a family slogan – it is strength, honour and love. I think having those three things, having a bit of strength, a bit of honour and a bit of love ... carried that through to also helping others. I guess that whole closeness of the family, like both me and my fiancée have strong connections to our families. That whole trust and knowledge that if shit hit the fan you know that you've got still somebody that can buffer to take care, like on both sides of the family. I think that having that value – of that umbrella – of having family that will always take care of you is probably the biggest one.*

The importance that participants place on having strong families supports previous studies. Vuorinen (2001, p. 112) noted that family storytelling "enhances the emotional bonds within the family, increases the feeling of togetherness and brings the family together". Family and culture is intertwined, as Huisman (2014, p.158) pointed out "the family is not an isolated group that functions apart from culture, but a group that is

enmeshed with cultural ideas of what a good family is”. Strong families are viewed as families that spend time together and are loyal to each member, and offer support when times are tough

#### ***6.1.1.2. Similarities of family values to other cultures***

Participants offered insights to whether they believed their family values were uniquely South African or similar to New Zealand Māori or Pākehā values.

Gert felt there were more similarities between Māori and his South African culture than New Zealand Pākehā and South Africans, particular in relation to family values.

*I have personally not seen that Kiwi families value the importance of family. So, often, when children leave home they see their parents once per year - that sort of thing. What I know and what I have seen, the Māori culture is different. I think they value family more. I absolutely think that Māori culture is more similar to South African culture than Pākehā. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Similarly, Libby valued the family-orientated culture of Māori and felt a kinship to the respect they show for elders.

*I think Māori culture is important for New Zealanders because they have almost the same values as South Africans. To them, everything is about family, and that is how it is for my manager, whom I have known for ten years. Their children, their grandchildren are important and I see how family-orientated they are, because everyone lives in one house and they support each other. That is what I have noticed is special about Māori, and the older generation respect each other. I identify more with the way they grow up than with Kiwis. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Sansa perceived that the desire to hold large family gatherings is shared by other cultures such as Pacific Islanders and Indians, but not necessarily New Zealander Pākehā.

*I wouldn't say everyone has these values but many cultures do. I have seen it with my neighbours who come from the islands. Every Christmas they have the whole family over for a visit. On birthdays you can hear them singing and they are loving toward each other and celebrating together. To me there are some in the Kiwi culture that uphold these values – but there are many that are perhaps not like this. The children go in different direction for Christmas and their birthdays.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Mike thinks his family values are not uniquely South African and noted the similarity between family gatherings enjoyed by South Africans and Māori

*Not uniquely South African I would say, just the way we grew up in South Africa I would say. For me, I won't say it is just South African, I would say it is different between New Zealand and South Africa. We have one friend and her father's side was Māori and she was really, really lovely. They always have the big, big family gatherings. I don't that is something we would want to lose – the family gatherings, especially in New Zealand where we are not a lot of family members, I think it is even more important to try and keep it together.*

Similarly, Noddy noticed the similarities in family values between South Africans and Māori and Pacific Islanders.

*Definitely with family, like a lot of Kiwis they don't have the large family or appreciate the family side of things that much. I do feel like the Māori and some*



*of the Islander ethnicities seem to appreciate family and the large gatherings and also gatherings around their food and things like that, like the hangi and our braai, is quite similar for me.*

Hanna believes strong family values are relevant in New Zealand, particularly among Māori.

*I think it is strong in New Zealand, too. I wouldn't say it is just South African. If you think of the Māori, my experience with my Māori staff is that they are very family focussed.*

Elna believes family values are generally more similar to Māori than Pākehā, although notes that some Pākehā would have had a similar upbringing.

*So I have always thought that what I've got to see and hear from the Māori is very similar to how we have grown up. Yea, generally speaking, [more so than with the Pākehā], again there is no blanket thing but you encounter quite a few Pākehā that don't share that sort of value but then there are others that really, definitely grew up in a similar way. I just think across the board it is more common in the Māori population I think.*

Noddy, Mike, Sansa, Libby and Gert equate family values with gathering with relatives to celebrate occasions.

Hagrid believes that family is important and that this value is shared by his fiancé's family, who are New Zealand Pākehā.

*My South African family and my fiancée's Kiwi family are similar in that way. I mean her family, being the Kiwi family – they are as Kiwi as they come, I mean*

*Pākehā Kiwi – Kiwi as they come. Her father would definitely do anything for his daughters, without a doubt. Travel across the whole of New Zealand to save them if that was needed, but that is that whole family thing.*

Contrary to Hagrid, Ann believes the strong focus on being together as a family is a largely South African trait. Her focus is on spending time together, have a safe place to go to and have unconditional acceptance.

*I think it is a South African trait. We were always together as a family. I would want to have that loving environment and that they would always have somewhere to go to no matter what, and that they are loved, once again, no matter what; everybody as a family together and not living their own lives.*

Philipp and Ho (2010, p. 98) noted in a study of South African immigrants that “[f]amily is crucial in the women’s constructions of home and belonging”. The findings of my study support this notion as participants emphasized the importance that they place upon family values, family loyalty and close families. Half of the participants believed that their focus on close family values is more similar to that of Māori and Pacific Islanders than of Pākehā New Zealanders.

### **6.1.2. Family stories**

The stories that the participants heard as children largely had to do with the lives of their parents or grandparents when they were growing up. L'Engle (2007, p. 144), an author who considered herself fortunate to have been born into a family of storytellers, memorably noted that “[s]torytelling did not cost anything, and it helped people who were underfed, sometimes starving, to remember who they were, and that their heritage

mattered”. Similarly, the elders of participants had shared their memories and experiences of living in a different time period, often with the aim of enforcing how fortunate the present generation were, compared to the hardships that they had endured in yesteryear. As Green (2004, p. 14) observed, “oral history helps those living in the present to understand the constraints experienced by earlier generations”.

Gert's father told him stories of his rural childhood in Africa, drawing pictures of adventures without adult supervision. His parents had immigrated to find a better life for their children, which in context of this story meant having freedom of movement in a safe environment. In modern South Africa, it would not be safe for children to roam alone.

*My father told me many stories of what he had done as a child. My father grew up in the mountains near Pietersburg and told me about what he did on the farm.... Hunting, climbing mountains, and discovering caves and that sort of thing. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

These stories were often told sitting around the fire or while travelling and were often retold. Gert said, “It was an outside type of story, on a Saturday – braai and conversation – basically family time”. Sansa agreed with Gert, and pointed out that “these days it is at a braai, your father tells stories while you sit and braai”, indicating that Gert’s father had passed the role of cooking the food to his son, and had taken the mantle of storyteller to continue the family traditions.

Although Libby's parents had not related many big stories (of their family history), they had shared similar memories of growing up in a rural area. They had told her little

stories of everyday activities, which Libby did not recognise as being stories. She emphasised the work ethic of her parents.

*I know my father grew up in Durban where my oupa had banana and any other fruit trees that you can think of. It was near the sea and my mother told me, how my ma and my pa were raised is almost the same way. They often speak of how they ate the fruit but they didn't expand much. My husband and I are not much concerned about the ancestors and we don't try and find out about them. My mother never told me stories, and my husband's mother not really either. They didn't have time for stories, it was going to work, activities with three children and two jobs and stuff like that but not really stories. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

In a similar fashion to Gert and Libby, Mike heard tales of growing up on an African farm.

*My dad talks a lot about his childhood and working on the farm, helping his adopted dad – and how they adopted him; and how he used to work the fields, and how much he enjoyed it and how free it was. It was a small self-contained farm where they grazed a few beef animals and they milked about eight to ten cows, just for house milking, and cheese and butter; and then they had some grapes and two or three and moerbeibome. [mulberry trees]*

Elna's stories also relate to the experiences she shared with her parents and grandparents on a farm in the South African bushveld. Her grandparents had lived a simple self-sustainable lifestyle on a bushveld farm – making their own soap and candles and using

a woodstove for hot water. Their lifestyle was similar to the traditional, sustainable lifestyle of *trekboere*. She recalls her stories with fondness and humour.

*The stories that stick in my head in what we've experienced rather than them telling us. I always think we were quite lucky. We've been brought up with stuff that kids wouldn't dream of experiencing these days, having them on the farm then – the grandparents. While we lived in Joburg often for holiday, two or three of us kids would go there for two or three weeks. The stuff that I have experienced – where your routine was built around the basic. There was no electricity and the 'donkey' – it was the little box that makes fire to heat the hot water – where. We would collect firewood and feed the 'donkey' from about five o'clock because then the water was there for showering; and I remember that my grandma used to make her own soap way back in the days. I can remember the big black pot with the big stirrer, and the fat and whatever stuff you put in there; and then as she was sort of stirring it, it came out in blocks. One she made for washing the clothing, and then the ones for washing in the bathroom; and she made her own candles.*

Elna noted that her grandmother was a woman of few words but she had shared stories of her years as a child growing up in poverty in rural South Africa. She and her sibling would use dung-heaps to keep their feet warm as they walked a fair distance to attend school. She shared these stories with Elna to emphasise how fortunate she was to live in more modern times.

*The stories she would have told me would be when they grew up they would have walked very far to school, and it was very cold, and they didn't have shoes. So, they go basically from one warm mishoop to the next cow-shit to keep their*

*feet warm. They would walk 300 metres and then – feet in the next hot pile. She grew up on a farm in the middle of the Free State somewhere, but far away from town. So they would have said “we walked 12 kilometres to school every day” and would say “you guys are so lucky”.*

Elna’s grandmother told her stories to show how the younger generation had it easier and that they should appreciate their fortunate circumstances, and to show the progress of the family toward prosperity . This concurs with Taylor et al. (2013, p. 374) assertion that “the moral messages featured in family’s stories indicate the identities, values, and beliefs held most important by members”.

Elna related stories of her experiences hunting wild antelope on the Bushveld farm, including her grandparents’ friends who would only visit the farm during the winter hunting season, to take the opportunity to obtain free meat. She likened this to the people who lived at the coast and had regular visitors from inland during the summer holidays seeking free accommodation. Her narrative highlights the perceived differences in values between the greedy urbanites who take advantage of the generous rural farmer.

*We had an old Bedford truck. We did everything with the Bedford, we used to live basically on the back of the Bedford. Shooting and hunting game, kudu on the back, back to home, slaughter, you know, all that stuff. My grandad forever had problems. He didn’t realise it then but he had lots of “winters’ friends”; people from the city who would come and visit every winter in the shooting season. So like you get the Capies, you know, have all the Transvaal friends who come every December. When my dad took over the farm he was “no this is not going to happen – you can come, but you have to pay for it” because they*

*used to take heaps and heaps of meat back to the city. So memories, I met heaps and heaps of people who used to live in the city, come out for this amazing break. They just loved it. They used to camp in the bush with nothing, shoot a few things and take the meat back home.*

In a similar fashion to Elna, Hanna's parents had told them stories to illustrate how much tougher the lives of the older generation had been. She, too, recalls these stories with fondness and humour, and notes the educational value of the stories.

*Just stories about, I think, for us to be thankful about things, because they didn't have easy lives. They had to walk to school, especially our grandparents, more so, I guess, than my parents, but just talking about their lives in general and how they didn't have it as easy as we did, and to be thankful for what we had because life isn't always so easy. They had to bake their own bread and now we just buy the bread – we go and buy the clothes, they had to make the clothes – that sort of thing. Yeh, I mean they would tell us bed-time stories, Rooikappie [Red Riding Hood], that sort of thing, but in terms of their personal lives, it was more around that you have to be thankful for what you have. To be sure, I guess that we turn out well.*

Hanna's parents and grandparents had told her stories as cautionary tales and to offer reasons for their rules.

*My dad always told us that when they lived in the country – my grandmother would tell this story as well – he fell in the river (as a toddler) and almost drowned; and he was always very cautious with us around water, for that reason.*

Ann's mother, on the other hand, did not hear many stories about the childhood of her parents or grandparents.

*She [my mother] wasn't really much of a sharer. But my grandmother and grandfather split up quite early so my mother grew up with them being separate. But, just, I suppose, the way that they lived back then and how we live now and what has changed, and the environment and stuff and how they had freedom.*

Sansa's mother had told her stories of her late father and grandmother, which illustrated the importance of family gatherings and supporting family.

*My mother mostly told me stories about her childhood and how life was with my father. She mostly told me stories about my father's mother and what a lovely person she was, and how she kept the family together and organised gatherings. She would visit every second weekend. Otherwise when we visited my father's uncle on the plot, I heard stories about how the plot house was built and every weekend they thought they would braai, but they would be busy laying bricks before the braai.*

Noddy's parents had shared stories of the family gathering and celebrations in South Africa.

*They used to tell a lot of stories about South Africa. They would all have big parties for Christmas and my dad would dress up as Santa Claus. One of my cousin thought it was my dad, and pulled the beard, and they were devastated, all the little kids who hadn't figured out it was my dad.*

Noddy noted that stories were usually told during family visits.



*We would go over there for a cup of tea, everybody sitting on a couch or wherever, and you would just sit around and talk about things. That is usually when the stories come up.*

Hagrid came from a family of "talkers and sharers" and so could recall a number of stories that were told to him by various members of his family. He has a large body of stories to draw upon and has a rich narrative inheritance. Stories formed part of his routine, from his grandfather bringing him breakfast in the morning to his mother telling him bedtime stories at night. His stories include imaginative tales that his mother conceived and factual stories of his family activities and adventures. His memories include a recollection of both space and place, and he can recall the environment he was in when the story was told.

*Yes, we all like to talk, we all like to share. I remember my mother used to tell me stories in bed about the elf and the village. I can picture the bed was on the left and the table was in the front, and I remember mum sitting to the left telling the stories. As I got older, dad talked to me about his army stories and trying to phone his mum and running out of money to phone; my mum talking about how she organised a Christmas tree for the supermarket chain, like the biggest in the world. Apart from my dad's army days, there are stories about his accidents; about his mum, and about her cooking. He got himself into jail for an unpaid speed ticket and he had to call his mum to come and bail him out, but she was there in (snap finger) like that. Him shooting his brother, and then telling Oupa that he had shot his brother with the pellet gun.*

Hagrid's memories are not only of the stories themselves but the place he was at when the stories were related to him, for example in his bedroom or at his grandparents'

home. The story conjures not only a tale but also a certain environment and place in time. The place and the story are part of his family identity. His stories are not only memories of listening to the stories, which in itself create a shared experience, but also memories of his parents' memories. Their memories of their exploits have been retold to him and so become his memories as well. Vuorinen (2001, p.111) notes that storytelling in this way is a "means of negotiating the 'real' course of events, rebuilding the past".

Hagrid's memories of his parents telling him stories are intertwined with his memories of experiences with his grandparents, and these experiences form part of his personal narrative inheritance. Hagrid's narrative inheritance is formed by a family legacy of storytelling as both his parents and grandparents told him stories. This particular anecdote told by his grandfather helped Hagrid to have the courage of his convictions, and self-belief.

*I remember Oupa was ... a lovely grandfather. He brought me oats every morning because he lived across the road. He would tell me stories when he was playing football, ... coaching football teams, being very well known in football; and when he retired, he always had one pair of boots that were tied the right way and one pair that were tied the wrong way, to show them the correct way of tying boots. I do remember one story, about when he was refing a game and he saw something happen, and he called foul, but he called foul on the wrong person. But he went with it, and everyone was like "what that's, you shouldn't have done that, that's wrong" and then after the game the guy said "no actually you called the foul right, I didn't think anyone noticed that but well done and very good". But he just went with it.*

Family identity is created not only by the content of the family stories but in the way that the characters are portrayed. The actions of members could be applauded, celebrated, downplayed or condemned (Vuorinen, 2001). Family stories usually show the family in a positive way and if the story had black-sheep characters (such as the naughty uncles) they were usually related humorously. Hagrid had also heard funny tales about the antics of his uncles

*Stories of uncles and aunts as kids or stories told about to me about them. I think another one – I can't remember if it was gran or oupa, that the boys, either skipped school or walked back from school, but when they were walking past, it was either oupa or gran drove past them at the same time and realised that they were – "what are you doing out of school sort of thing?" I remember my uncle being too tall for his army gear, and going on parade in only his underpants in protest, and getting tick bite fever. It's quite a funny one to repeat so that one I have heard quite a bit. I just always remember the boys were always getting up to mischief, but I can never remember what mischief they got up to as a kid. But it was – they were very naughty children*

In order for family stories to make it into the narrative inheritance, they need to be told (Vuorinen, 2001). Hagrid heard the stories while his grandparents were babysitting or while visiting family. Many of the stories were retold by various members of the family, and we often used to introduce a new member into the group. It was the repetitive nature of some of the stories that enabled him to remember them.

*I think it was always told to me in company but at the same time to everyone. Like this was the story, do you remember this everyone, but it was to a new person. But trying to remember when, like I've heard these stories so many*

*times through my years, trying to remember or picture exactly the point when I first heard it or when I did hear them it would be hard, they would kind of blur together. It was when visiting that I would hear the family classics.*

Vuorinen (2001, p.113) noted that people used family stories to represent themselves to other and would “pick up their own favourites from the family story reserve, and start to tell these stories to their friends and close ones”. Hagrid observed that the family stories were told at family gatherings and were often introduced into conversation to show the connections between the family and other people at the gathering.

*In groups and in gatherings is when the main stories get told. When you haven't seen somebody for a while, when something jogs the person's memory. I think it's when you haven't seen a person for a very long time and then talk about stories, like the olden day stories. Those are the stories you hear when somebody new comes along and then that person retells their story of how they relate, you and them – the connection.*

Hagrid heard many stories during road trips, as his mother related stories of the places they were visiting.

*When travelling, as you go through places, I remembering my mother saying, this is the road that I used to drive on from work every day; it has now become a pot-hole mess dirt road or that sort of thing. Or, we used to live there – that used to be the area there. Retelling those stories of this is the town we were born in,*

Ann's mother was also most likely to share memories of places, when they were in the car travelling to their holiday home.

*Travelling, we did a lot of travelling. We used to have a holiday house at Hermanus, we would go quite regularly for the weekend; and it was just me, my sister and mum that would go. So, usually when we were travelling she would tell us stories, and when we would drive past something she would tell us somethings about it and what it meant to her.*

Similarly, Mike's parents would tell him anecdotes while they were travelling, and there might be the odd thing when you went past they might say 'hey look at that' and this is how it used to be".

The stories of the participants have suggested the intertwined nature of family identity, family values and family stories. Langellier and Peterson (2006, p. 209) eloquently suggests "As surely as we are born into genes, genealogy, and a body of relatives by blood, marriage, and bonds, we are "born into" family stories and histories, family myths and metaphors, family rituals and routines, family language and secrets". The memories or reminiscences shared by parents and grandparents were not always recognised as being family stories, but storytelling can occur at any time during daily life and can be fragments of conversation (Langellier and Peterson, 2006).

The stories were told at family gathering, during visits, around camp or braai fires, or on the road while travelling. Some participants were told the stories as part of a regular routine such as bedtime, whilst others heard them more on an ad hoc basis while travelling or during family visits. This supports findings of previous research studies (Bylund, 2003; Byng-Hall & Thompson, 1990; Vuorinen, 2001). It is important to create, tell and retell stories to ensure that the family identity is maintained. As Langellier and Peterson (2006, p 112) noted, "[o]rdering content to make stories is the

most general level of survival because a family that fails to make stories to share and pass along will cease to exist as a culture”.

### 6..1.3. Family legacy

A supportive family featured strongly in the family values of participants and defined their family identity. It is not surprising, therefore, that all the participants noted that strong, loving supportive families characterised their families’ legacies.

Libby values a strong family with traditional parental roles, and desires a loving and respectful family to be part of her family legacy. As her parents had the same values her ideal is that her family identity become part of her family legacy.

*It is important to my husband and me that our family is strong - that is our main thing. It is important to my husband that family is placed first. We actually spoke about that the other day. We want to be like our parents and we want our daughter to grow up in a home with a mother and father and love and respect. That is how we would like her to progress, it is really important to us.*

[Translated from Afrikaans]

Ann values a loving and happy family that loves and supports each other.

*I think I might be repeating myself but just being together and knowing that when my kids grow up one day they will know they were loved, and they grew up in a healthy, happy home and that we did things together and we supported each other in everything we did – just feeling that love and that security.*

Hanna noted that loving and supportive families created tūrangawaewae in the absence of a familiar geographical space, and wanted a family that created “a resting place for the soul” to be her family legacy. Her family fulfils a spiritual for its members.

*Reflecting on it now – for me growing up in a family where there was love, support and caring ... all the richness of having family and family stories around contributed to my family being a “resting place” for my soul so to speak as I grew up; and that is what I would like our family legacy to be too – a safe place where deep emotional roots can grow, a place that foster confidence, stability and conveys a tone of trusting support. A legacy that nurtures a strong sense of positive identity and demonstrates unconditional love .... Creates a “resting place” for the soul.*

Hanna desire her family legacy to be an emotional safe harbour, whereas Elna’s aim is physical than spiritual. Elna perceives her family legacy to be following in the footsteps of her forefathers with the aim of creating a safe harbour for beleaguered family members in South Africa that may be in need financial support in the future.

*I kind of think sometimes that our legacy – being me and hubby – small family, is probably going to be, the link is going to be that we kind of went over the mountain like the Voortrekkers, as well. ... The other things is we kind of feel like rescuers to the family, because I strongly believe that at some stage we are going to have to rescue somebody and it not that far away now. Partly why we do this accommodation thing at home now – it is not the main reason but it is a back-up plan for other people that might need it.*

Gert wanted his family legacy to reflect the “same values that we have now”. Sansa wanted her descendants to remember and appreciate her trek from South Africa. She planned to retell her family stories in order for them to be remember the stories that had been told to her of her Ouma.

*Telling the stories that I have heard, of Ouma and the loving people and that side of the family. Hopefully, the stories of great grandparents that decided to come over and make the big trek for a better life, and also not to forget what it was all about. That they should make the best of the opportunities that have as a result of the actions of their ancestors. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Mike wanted his family legacy to reflect the values he considers important. He acknowledges that the time he has spent in New Zealand has changed his attitudes and behaviours. He notes that as he adapts to the change he find it hard to plan for the future as he does not know where he will be,

*For me, probably I would like it to be loyalty and trust, friendly, spending time and the willingness to help others; and then just generally being supportive I think - it is a hard one for me – cause I know I am changing and it is hard for me to say where I will be at that point.*

Noddy agreed with Mike and said, “I think that is an important one, not just being friendly but going out of your way to help someone”.

Hagrid has a connection with the *trekgees* of his ancestors and believes that his family legacy encompasses travelling and seeing the way other cultures live. He also considers love for family to be part of his legacy.



*Travel is one I kind of think of. My parents have always, at least once a year, doing a trip away from home and having that idea and thinking like that is something I have carried on and wanted to do in my life, is at least do one big travel somewhere each year. It like broadens your horizon to see the world, to make it something different. I don't know, it is something just ingrained in me. I think that love of your family is one thing that is part of my family legacy.*

All the participants believed that strong families were part of their legacy and indicated that they were either following in their parents footsteps, or they wanted their children to follow in their footsteps – or both. Langellier and Petersen (2006, p.109) noted “The formation, maintenance, and survival of culture is a doing and redoing of family within a generation and over generations”. A repetitive action is needed, and the participants’ responses indicated that this was occurring.

#### **6.1.4. Summary**

The family values, traits and stories shared by the participants revealed the development of their family legacies that forms part of the narrative inheritance passed down to future generations. Participants showed that family stories are a form of oral histories, particularly when they related to the memories or reminiscences shared by parents and grandparents. As Kelly (2002, p. 87) notes “*Whakapapa* knowledge was a person’s way of knowing their identity in terms of connection to the ancestors and kin one lived with”. Similarly, Fraser (2014) asserts “our parents, grandparents, and ancestors are our biggest contributors of historical knowledge”. In order to be connected to your ancestors you need to know their stories, which in turns means you need to know them.

The stories told served as example of the values that are upheld in the family. If the family places importance on support, then the stories told feature family members helping each other. If the family told stories that featured independent childhood adventures that had children hunting, fishing and exploring on their own, then they would seek a place to live that could replicate this freedom for their children. The family stories demonstrated the reciprocal nature of the relationship where support for a family member was traded for communication from that member. The family stories are, therefore, enforcing the family values and, thereby, building family identities. As they are being retold to the next generation the family legacy is being formed. The dominance of the family legacy helped the participants to maintain their tūrangawaewae in a new country, as it reinforced and shared the family values through narrative.

Occasions to tell stories were needed, as the stories were most often told at family gatherings, bedtime, or in the car while travelling. It can be noted that the family gatherings that these stories were retold at, often became the story that would be told at future gatherings. This supports Bylund (2003, p. 234) assertion that “family storytelling is an active process of reliving the past, and also creating a reality for the family”.

## **6.2. Family stories connecting to culture**

Chapter Six looks at the present time and scrutinises the way family stories ground us in our present and help us maintain our tūrangawaewae. The use of family stories to create identity and form a lasting family legacy is explored in the last section (6.1) and the connection to culture created by family stories is considered in this section (6.2). Three categories emerged from the data analysis. First, the participants’ cultural connections

to their language, values and food are examined. Second, the participants' connections to South African places are considered. Third, the link between culture and family stories is appraised. These three categories will be discussed in separate sub-sections (6.2.1 to 6.2.3).

### **6.2.1. Cultural connections**

This section explores the participants' cultural connections to their language, values and food.

First generation immigrants are new immigrants to New Zealand. Their New Zealand born children are second generation immigrants, and their South African born children who immigrated with their parents, as children, are termed 1.5 generation immigrants. First generation immigrants have strong connections to their homelands and they endeavour to promote to their children those cultural aspects that they consider important (Nesteruk et al., 2015; Nesteruk & Marks, 2011). As noted before, South Africa has many cultures. South African culture as used in this chapter refers to the participants' perceptions of their culture i.e. English and Afrikaans white South African. The cultural connections that the participants consider to be important, is discussed in this sub-section, under the headings language, values and food.

#### ***6.2.1.1. Language***

The research participants considered Afrikaans to be part of their culture, even if they did not speak it as a first language. If one considers that promulgation and status of Afrikaans in South Africa before 1990, then the significance of the language in culture is expected (Louw, 2004; Webb & Kriel, 2000). However, language plays an important role in most cultures as it serves as a cultural identifier and connects the users to

traditional knowledge (Kasten, 2013). When you move to a new country, one of the most obvious identifiers of your cultural identity amongst New Zealanders is your language – or your accent when you speak English. A participant in a research study noted that “your language is much more important than you ever thought it would be. It colours your whole life. I mean, when you open your mouth, you are just it” (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005, p. 230). Knowledge of a language can also increase self-esteem as Zuckerman (2014, p. 191) observed, “reacquiring their ancestors’ tongue can be an emotional experience and provide people with a strong sense of pride and identity”.

Mike considers Afrikaans to be part of his culture, although he finds less and less opportunity to speak the language.

*Not that I want to give up Afrikaans completely – I would love to speak it a lot – but there is not a lot of opportunities to any more.*

Noddy does not speak Afrikaans but she does understand it, as her parents had spoken Afrikaans to relatives in South Africa, particularly when they wanted to hide the topic of the conversation from her. She considers Afrikaans to be one way to connect to South African culture.

*They were English speaking but there are a lot of things that my mum used ... if she was ever talking to my aunties in South Africa and I don't know what she is talking about, she would speak in Afrikaans.*

Hagrid is in a similar position to Noddy, as he understands Afrikaans because his parents spoke it to each other and to Afrikaans relatives, but he does not speak the

language. He noted, however, that there are certain Afrikaans words that he considers more expressive than the English words, and he will pepper his conversation with these.

*My dad is Afrikaans and my parents both speak and I listen to it as well. You know, when I think, there are some words that I think in Afrikaans before I think of them in English, like lus – Ek is lus for something, I don't say "I feel like eating something", I say "I am lus for something". Movie trailer – voorprente – I will think that before I think trailer. Those two things that really stick, I don't know why.*

Libby displays her culture by speaking Afrikaans to her child. She believes her daughter will learn English and Māori at school and Afrikaans at home.

*In the first instance, we speak Afrikaans with our daughter; we want to raise her Afrikaans. My child will ten to one, learn three languages, because she will speak Afrikaans at home, English at school and Māori at school. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Similarly, Hanna displays her culture by speaking Afrikaans at home and she has ensured that her daughter, who was a toddler when they immigrated, has learnt the language. She also ensures that the family traditions she had in South Africa are maintained in New Zealand.

*We talk Afrikaans at home. My daughter talks it fluently as well - she reads it. We are in New Zealand, my daughter is a Kiwi, but there is some, for us, part of us as mum and dad we are South African. Over time, we would have lived longer here than we have lived in South Africa, but it is important for her to have some understanding of some the traditions.*

Alzayed (2015, p. 264) notes that speaking in a first language evokes “warmness and feeling [as] language is about more than just words, [i]t is a repository of personal experience”. Hanna noted that her husband was a passionate speaker in Afrikaans but that he had difficulty in expressing himself in English, and this prevented him from sharing his stories. The inability to express himself in English subdues his personality and public storytelling ability.

*Yes, he often says that his personality almost changes when he has to talk English, because you have to think, and it's different. So you have – when he talks in Afrikaans, he's got the gift of the gab. He can be really passionate. When he does [tells stories] in Afrikaans it is spontaneous. But he has to think about it in English and he would often, because it's just hard work, just not say anything.*

Sansa and Gert consider Afrikaans to be a social rather than business language and speak English to work acquaintances. Sansa considers it unprofessional to use Afrikaans when not everyone at work understands it.

*I continue to speak English at work - it is business, but it is professional, and perhaps after a while you will greet in Afrikaans and have a quick conversation. I think Afrikaans in New Zealand is more a convivial language - a social language rather than a business language. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Gert is sensitive to not giving preferential treatment to his South African clients over his New Zealand clients and, therefore, speaks English at work.

*I consciously treat all my clients the same, I won't give preferential treatment to my South African clients and I won't speak Afrikaans to them, even if I know they*

*are a South African Afrikaans speaking person. Perhaps later, depending on the business relationship, if I do repetitive business with them then I will speak Afrikaans. I keep it professional. There is friendly and being over-familiar so speaking Afrikaans in a business setting I would say so. I think some people want to use it as "I am Afrikaans, you are Afrikaans, so I expect something extra", but in my opinion it shouldn't be like that. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Gert and Sansa have conveyed a status on Afrikaans as a language to be used in social situations, when speaking to friends or long-standing acquaintances. Outside social situations Gert and Sansa use English because they do not wish to exclude people who do not understand Afrikaans from the conversation; and they want to be fair to everyone and not offer special privileges to someone because of a shared language. A similar trend was noticed in a study of South Africans in Australia where Hatoss, Van Rensburg, and Starks (2011, p. 283) observed the first language “is a resource for the ethnic community, while English is the focus for broader integration into the mainstream society”.

Maintenance of Afrikaans and other second and third languages is discussed in section 6.4.

#### **6.2.1.2. Values**

Reyneke (2004) noted that South Africans had received an Afrikaner Positivism education, where respect for elders is ingrained and children were expected to follow the direction of parents, teachers or authority figures without question. In English and Afrikaans South African culture, the academic achievements of children are important; they were expected to work hard to achieve good results, and their results and behaviours were compared with their peers. This comes into conflict with New Zealand

postmodern education where children are treated as equal to an adult, with opinions that are taken seriously. Participants who had part of their education in South Africa noted the different attitudes toward teachers in the classroom and toward the way that children behave toward adults.

Raising their children with respect for elders and having close family ties was important for the participants who had children, and this difference was also expressed by children who grew up with South African parents. Mike noted that his initial impression when he arrived in New Zealand was that children were not respectful when speaking to adults and lacked boundaries, and he was intent on retaining respectful speech to elders.

*Boundaries I would say. For me when I first came it was a little bit of a culture shock – I would say the way that little ones speak to the elderly. In South Africa we knew our place at home, the way you speak to your mum and dad and your grandparents, you don't disrespect them and what possibly some of the New Zealanders do. So, for me, that is something that I would never want to lose.*

Noddy agreed with Mike and noted that she had been strictly brought up in New Zealand with an emphasis on hard work and respect. She believed that respect was shown by listening to parents and teachers and following their instructions, and by having good manners.

*When I was younger a lot of my friends were quite different from me. My parents were very strict. You had to do well at school, and we had to make sure, that if the adults were talking you were quiet; and even if you did really need something then you wait for an appropriate a moment and say 'excuse me'; and you always help around the house. I would say that [the difference] comes*



*to back that respect sort of thing. A lot of my friends when I was growing up would talk back to their parents and interrupt in conversation and even in the classroom situation some of kids would be talking and they wouldn't be doing their homework. I have always been quite strict about listening to the teacher, and, if someone is talking, then you listen to them and you take in what they have said.*

In a similar fashion to Mike and Noddy, Libby perceived the informal New Zealand culture to be a lack of respect for older people, and is intent on instilling formal respect for adults in her daughter's upbringing, which she believes is lacking in New Zealand society. Although she acknowledges that the time and place her daughter is being raised in is different to her own childhood, she is uncompromising in her belief that respect and discipline for consequences is important.

*I think the most difficult will be the respect thing and, how can I say it, the way we were raised, having respect for older people, and I am sorry to say but Kiwis don't have it. It is going to be difficult because here in New Zealand they believe the child must try and figure out things for themselves and they have that way of child rearing; but, I was raised in a strict household, and so I also try to be strict (but not too strict) because the way that I was raised and my child is growing up is totally different. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Libby is aware that there will be difficulties in the future when her daughter realises the differences in the way she is being raised to the way her peers are raised. Libby is fervent in her desire for her daughter to connect to her family values.

Hagrid noted that his South African parents were more intent on good manners than the parents of his New Zealand friends.

*I mean growing up, properly talking to your elders, those manners – ladies first, you excuse yourself from the table. Also, no talking back, stricter parents, I think which is very different to New Zealand, which is a lot more laid back.*

Hagrid noted that his parents were more restrictive when he was a child but believes it was because they were more aware of violence and danger, which is prevalent in South Africa. He also observed that his parents were more controlling of his movements than the parents of his peers.

*The South African parent is definitely more controlling of the movements and whereabouts of – but that just come down to safety and wanting to know if the person is safe and keeping them safe. My best friend's parents were a lot more relaxed than what my parents were. But I suppose it was coming from somewhere that you lock everything up, and you watch everything. You see it here all the time, little kids walking to school by themselves, and the school is not just around the corner, the school is a couple of blocks away and that's fine. It's that thought of safety which is more relaxed here, there is more trust than in South Africa. In general, I think the South African way of growing up is a lot more restrictive, is a lot stricter than what the New Zealand way is. If you look at like how the New Zealand driving age, how in the colleges, and how a lot freer the teenagers and stuff are, and a lot more independent from their parents rather than in South Africa where there is a lot less independence from their parents. I think that is a big difference.*

Hagrid acknowledges that his parents blended their South African heritage with their New Zealand identities and allowed him more freedom in New Zealand than they would have in South Africa.

*I think for my parents versus, I mean I know South African people here, they brought South Africa with them, they made their homes South African homes, That was a South African house, yes we lived in New Zealand but that was a South African house. So, they didn't change to the New Zealand way of life, where my parents did. So, where they still kept South African, they still kept South African ideals and things but they recognised that we were in a different country and things were done differently here and were a lot safer here, and allowed me more independence.*

Hanna feels that a South African style of parenting is different to the New Zealand style of parenting, but noted that in her experience Afrikaans South Africans were stricter than English South Africans. As a South African parent, she concedes she is more controlling of her daughter's movements than New Zealand parents would be.

*Yea - I think, but in saying this I have to say this is very Afrikaans, part of the Afrikaans culture. 'Cause I remember having English friends in South Africa and I thought my parents were too strict because they didn't have the same rules applied in their house. I think, perhaps, that English culture in general, is more loose. Yes the boundaries are maybe not so tight as it is, in my experience, as in a South African household. Off course, it is a challenge for my daughter, because basic ground rules, when she goes out, there always has to be more girls than boys, and if the arrangements change then she needs to let us know. So, if they decide they going to the movies, and then halfway decide no we are*

*not going to the movies, we are going to have pizza, we need to know; and her friends will say “Why?”, “Because they love to nag” (laughing). I think that is very much a South African thing, I don’t think it’s that the Kiwis don’t care or anything, it’s just my experience in South Africa that my peers that were English, their parents weren’t so strict in their case.... how I was brought up is how she is brought up – poor child (laughing).*

The opposing views of the participants with regard to child rearing highlights the clash of cultures between the traditional Afrikaner views of child rearing and the more liberal New Zealand view. This supports the findings in previous research studies which noted these challenges (Reyneke, 2004, 2005). Reyneke (2005, p. 783) memorably observed that “[a]s opposed to an attitude that children should know their place, be seen and not heard, must be achievers, and do not question authority figures, the New Zealand context is extremely child orientated, valuing the child as unique with a potential that needs to be developed in order to give the child the best chance in life”. It can be noted that the parents of Hagrid navigated the opposing sides of this discourse and were able to find a middle ground, which in turn made it easier for Hagrid to adjust to life in New Zealand.

Winbush and Selby (2015, p. 54) recommended that “[s]chools, teachers and support services should be aware that pupils from Afrikaans medium schools are used to a higher level of discipline and expectation that pupils show respect to people in authority”. They recommended that New Zealand teachers should be trained to understand the culture shock experience by these immigrant children when confronted with New Zealand classrooms. Similarly, Stuart and Ward (2011, p. 127) noted “that for young immigrants to achieve strong identities, families, ethnic communities, and the

host society policies and practices need to work together in order to provide support for these young people and to enable them to engage in healthy expressions of their identities”.

#### **6.2.1.3. Food**

Participants considered food to be a strong part of their culture, and they continue to eat or share South African foods or style of cooking in one way or another. Parasecoli (2014, p. 430) rightly suggests that “migrants can, around food, establish spaces and experiences that they can open to outsiders on their own terms, thus experiencing a stronger sense of control over their choices”. In a study with a variety of migrant women living in Hamilton, Longhurst, Johnston, and Ho (2009, p. 333) noted the “migrant women are comfortable in their domestic spaces and largely experience cooking not as a burden but as an important way of staying viscerally connected with their ‘old home’”. The responses of participants in my research study support these findings. The preparing, eating and sharing of South African food enabled the participants to feel more at home in New Zealand, and also to feel more in control of their environment.

Gert is a braai master, who does most of the meat cooking in his circle of friends, and believes food is important in the Afrikaans culture. To him holding a braai is not only a cooking method or a social occasion; it is an integral part of his heritage.

*We braai; I suppose in the Afrikaans culture the type of food and generally the stuff that we make, as well as family. I think it is important.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Gert noted that gender played a role at a braai, where the men were in charge of cooking the meat.

*The men braai outside and in summer the women will also be outside, but usually the men braai and the women make the salads and that type of thing.*

[Translated from Afrikaans]

Gert noted that a braai is more than a cooking method – it is a social process that differs from a New Zealand barbecue.

*It will be when we visit. It is also part of a braai, because in South Africa if you braai, then it forms part of it, whereas if I go for a Kiwi-braai, then it is usually on a gas braai and then it is cooked in five seconds and you eat and leave. I think the braai is not only more social, it is part of that whole tell a story, sit and visit, chat and do that type of thing, rather than cooking meat, eating and leaving.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Similar to Gert, Ann believed a braai is cultural connection to South Africa. A braai is more than a form of cooking – it is a convivial social gathering that embodies friendships, conversation as well as cooking meat over a coal fire and sharing a meal. At a braai she connects with her South African friends because the jokes, humour and ebullient conversation creates a genial atmosphere that reminds her of home.

*The first thing I think about is braai. Obviously not saying that New Zealanders aren't, but I think just the way we are; we've got good hearts and just the atmosphere and the life of the party if you want to put it that way. I remember saying to my husband, one thing I do miss about South Africa is the atmosphere. It **feels** different. It's not that it's not good here, but you know when you are*

*there, you know when you are home. So being surrounded by all of our friends who are also South African and those same values, and that same culture – that does change the whole atmosphere of the get together.*

Sansa noted that cooking and eating South African food is one of the ways she celebrates her culture. She noted that the braai was not only a form of cooking but had three parts to play. First, it was a social event for conversational catch-ups.

*We often come together, and then we converse together, especially at the end when we have finished eating and are drinking coffee - then we will talk together.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Second, when they made the salads in the kitchen and the men were outside, a braai enabled women to have a safe space to discuss topics that interested them. In a study of migrant women cooking at home, Longhurst et al. (2009, p. 342) noted that women “were comfortable in their domestic space and that cooking was not usually experienced as a burden but as an important way of staying connected with home through a very sensory geography – visual, auditory, tactile but also smell and taste”. Sansa’s denoted the kitchen as a social space for women “to speak their nonsense’ and “not worry about the men”, enabled her possess the kitchen from a place of choice rather than one of traditional service.

*It actually quite funny, because I always thought "how demeaning" - it sounds, you know, the South African women need to be in the kitchen, and that is where they should stay. But, actually, it is part of being sociable. We catch-up and we don't have to worry about the men. They speak their nonsense, and we speak our nonsense while we are in another space.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Third, the braai created an environment that encouraged friends to share their family stories. Sansa noted that telling family stories has a part to play around the campfire, and that the braai takes the place of a campfire in New Zealand.

*I have noticed that telling family stories often happens when we camp, and then you feel that nostalgia. You get that feeling because it feels like something we would have done in South Africa, and it brings up memories. Around the braai fire – because you can't really make a fire in New Zealand campgrounds – or the table when we sit and have a drink or play a game of cards, often, one of our friends, who is a good storyteller, will remember something from his schooldays, and that will trigger a chain reaction. Then we could have a three hour conversation on everyone's story of a river that they remember from when they were little, or their Oupa did something that was like that. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Libby attends a braai every weekend with the focus on the social aspect of the braai and on performing the cultural traditions that she had in South Africa. In a similar fashion to Sansa, she was comfortable with the traditional gender roles during a braai.

*The men braai and us women, these days we drink wine in the kitchen. It is the way we were brought up, the men are outside and the women are busy in the kitchen with the additional food (bykosse) and we have kept that tradition.*

She noted that the type of fuel used to make the fire for a braai was important.

*We braai weekly, never barbecue, we don't use gas. It is charcoal, and it is South African charcoal because that is the best in New Zealand.*



The supplementary dishes (*bykosse*) were all prepared according to her (or her husband's) family traditions. Her descriptions of the food served at a braai were told with laughter and passion.

*Sometimes we are lazy and then we make garlic bread and salads, but if we are being traditional and we want a special braai for a friends' birthday, then we will make a curry rice salad, a yellow rice salad, and braai sandwiches. Braai sandwiches are mostly for summertime, because that is how my husband and I were raised. Our braai sandwich is toasted, usually with tomato, cheese and onion, put into that clamp thingy that we grew up with, and then we put it on the braai. The wors is cooked over the braai and served with pap and gravy.*

Similarly, Mike commented on the social aspect of the braai.

*For me I would have to agree, and Noddy as well, that braai is more like a social thing. Normally the men were outside with the barbecue and the women were in the kitchen with salads, and then when everything is finished everyone would sit around the fire or the barbecue and have a good old conversation and stories.*

Noddy particularly enjoyed the informal social atmosphere of a braai.

*If we are going to do something social it is quite nice to have the braai going, and then everyone is standing outside talking to each other, and hanging around cooking and things like that. Eating in quite a relaxed atmosphere instead of having to sit at the table; it is quite relaxed, like you just grab your meat and sit and eat.*

Mike displays his culture most strongly with a braai, and recalls a braai with humour;

*My dad he uses gas at the moment because it is fast and convenient, but for me a fire when I cook meat on the braai has to be done on charcoal or wood; and boerewors, biltong, droëwors and brandewyn (brandy). .*

Noddy agrees with Mike and Libby with regard to using charcoal in cooking the meat, and she believes it affects the taste.

*If I am going to have a barbecue or braai it has to be charcoal or wood. I don't like the taste of the gas. The charcoal brings it that special taste, and that is something again from my childhood - my dad he had an old charcoal barbecue that he made..*

Elna, in contrast to most of the other participants, does not consider there is a difference between a braai and a barbecue, as she associates a braai with large bushveld bonfires. She agrees that a braai creates a social atmosphere that encourages conversation and storytelling.

*We do as far as engaging with other South African friends, mostly. We have always been quite different. We are not the typical barbecue, rugby, biltong people. But, having said that, a lot of our friends are, so we do have barbecues – by ourselves we hardly ever do the barbecue thing. I come from the bushveld where a true braai is big logs and huge fire. Just sit and chat with all the family and friends and whoever, and prepare food, like potjiekos or braai meat. We will just sit to the end of the night, talking, enjoying the flames and enjoying the stars, which you don't see here.*

Elna noted that the taste of *sosatiewors* (a type of curry flavoured boerewors) was so delicious that it caused her to lapse from being a vegetarian. Food had an effect on her personal identity.

*I quite like the sosatiewors, I hadn't eaten meat for ten years and then I went to Hamilton to this place and we started eating sausage again so his wors is really good.*

Libby uses food shares her culture with New Zealanders

*I will take biltong or koeksustertjies or something similar from the South African shop to take a plate to work. I have cooked boerewors and cut it up on a plate for a shared lunch. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Elna purchases melktert or koeksusters from the South African shop to share with friends. Similarly Hanna has prepared melktert to share with friends, family and work colleagues. She and her husband developed weekly ritual around a South African food to give her daughter a family tradition.

*We had vetkoek every Friday night – that was a family tradition in our little house. In fact, my husband, used to put the tent up in the lounge, and we went camping. She was at that age and the part of that was vetkoek and mince, camping in the lounge.*

Mike's mother regularly baked South African delicacies when he was young, and he recalls her dishes with fondness.

*My mum does koeksusters, and ystervarkies and melkert, but one thing I can't get enough of is malvapoeding – that comes maybe once a year and that doesn't last long (laugh). Since we were really little, at least once a month my mum would make something different. So she will make ystervarkies one weekend and then she will make koeksusters like when the family comes over; and when we go away and visit someone she will make another type of baking – a wortelkoek or something like that. But the koeksusters was always something that my mum was quite good at in South Africa. There's my auntie's bobotie – ah, that is to die for. My dad and my uncle used to do potjiekos competitions, and that's something that we hardly ever do anymore.*

Noddy enjoyed home-baking as a child and noted that her mother's recipe book would be part her cultural inheritance.

*The thing for me was that my mum, when I was very little, she used to bake a lot and it was amazing. She has got a recipe book with all these little pieces of paper that are falling out and that she probably would pass onto me. It is just sitting there in the kitchen and bursting at the seams.*

It was evident that most participants were enthusiastic when relating stories around food. As Parasecoli (2014, p. 423) observed, “ingredients, dishes, and practices have the potential to become cultural markers that identify and rally individuals and communities, who frequently display fierce attachment to their food traditions”. Food connected South Africans to their culture, and enabled immigrants to share their culture with New Zealanders in an accessible way. The participants were able to share family

stories relating to food as well as telling stories during food preparations and consumption.

### **6.2.2. Connections to South African places**

The connection to culture created by family stories is considered in Section 6.2. The previous section (6.2.1) explores the participants' cultural connections to their language, values and food. This section (6.2.2) discusses the participants' connections to South African places.

Indigenous cultures have strong connections with their land, and the land forms and integral part of their identity – their place of standing or *tūrangawaewae* (Doherty, 2012). A Māori introduction or *mihimihi* outlines who the individual is and where they are from. A *pepehā* (statement of personal identity) links the person to a place (land and mountain), water (sea or river), *iwi* (tribe) and *hapū* (sub-tribe) (Black, 2012; Fraser, 2012). This section examines the places that the participants identify as significant to them if they had to introduce themselves in a *mihimihi*. The place a person come from connects them to their genealogy and enables them to link to their knowledge base. As Doherty (2012, p. 31), succinctly points out “*tūrangawaewae* establishes the base to enable the *whakapapa* connections to occur and the links to appropriate knowledge or *mātauranga ā-iwi*”.

Family stories can arise from the memories that immigrants have of a particular place that is familiar to them. This section explores the location in South Africa that the participants had a physical or spiritual connection to. Seven participants (Hagrid, Libby, Sansa, Gert, Mike, Hanna and Elna) connected to the place they had grown up in

or lived during their life and two (Ann and Mike) connected to a regular holiday destination.

Gert's connected to his childhood home on a farm.

*It would be the farm near Tzaneen, where I grew up, and the Natalle river that ran through the farm and the Wolkeberg, a large mountain range that ran through it. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Sansa connects to the red soil of her childhood home

*Definitely our house in Pretoria, the red soil. There was a river nearby but I don't know the name. I know there was a mountain range near my school because it made the valley cold, but I don't know the name. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Libby connects to her childhood home and plans to share stories of the farm with her daughter.

*I would say the farm near Sun City. I remember everything that I did on the farm with my twenty two dogs, horses and sheep. I would definitely tell my daughter how I was brought up on the farm. I would tell her stories of what I did on the farm, and rode cows, horses and motorcycles. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Hagrid connects most strongly to the area where his childhood home was situated

*Probably Cape Town – Fish Hoek. Probably the main story was definitely the fire – I explain we lived in a valley, quite a big valley, and there was a massive bushfire the entire mountain was on fire.*

Some of Hagrid's stories are related to events that happened in Fish Hoek, the place in South Africa that he most connects to. One of his favourites is a cautionary tale about a woman who did not learn from her experiences.

*The old lady that lived around the corner from us that swam in Fish Hoek Bay a lot. I mean she swam every day in shark infested waters and only had three shark encounters and then the fourth one killed her. She kept going back.*

Hanna connects most strongly to a beautiful area in the Cape, where she and her husband lived as newlyweds.

*After my husband and I got married, we live in Porterville for three years. It is the most beautiful part of the country and it was after we'd just got married. It was a very happy time in my life. The whole family lived in Gauteng, we lived in Porterville which was fourteen, fifteen hours' drive. We were on our own and had to work our way, finding our feet and settling in a community that, again, talked differently because it's the Cape. So my husband and I, would usually on a Friday night would do something special. He would go and choose the meat and I would put some planning into what goes with the meat. We would usually have our braai, the two of us, and then just sit around the fire and talk about "filosofies oor die lewe; [life's philosophies], and what life holds for us. We never said New Zealand.*

Elna connects most strongly to her birthplace at the foot of Table Mountain and the mountain features in her dreams.

*Cape Town – I've been born at the foot of Table Mountain, and then maybe that sort of connection. I've always just related better to the Cape and those roots,*

*rather than the bushveld. When I came to New Zealand first I used to dream a lot about South Africa and I used to dream of Table Mountain.*

Ann connects to the area where her family's holiday home is situated and where she spent many happy vacations with her mother and sister.

*Hermanus – just because we always went there and we had such good times with mum and with dad. Grotto Beach in Hermanus, because ... every time we went the first thing we would do is go straight down to the beach ... there is a lagoon there and we would always just go swim there.*

Ann connects to a mountain range that they travelled through to reach their vacation home and that was the scene of a large bushfire.

*I think probably Sir Lowry's Pass, because we travelled it so much. One experience, I remember I was quite young. We were travelling – it was me, mum, my sister and we had our dog with us as well. It was the middle of summer and there was a massive fire. We didn't know that until we actually got to the top and we couldn't turn around. There was police everywhere, escorting everyone and stuff, and we couldn't open our windows; and I remember our poor dog was not suffocating but it was really, really hard and it took us so long to get through – and that stands out for me. Knowing that we got to the other side and it was absolutely fine and nothing was wrong, and just that experience, I know it was not a nice experience but it is something that I will never forget driving through that fire – everything was just on fire all around us. That is possibly the big reason why I would say that mountain.*



In a similar fashion to Ann, Mike connects to a place where he has memories of great vacations.

*Just a holiday place – Klein Kariba. It would be like a big family gathering, big braai and all the kids swimming; and then the friends that you would meet over there.*

Rainey (2000 para. 14) observed that a “memory isn’t a memory if you don’t talk about it, look at pictures of it, and laugh or cry about it”. Memories of childhood places and adventures in South Africa formed part of family stories of the participants. They connected to places that had pleasant or distinctive memories. Ann and Hagrid, for example, related stories of the bushfires in Western Cape that had made lasting impressions upon them, even though they were children at the time. Gert, Sansa, Libby, and Hagrid related to their childhood homes. Elna related to her birthplace, even though she had not lived there very long, and Hanna related to place she had lived as a newlywed. Memories, therefore, are pertinent to an individual’s identity and form a spiritual and emotional part of his or her tūrangawaewae. Memories of places also situate a particular place in a particular time, such as when they were children, or newlyweds or on holiday.

Cain et al. (2015, pp. 1143-1144) explored the emotions South African immigrants experience as they choose a place to call home and concluded that although “geographical place does not determine affective outcomes, it shapes migrants’ lives as they negotiate with a particular locale that might or might not reflect their home of origin”. This study indicated that location of their homes mattered to immigrants, and they selected areas that evoked “an emotional visual response that was framed or

understood in the region's similarity to particular landscapes and places in South Africa" (p. 1147). In addition, South African immigrants attempted to establish a familiar space by building braais (Cain, Meares, & Rea, 2012; Meares, 2007). As Cain et al. (2015, p. 1148) notes, the building of a braai "creates an affective space of possibilities – a space for building new relationships while also acknowledging those that are remembered from [the] homeland".

### **6.2.3. Sharing culture with stories**

The connection to culture created by family stories is considered in Section 6.2, and is divided into three categories. The first section (6.2.1) explores the participants' cultural connections to their language, values and food. The previous category (6.2.2) discusses the participants' connections to South African places. This section (6.2.3) appraises the link between culture and family stories.

Telling family stories connects individuals to their tūrangawaewae by enabling them to share their culture (Bylund, 2006; Galvin, 2006; Stone, 1998). This section explores the type of stories that immigrants share with New Zealanders, as well as the circumstances and reasons for telling the tale.

Many participants shared stories of traditional meals with their grandparents, usually a cooked Sunday lunch after church, or a braai. They used these stories to demonstrate the importance they place on the value of family togetherness, support and strength. Elna had a large Sunday lunch with her family, and noted that the children had to wash the dishes.

*Sundays was church and then big meal afterwards, and then have to do the dishes even though you just want a lie down. Typical South African cooked food, so meat, rice, potatoes, so lots of veges, salad. Yea, quite a big spread*

Similarly, Hanna shared Sunday lunch with extended family. She has fond memories of playing with her cousins and receiving treats from her grandfather, and tells these stories to her daughter.

*A family tradition, we would go to church and then we would all meet at my grandmothers' house and she would have cooked this typical, traditional South African Sunday meal, beef roast and chicken, boontjies [beans], patats [sweet potato or kumara], pampoen [pumpkin], rice, potatoes. Pudding - there was always pudding - and we would have the dinner or lunch together. And my granddad would always come before lunch starts, and you know those little caramel lollies ... those square ones with the lines on it, he always had a bottle of that and he would called the kids and say (whispering) "here a lolly, don't tell your grandmother" (laughing) because you know it will spoil your lunch. It never did, we never did quite understand – but we never told her, because, you know, it was a secret. And sometimes he'll be busy and he may forget, and we would remind him that "hello, when are we getting our treat before lunch" (laughing).*

Hanna's story evokes a feeling of nostalgia and takes her back to a time where she had happy experiences. The story demonstrates how family identity can be created. Every week, the family attended church and then gathered at the grandmothers' house, highlighting the important of religion and regularly gathering with family. The same meal was served every Sunday, highlighting the cultural connection to food. Her

grandfather secretly distributed lollies (sweets or candy) to his grandchildren before lunch, thereby creating a family tradition.

In a similar fashion to Hanna, Gert's family held a braai every Saturday and a family lunch every Sunday with extended family. The regular braais that he attended as a child have enabled him to become a braai master an adult.

*We always ate our evening meal together at the table. On Saturdays - the family that lived in town - came over for a braai - every Saturday. It would have been my ouma and oupa, and ... both my mother's brothers; and that would have been every Saturday; and then on Sunday, we would always gather at either my mother's house or my ouma's house for Sunday lunch. Like lamb roast or chicken usually with boerekos, as we would call it - rice, meat and potatoes. With butter pumpkin or sweet potatoes or salty carrots or green beans and potatoes. ... Usually malva pudding or trifle. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Sansa had stories of regular family braais with her aunt and uncle. She noted that her late father had taught her how to braai but she had never had an opportunity to put these skills into practice, as this was traditionally a male role.

*We regularly visited my aunty and then there would be a big family braai with braaivetkoekies and potato salad. My uncle would braai for us and my two boy cousins would obviously be on hand to help. We never braaied for ourselves. My father had taught me how to braai on the gasbraai, but we never braaied for ourselves (laughs) it is funny but interesting.*

Similarly, Mike shared stories of family gathering and braais.

*For me it probably would be back in South Africa especially the family gatherings - mainly on my dad's side of the family, after he was allowed to connect with his birth parents and all his brothers and sisters; and for me one fond memory would be having all those people around.*

Another popular topic that participants shared related to vacations and celebrations with grandparents or other family members. Elna shared stories of her holidays in the Western Cape with her grandfather, which was very different from her life in the bushveld.

*We went to the Cape every year for holidays. My grandfather in the Cape was a typical Capie – those guys with the long jersey who will be getting the kreef (crab) out of the cracks in the water. When we were there we would always eat kreef and snoek every day, like every meal was just awesome. We would get fresh from the sea and we would, you know, barbecue that. .*

Hanna shared stories of celebrations at Benoni dam. She had fond memories of playing traditional playground games, such as hide and seek and drop the handkerchief, with her parents at these gatherings.

*New Year's and Christmas parties we would always go to Benoni dam, (laughing) and we would have a picnic day and all the games we played. For us as children it was always really nice because the adults would play the games with us. So, it's not us having to entertain ourselves - the parents played with us; eggie eggie (laughing). We'd play hide and seek and have ground rules around where we could go, vroteier, koljander koljander [Afrikaans version of Oranges and Lemons].*

Noddy shared stories of long summer nights and summer holidays with South African relatives.

*I think the one thing that I always remember about growing up was that in summer my dad were quite often let me go outside at night and jump on the trampoline until it got dark; and then the stars came out. Another thing was that we always use to go to Boulders Beach in Simon's Town. But that was always really nice, 'cause I would be with my cousins and aunties and uncles, 'cause they are all over there and we would have a party and be together.*

Hagrid retold stories of the escapades of his father and uncle because they were either entertaining or dramatic. He shares stories to illustrate points in his conversation.

*My dad's story about him and the oil, burning his arms on the oil and talking about cooking in gallon drums, like that, 'cause I don't think they really do that here – cooking in gallon drums (laughs). Cut out gallon drums – trying to explain that to them, and trying to explain a potjie as well, like a potjie pot what it is. I would talk about the food – that's one thing I remember that South Africa had a different style of food – so talking about the food we used to cook and we used to have. Like going down to the local 711 and buying a massive koeksusters that was so sweet you couldn't finish it, you had to put it away to have it later.*

*I mean that the one thing that most people hear about South Africa; is it as dangerous as they say. You know, my friend told me this about South Africa and is it as scary as this. I mean one of my favourite memories, one of my favourite stories is the story about when my uncle chased the guy [that had invaded his*

home] *down the street in his underwear and then his friend tackled him, tackled the bad guy. That was a good one because that's quite a funny one there. I tell that one a bit.*

Hagrid noted that he was prompted by social media or news reports to share with his New Zealand fiancée, family stories or tales of his experiences, thereby continuing his family's tradition of telling stories

*When it is just the two of us it is usually when something jogs the memory, or we see a familiar face or something on Facebook, and then it will be like "this person just got married, who is that person, I grew up with this person" I mean most stories are from a jog from an event or a memory that allows them to be told, because there are tons of stories. But social media I guess is there in the forefront all the time to jog those memories in a sense.*

Participants also commonly share their migration story (as discussed in Chapter 6.1) when asked the question: "Why did you migrate?" The stories that participants tell about their family revolve around family activities and gatherings. They are often located in the places that the participants felt the strongest connection to in South Africa.

#### **6.2.3.1. Holidays**

Most participants continue to celebrate Christmas and birthdays in the same way they did, as when they lived in South Africa. They compared stories of their past celebrations with their present festivities. Gert spends Christmas and birthdays with family, and noted that his grandfather, when he was still alive, would hand out the gifts.

*If it is my parents' birthday, then we try to visit them, but if it is our birthday, and they can't come here, then we celebrate with our circle of friends. Christmas was usually family time – as in the extended family. Our family didn't do the traditional type of hot food, because it was hot where we lived, but rather cold leg of lamb, and chicken thighs, and cold meat and salads. My oupa, or sometimes my father, would usually hand out the parents under the tree. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Sansa has continued family traditions and has started new rituals. She makes a special melktert for Gert on his birthday – a family tradition that was started by his grandmother in South Africa.

*Everyone knows that Gert gets melktert on his birthday. His Ouma made fantastic melktert. She always made a big one and with the leftovers she made a little one so Gert could get his own melktert. I took the recipe and every birthday he gets melktert - that is something that stand out. For a birthday it is lekker braai and lekker food. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Ann celebrates birthdays with her friends and has a real Christmas tree in the same way she did as a child.

*Christmas we do the whole nice big lunch – Boud (roast), rice, potatoes, beans, malva pud, no turkey. My husband's dad is big on Christmas. He starts preparing three days before the time, and there is all sorts of meats, it's crazy.*

Hanna has maintained the same Christmas traditions from her childhood.



*Well, I think of celebrations and I think what we do now, we would have done in South Africa – you know, you decorate the house, you put up streamers, you celebrate it, we would have done that in South Africa, too.*

Elna related stories of her childhood celebrations and holidays. Her family went to the same holiday camp at the seaside annually for almost three decades, where she had made lifelong friends.

*Christmas/New Years for twenty eight years we went to the same holiday town. We had like a bunch of Christmas friends from all over South Africa; and all us kids grew up together, for one month a year. We went to Hartenbos, Mossel Bay. We had caravan holidays. We had our spot right on the beach for literally decades and they were holiday friends. Christmas was awesome; meals, huge meals, cold meats, salads, lots of swimming in the sea, lots of time around campfires. Presents on Christmas Eve, depends on the age of the kids. We would start with Christmas Father-type figure in the camp.*

Elna spends her Christmas Day with her South African friends who have become her family. She noted that although she does not make an effort to make South African friends, the few she does have are more like family.

*Now, we kind of consider one or two friends here more as family than friends so we would spend Christmas with them. I have always said we don't go out of our way to find South Africans friends, but the ones we have, become family groups of South Africans. The one set of friends would be very traditional, and we would have a very traditional big meal, whereas the other ones are more like us. It is not about how much we eat on the day, it is more what the day is about; and we will have two-minute noodles and it will be fine, as long as it is in a nice spot and have*

*good company. So we often would go camping, walk on the beach and eat healthy rather than a lot.*

Mike notes that holidays are about being together as a family and sharing a meal.

*That's the hard one for us at the moment because we are generally working Christmas and New Year, so we hardly ever see each other through the Christmas, New Year period. The last two Christmases we have spent with Noddy's family. It wasn't about the presents and stuff as well. It was just us being together and sharing a meal.*

Contrary to Elna, Mike associates Christmas celebrations with large family gatherings and copious amounts of food.

*In South Africa we always had a big gathering – my mum hosted a lot of them. When I was little, we used to eat at our grandparents a lot; and that is something I think back on. It would always have been the granddad, disguised as Father Christmas or Father Christmas' little slaves because he couldn't really be there type of thing. That was always something special, that was always how we used to do it in South Africa. The big, big meals; it was always ham and chicken or turkey and the desserts for us there was almost always melktert and couple of little poffertjies.*

The participants do not celebrate any South African holidays. December 16 is the national Day of Reconciliation in South Africa. It was previously known as the Day of the Vow (Geloftedag) and has historical significance to the descendants of Voortrekkers, as it commemorated the Battle of Blood River, a skirmish between about

five hundred and thirty Voortrekkers and twelve to fifteen thousand Zulus. Approximately three thousand Zulus died during this battle but there were no Voortrekker casualties, as the trekkers had superior firepower and military strategy. The Voortrekkers, however, attributed this victory to the vow they had made before their Christian god that if he gave them the victory, they would forever commemorate the day as one of thanksgiving. The Voortrekker Monument was inaugurated on 16 December 1948 (Heymans, 1986). Umkhonto we Sizwe, the militant wing of African National Congress (ANC) was founded on 16 December 1961. At the end of apartheid in 1994, the ANC (the dominant political party) changed the name of the national holiday to the Day of Reconciliation, and the first meeting of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission took place on 16 December 1995. The purpose of the holiday is to foster reconciliation and promote national unity (OfficeHolidays, 2017).

The younger participants of this study did not attach any significance to the day. Hanna and Elna had childhood recollections of the day when it was celebrated as the Day of the Vow. Hanna had related the story of the battle between the trekkers and the Zulu to her daughter, from the Voortrekker viewpoint.

*There was a family wedding on 16 December, and my daughter said, “why is she getting married on the 16 December, it is in the middle of the week”. So, we told her for the whole reason for Gelofte dag, and how it changed over with the new government. Gosh, she was horrified, she could not believe the brutality of it all, especially when my husband tells a story, it’s the blood and “they took the babies” (with emphasis and actions).*

Elna remembers her school day celebrations of public holidays where she was impressed by the crowds at the Voortrekker Monument. She does not celebrate the day but she does recall her memories of childhood commemorations.

*I do have an awareness of the sixteenth of December coming around and remember what we used to do, so you think back about it but we don't. Back at school, both in Randburg and Ellisrus; there are quite big celebrations around Geloftesdag. So there were always organised programmes in which we always participated as kids, and we went to the Voortrekker Monument a few times on that day – which was really amazing. Memories – just the sheer number of people there – that sort of thing. So, ja, we don't celebrate as such, but that is probably one of the ones I think back on.*

The celebration of holidays offers an experience that can be new and exciting or familiar and comforting. As Huisman (2014, p. 145) observed, “[s]tories about individual or group experiences focus on examining experiences and have significant implications for the ongoing shaping of identity of those who tell and those who listen”. Sharing family stories is an experience in itself, for both the storytellers and the audience.

#### **6.2.4. Summary**

Participants connected to their culture by speaking Afrikaans or using Afrikaans words, and by listening to South African music. They connected by showing respect for their elders and their desire that their children maintain this value. The traditional views of children rearing was a path that young first generation and second generation

immigrants had to navigate in the more liberal New Zealand society (Reyneke, 2004; Winbush & Selby, 2015).

Participants used food to connect to their culture and used it as a path to share their culture with New Zealanders. The braai was highlighted as a social occasion with defined gender roles and not only a cooking method. The participants enjoyed sharing family stories relating to food as well as telling stories during food preparations and consumption, at braais and family dinners.

Participants had connections to South African places that held pleasant or distinctive memories and their memories connected them to happy occasions. Memories develop family identity and form a spiritual and emotional part of the family *tūrangawaewae*. Telling family stories connects individuals to their *tūrangawaewae* by enabling them to share their culture. Meares (2007, p. 195) incorporates this concept in her thoughtful observation, “when we communicate our stories, ...we are also presenting a version of ourselves”, and Bletti (2010, p. 499) echoes it in his assertion, “shared memories are also utilized to create a feeling of connection and maintain a consistent feeling of identity among group members”.

### **6.3. A secret past**

Chapter Six looks at the present time and scrutinises the way family stories ground us in our present and help us maintain our *tūrangawaewae*. The previous sections explore the use of family stories to create identity and family legacy and the cultural connections that create family stories. This section discusses situations where South African

immigrants feel they are unable to share their stories, and the possible disconnects from tūrangawaewae, as a result.

Previous studies have shown that South Africans enjoy spending time with other South African immigrants as they have a similar background. Meares et al. (2011, p. 41) observed an “increased intimacy ... developed in friendships with other South Africans as they recreated a sense of extended family amongst other nuclear families in their communities” and she noted (p.42) “they were able to understand each other much more easily than non-South Africans”. The findings of my research supports Meares as some participants remarked that their South African friends became their pseudo-family in New Zealand while the New Zealand friends formed their friendship circle. Participants argued that other South Africans understood their background, culture and decision to move without them having to explain or justify themselves, or to try to make New Zealanders understand their decision to move.

Ann noted that having a close group of South African friend’s alleviated her feeling of isolation in New Zealand. She highlighted the South African sense of humour and speaking Afrikaans as being important factors to make her feel at home. The freedom to speak directly without creating fear of offence and without having to explain jokes enabled her to relax in her social environment.

*I would say if I had to picture being with New Zealanders we wouldn’t be able to braai, we wouldn’t be able to tell the jokes that we do and talk our language and be ourselves. That would not be a front but we wouldn’t be able to be ourselves as all. I think even for my husband, it’s been quite hard for him as well.*

Ann indicated that she does not consciously modify her behaviour when dealing with her clients. However, in view of her statement above, she may be doing so unconsciously.

*Yea I think, I don't think I actually change much around them. Same with my client as well, I'm pretty much myself who I am, in front of my friends and things as well, and I like to share that with people as well.*

South African immigrants could have had experiences that are not familiar to the majority of New Zealanders. Some of these experiences could be traumatic, dramatic or so far out of the experience of the average New Zealander that they appear far-fetched or exaggerated. In these instances, stories of these experiences are received with scepticism. Elna noted that a lack of understanding can lead the immigrant to living with a “secret past”. She had received this advice from a friend of her mother who had lived in New Zealand for twenty five years.

*She [a South African immigrant] told us that before we even moved, and that was really beneficial to us, that we live with a secret past. She is quite wise. She is counsellor, as well. We had a long conversation, through the night nearly, and she told us how she struggled to adapt and she ended up deciding for herself that she is always going to live with a secret past, and that has always stuck with me because that is true. Because we've experienced so many different things and you cannot share that, and, therefore, it is secret; and if you share it, people go “mmm ... that's a tall story”, like they can't quite believe it. So that's how we feel, we live with a secret past.*

Elna believed that South African friends were able to relate to these experiences as they would be more familiar with context and environment.

*There is lots of stuff that we cannot share with people. Yeah, they [South African friends] can relate, they may not have had similar experiences but definitely they will be able relate. So if people struggle to adapt, that is the kind of stuff that I will tell them. Think of it like this because that kind of frees your mind for having to make people understand where you are coming from. I think it can help other people, you know, new immigrants and so on, and also don't try and make people understand your life experiences because it is not going to happen. It is just not going to happen. They will never, ever be able to relate to the black mamba and the shooting of kids on the bus. It is not the way – it is never going to fly – so don't even try.*

Elna had the perception that South Africans become so tired of explaining their life history to a sometimes disbelieving or sceptical audience that they choose not to share this story or trying to make New Zealanders understand their experience. She was adamant that New Zealanders would never understand her experience and, therefore, she developed a "secret past". She was introduced to this concept by an older South African woman whom she respected. It is also the presence of this secret past that draws South Africans to fellow immigrants. They do not need to explain their point of view or experiences, as they would have had similar experiences or be aware that it could have occurred.

Not all the participants, however, felt that they had a secret past. Hagrid uses stories to create connections with New Zealanders. His parents had told stories to introduce him



to newcomers and he uses the same technique. He selects a story and then relates the story seeking common ground.

*I suppose if somebody asked about my heritage, so where my people come from I probably would think the Boer, and then if it was a Kiwi person asking me, I would say well, the first war that the New Zealanders ever took part in was the Boer war and that was fighting the Boers and well I am Boer, so your people fought my people way back when, you know the beginning of the 1900s. That's probably one thing that I find some people find quite interesting.*

Hagrid also shares stories that highlight or are examples of the differences between South Africa and New Zealand. He noted that as a child he had taken the security measures in his stride and had only noticed them when he returned to South Africa as a teenager and adult.

*So stories – I suppose – what makes good stories is the things that don't happen that often, so I guess that being South Africa was so big, I remember my mom saying that ... she drove long distances between places and she did that weekly, ... distances much longer than New Zealanders can comprehend. I mean when people ask "Is it as bad as they say it is?" I never remember it being as bad as what it was – I never remembered that. I never remember it as bad as that – that whole bars on the windows and gates and stuff like that, as a kid, as a little kid because I came over when I was only eight, I noticed it more when I went back as a teenager and then back at Christmas. When you are growing up you don't notice it. I remember driving and look at the signs, "Please help seven kids to feed, no job, no home", standing on the side of the road, I remember that but never really took notice of it as such.*

Ann shares stories with her New Zealand colleagues of her childhood and compares her experiences to that of New Zealanders.

*I think at work we are a small little group and we all get along so well, and I kinda brought a lot of what we are and what we do into the workplace as well. The way we say things, just now, they kinda picked up on that now so they know what I mean when I say it, and I've taught them some Afrikaans goodies as well, just simple little words. Talking about our kids, my boss has got kids as well, what she does with them and that sort of stuff, and how we were raised and that sort of thing.*

The reason for telling the story could make a difference. Elna perceived that accepting you had a secret past and that New Zealanders would not understand your experiences is a liberating experience that would enable you to settle into your new life more easily. Her aim of telling family stories was to make her culture and identity understood by her listeners, and she did not trust that New Zealanders would value her stories. Hagrid, on the other hand, primarily told stories to find common ground and told stories that emphasised the connections between New Zealanders and South Africans. As a child, Hagrid often heard tales of shared experiences from his parents, and these reminiscences taught him, as Pratt and Fiese (2004, p. 444) succinctly argues “that sharing everyday memories is a part of relating to others and provides an opportunity for problem solving”.

As discussed in the previous section, telling family and personal stories enables immigrants to connect to their tūrangawaewae, and to reflect their personal and family identity. If they feel they are not in a position to tell their story, or their audience will

not value and respect their tale, then they may not tell the story, leading to a “secret past”. This, in turn, could mean that the next generation would not have an opportunity to hear the story and could become disconnected from their family identity and tūrangawaewae. In addition, New Zealanders can learn about the culture of South Africans by listening to their stories. If an immigrant chooses to have a secret past it might hamper the New Zealander’s understanding of South Africans’ culture and values. The choice to live with a secret past will be the choice of the immigrant and may be influenced by the life experiences of the storyteller rather than the New Zealander listener.

In a book of immigration tales, Dawson (2005, p. 8) noted “[t]his collection of stories will perhaps spur other new settlers of all ages to tell their stories and share their cultures, more comfortably and confidently, not just through the written word but through the myriad ways in which the human spirit can express itself”. South African immigrants need to share their stories to connect to their identity and tūrangawaewae in a new country.

#### **6.4. Maintaining languages from country of birth**

Chapter Six looks at the present time and scrutinises the way family stories ground us in our present and help us maintain our tūrangawaewae. Previous sections explore the use of family stories to create identity, the cultural connections that create family stories, disconnects from tūrangawaewae. As language connects with tūrangawaewae, this section examines the maintenance of languages from South Africa and discusses categories that emerged from data analysis: dialect changes from South African English to New Zealand English; language loss and linguistic longing experienced by the

participants who had Afrikaans as their first language; the change in the accents of participants when speaking English and Afrikaans; and family language policies that participants implemented to maintain Afrikaans.

Beinhoff (2013, p. 42) noted that “in linguistics, accents are generally defined according to pronunciation, in contrast to dialects, which also include vocabulary, grammar and idiom as distinguishing elements”. The South African dialect includes expressions that are often misunderstood by New Zealanders. I find that the common expression "just now", for example, that South Africans use to describe a time period that equates to "in a little while" is often misunderstood by New Zealanders. It is a literal translation from the Afrikaans expression of "net nou" and is an example of the way South African English has been influenced by the other languages of the country.

Hanna's home language is Afrikaans and will sometimes use an Afrikaans idiom and then repeat it in English. She thinks in Afrikaans, translates her thoughts into English and then speaks, and sometimes her thoughts are lost in translation. She noted that she missed people not understanding her Afrikaans idiomatic expressions as they lost their potency in translation.

*You would know yourself – the translation that goes on in your brain constantly. In the beginning you have to think about it, but it's now just a natural process, I guess, that takes place; and yes, sometimes I will sit and go "Goodness, what is that word in English or in Afrikaans". Of course in Afrikaans it is okay if I say the English word but [in English] you can't do it; and something that is quite challenging is the idioms. I was looking for a stapler the other in my PA's office and I said "I can't find the stapler" and she said "it's just here"; and I wanted*

*to say “as dit ‘n slang was het hy my nou gepik” and I started to say “it was a snake” and she said “what do you mean” and you know you have to explain about the snake thing and the grass, and some of that [doesn’t translate]. Yes, there are some idioms that you only understand because you are South African. I guess there will be some that only Kiwis will understand because they are Kiwis, isn’t it? But that is sometimes a challenge, because I will realise that this is sometimes not going to make any sense. I have to rethink how and what I want to say. I’m quite known, amongst my team leaders, for my idioms, because sometimes I just translate them any case.*

The idiom that Hanna refers “as dit ‘n slang was het dit my gepik” literally translates to “if it was a snake it would have bitten me”. It refers to being so inattentive to your surroundings that you would step on snake before noticing it underfoot in the grass. An idiomatic English translation of this Afrikaans idiom would be “as plain as the nose on your face”. This is different from the English idiom of being a ‘snake in the grass’, which refers to an underhand person. Hanna found that expressing herself idiomatically was “a challenge” at times and she had to reconsider her words, to ensure that her message was clear.

Sansa's first language is Afrikaans, and although she speaks Afrikaans on a daily basis, she admits that her Afrikaans spelling is poor. She had picked up New Zealand slang that her friends in South Africa do not understand.

*I think I use more English words when I Facebook message – I sometimes feel uncomfortable typing certain words which I don't think all my friends will understand. I think there are many more English words that I include than I would have if I had been in South Africa and continued to learn Afrikaans. But*

*then again, South Africa is not only Afrikaans, because I probably would have found work in an English place and worked with English people. You pick up slang – like once I told my friend that I would be 'keen' to visit and she didn't know what 'keen' was. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Sansa faces a dilemma when she writes her Facebook messages. If she uses South African slang then there may be words her New Zealand friends will not understand and, conversely, if she uses New Zealand slang, then there may be expressions her South African friends will not understand. This makes her feel uncomfortable at times as she negotiates language usage that would be appropriate for both her South African and New Zealand friends, and, therefore, language usage affects her social identity. Barkhuizen (2013) noted that South African immigrants move along the “three dimensional spaces constructed by the intersecting continua of language maintenance, social inclusion and identity

Gert’s first language is Afrikaans and he learnt English as a second language at school. In addition, he also spoke North Sotho (as a third language) when he was growing up. As he does not have any North Sotho friends in New Zealand he has experienced language loss with this language. He does not believe that many Afrikaans speaking South Africans living in South Africa speak the language without using foreign words. In a similar fashion to Sansa he had picked up New Zealand slang.

*I can speak a bit of North-Sotho but not so much anymore. I don't really have other friends to talk to. I think you lose certain words [in Afrikaans]. I think that everyone in South Africa uses English words in-between. Don't think I ever spoke pure Afrikaans - I don't think there is many people that speak strictly pure Afrikaans. It is difficult for me to say as I speak Afrikaans every day of my life,*

*most of our friends are Afrikaans, so we speak Afrikaans over weekends, and it is only really at work that we speak English. I think there is definitely stuff that you pick up from English and from Kiwis - your slang.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Gert has maintained his use of Afrikaans as his language use is much as it would have been in South Africa. This allows him, as Barkhuizen (2013, p. 92) noted, to be “positioned within a language maintenance discourse”.

Similar to Gert, Libby's first language is Afrikaans and she speaks Afrikaans regularly to her relatives and friends in New Zealand. This has helped her maintain her language fluency in Afrikaans. In addition, her English has improved, and sometimes she intersperses her Afrikaans conversations with an English word.

*Here I speak more English, so every day it about fifty-fifty the amount of English and Afrikaans I speak. Sometimes it is easier to say a word in English, so we throw English words to make it easier.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Barkhuizen (2006. P.70) pointed out that “codemixing and codeswitching are common characteristics of bilingual speech and do not necessarily result in language shift”.

Codemixing occurs when languages are mixed within a sentence whereas codeswitching occurs when one sentence is spoken in one language and then continued in another language or different languages are spoken by each person to the each other, such as a parent speaking Afrikaans and a child answering in English (Brezjanovic-Shogren, 2003; Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999). Mike noticed that codeswitching was happening in his family, as his little brother was speaking less Afrikaans at home.

*When we moved here I thought it was really important, especially for my little brother to be speaking Afrikaans. But as time has gone on (and he is almost trilingual now) it is harder and harder for him to keep on top of the Afrikaans. So he doesn't speak it unless he's at home and even now he is speaking English to my mum.*

Although Hanna speaks Afrikaans on a daily basis in her home, she has experience language attrition as she feels that has lost the rich vocabulary of Afrikaans..

*When I talk to my mum and dad and they come out with these lovely, beautiful Afrikaans words and I go "oh it's so wonderful". There are such beautiful words. Sometimes my daughter will go – "what does that mean" cause it's not words that we would necessary use. No it's watered down.*

Elna's first language was Afrikaans and she is "not really" interested in maintaining the purity of the language. She continues to speak Afrikaans at home but admits her language fluency has decreased, and she speaks "a very bad Afrikaans". When she returns to South Africa she feels it necessary to apologise for her loss of Afrikaans. Elna's relatives in South Africa are very traditional, and she noted that when she visits them they become irritated with the deterioration in her language. As a result, she feels obliged to apologise before she starts conversing with them. Elna has become more aware of the differences in dialect between South Africa and New Zealand, and finds some South African phrases and translations amusing.

*Go back every two or three years. No, they get more annoyed some of them. So, the more staunch sort of Afrikaners, you can see they are quite irritated. But we apologise before we even start the first sentence is "excuse us" you know. The*



*thing we find most fascinating about language is how they use words sometimes and we just burst out laughing and we are like “what, I haven’t heard that in fifteen years”. I can’t think of an example. I’ve been talking about eight months now about the junk economy – it took a long time for them to even do their homework – and then they came up with the rommeleconomie. So I find that quite hilarious.*

Mike's first language is Afrikaans but speaks mostly English in New Zealand. He has experienced language loss to such an extent that he is more comfortable speaking English than his first language.

*I am starting to lose Afrikaans now, speaking in English. If I speak in Afrikaans it gets to the point where you will reach a sentence or where you used to know the word for it and you can only think of the English word for it. So, then it forces you to use the English for that word and then go back to Afrikaans; and it is probably a lot of the pure Afrikaans words that were used a lot in your house that you were really familiar with.*

A sign of language loss is linguistic longing (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005). Mike experiences linguistic longing and misses hearing Afrikaans spoke. He looks forward to opportunities where he can engage with Afrikaans, such as speaking to visiting Afrikaans relatives, watching Afrikaans television and reading Afrikaans books.

*I get really excited, especially the last time Afrikaans family came to visit, with Afrikaans adverts and speaking Afrikaans and I miss it a lot. What I find reading Afrikaans there is words that you haven’t thought of for a long time, and then you see it and then you are “oh yea, I forgot about that word”. Yea, I do*

*miss even some of the Afrikaans stories that we used to watch, I do miss that a lot.*

Conversely, Ann's Afrikaans has improved since moving to New Zealand, and she identifies more with Afrikaans than she did when she lived in South African. She has taken on more the Afrikaans culture of her father and her husband.

*My dad was Afrikaans and my mum was English so I was bilingual, I am fluent in both. I was in an English school, though, and I think it was round about the time I met my husband when my Afrikaans started getting better. He is Afrikaans. So, obviously with speaking it a lot more, with him and his family, it did grow and get a lot better. I was more English, but I would probably say that not more Afrikaans now, but I feel a little bit more Afrikaans now.*

Hagrid's first language is English. Both his parents are fluent Afrikaans-speakers but English was the home language. He believes that having English as his first language helped his settlement process in New Zealand.

*I speak English but I can understand Afrikaans. I can speak a few words. I say that if you are immersed in that language you would learn it a lot quicker. If my parents only spoke Afrikaans at home then obviously my English wouldn't have been as good. I think it would be a lot harder, unless you could adapt and speak, especially as a kid. I think it would be a lot harder if you most of your time your elders were speaking a different language.*

### 6.4.1. Accent

An accent can identify South Africans, or as Barkhuizen (2013, p. 80) noted, “as an Afrikaans-speaking South African (with the political baggage that that sometimes carries in migrant contexts)”.

Most participants experienced changes in their pronunciation, accents and vocabulary of both their English and Afrikaans. Gert noted that his accent had not changed.

However, Sansa noted that her English accent had become more like that of New Zealanders.

*My accent has changed - when we went to visit South Africa in 2010, many people said I sound like a Kiwi, particularly when I spoke English, but here I sound sometimes like a South African. I didn't expect it - it was very interesting that South Africans think I have an accent.*

Libby adjusts her accent to suit her audience. She speaks with a South African accent when speaking to South Africans, or speaking to New Zealanders in the company of South Africans. However, when speaking to New Zealanders only she adjusts her accent to a more New Zealand pronunciation. This has affected her accent in such a way that when she returned to South Africa, people noticed a discernible difference in her accent. She also noted that when she was in company with a mixture of Pākehā and Afrikaners, she spoke English as a sign of respect. Hatoss, Van Rensburg, and Starks (2011, p. 272 noted that “language choices reflect a new social space represented by new social networks and English-speaking friends”

*When we went back to South Africa, people said that my accent had changed particularly when I spoke English. They said I sounded like a Kiwi, but when I*

*...speak English to Kiwis, or I speak to a South African that is actually Afrikaans, to show respect to the Kiwis, then my South African accent comes through when I speak English; I sound like a pure South African, but if I was speaking only to Kiwis then I change completely to the Kiwi way.*

When Hanna returned to South Africa, the locals noticed a change in both her English and Afrikaans accent, and also commented on her mixture of the languages when she forgot words in Afrikaans.

*Yes they [people in South Africa] did [laugh at our accent]. We didn't even think we have one. Our family from Zimbabwe, some of them talk English and I would talk back to them in English and they would go "You've got a funny accent" (laughing) and I would go "no I don't". So the Afrikaans people thought we had a bit of an accent and the English South Africans thought we had an accent. What they also noted was that I mixed my languages – I would talk in Afrikaans and would throw in more English than I used to. I would say "Hoekom maak julle nie 'n commitment om te kom" (laughing).*

Elna believes her accent to be “bad” but uses it to find common ground with international visitors. The Afrikaans translation of the word “bad” has more than one meaning. Elna uses the term bad in the sense of her accent being different and distinctive, and not in the sense of being inferior.

*It is just the way that I connect to people. So, whenever I go, as I have travelled through countries, it is just the way I say to people "welcome here all the international visitors; the bad accent you hear, I am also from overseas, I am from South Africa". So, for international students they are like "aah, ok she is*

*also from elsewhere” and they often feel better. Yeah, it is more jokingly but my accent, I consider it quite bad.*

Hagrid notes his South African accent becomes more discernible when he is annoyed.

*The only time my fiancée says I sound South African is when I get angry – supposedly my South African accent comes out more when I am angry or annoyed at something. When I reach that boiling point then supposedly my accent becomes really thick.*

Similarly, Mike notices that his accent depends on his emotions and level of energy.

His use of English deteriorates and his accent changes when he is tired.

*I have noticed that it depends on certain days as well. Like if I am tired then my English is not that good. But if I am awake, and slept well then I think that fluidity is there.*

There is a connection between accent and identity (Barkhuizen, 2013; Beinhoff, 2013; Winbush & Selby, 2015). Beinhoff (2013, p.4) noted that accents were “identity markers allow us to perceive and recognize the identities of other individuals thus playing a key role in constructing the overall image of other persons. Hagrid perceived his accent to not be a strong South African accent as he immigrated when he was eight years old, and, therefore, people had difficulty in link his language to his identity.

*More time than not a person will think I am from the States than I am from South Africa. I would say eight times out of ten a person would not think I am originally South African. They might have a slight suspicion but they would never be able to say that person is South African. They generally don't think I*

*am a Kiwi My accent is not New Zealand enough. In my job now, the amount of time people have said, “where is that accent from”. I get asked that now, “where is that accent from, what accent is that”. I mean, what’s interesting, that’s what they say. They don’t say “where are you **from**” they say “what accent is that”; and I usually put it back on them and say “what accent do you think it is” and most of time of they come back with American or Canadian. I’ve had some real interesting ones – like South Island (laughs) like Dunedin, like Invercargill – I suppose that way some people think I speak New Zealander. People think, I had a guy the other day, but mostly it’s Canadian or American, like far north, Seattle side of things. But my vowels, my a e i o u, when I say them in a sentence, is off, cant, car, it is that rrr, orr, that usually gives me away.*

New Zealanders will often identify an accent as being South African, and then asked the immigrant “Where are you from”, thereby seeking confirmation for their identification. However, in Hagrid’s case they were not able to identify the accent and the question often posed to him was where his **accent** originated from. His accent did not identify him as an obvious South African immigrant, but the inability to identify his origins by his accent, lead strangers to question his accent. Hagrid finds the difficulty that strangers have in placing his origins amusing.

Mike actively worked toward improving what he considered to be a “bad” English accent, and believes that his English accent is now identifiable as being different from New Zealanders but not distinctly South African. His employers applied subtle pressure by correcting his pronunciation to the New Zealand form and this external factor reinforced his belief that the South African accent was to a certain extent inferior.

*When I came here I had a really bad accent in English, but with my first New Zealand job my employers were really kind and helped me pronounce words as it should be – or how they think it should be pronounced. I think learning from them and then meeting Noddy and then learning from her a lot as well, and I think that, I won't say helped me develop like I say a Kiwi accent but probably as close to it as I can get.*

Mike's drive to improve his English and to neutralise his accent was to blend in with New Zealand and its inhabitants and to avoid the inevitable "Where are you from" questions that immigrants are posed.

*But I think what has driven me is when I first came here to speak English as best as I could, was not to always explain to people – "this is where I am from" and "I miss this a lot and I miss that a lot" cause we moved to New Zealand for a new home; and it's not like you go and visit someone at their house, you keep talking about stuff that you have got at your house. So for me, it was important to blend into the new culture and the new country as best as I could, without forgetting where I was from.*

Mike wanted to look to the present and the future and not to rehash the past. This finding supports Beinhoff (2013, p. 39) assertion that "accents evoke certain attitudes and stereotypes" which "can threaten or emphasize an individual's identity, depending on whether the person identifies with the group membership assigned to him or her".

Hagrid believed that second language English speakers are discriminated against in New Zealand if they do not speak English effortlessly and with a New Zealand-type English accent.

*But you can hear they [second language English-speakers] speak perfect English but when you hear them speak their native tongue, you can hear the fluidness and they are not as halted and not as broken in the dialogue they speak – you can hear it; and some people, I think they find it tough to listen to that broken English. I'm sure if I try to speak Afrikaans it would be like broken English – and it is not the words, it is broken, instead of saying (quickly) how much wood would a woodchuck chuck, if a woodchuck could chuck wood, it would be how much wood [pause] would a woodchuck [pause] chuck, if a woodchuck could [pause] chuck wood. I mean the brain would follow it but it wouldn't be fluent, and a lot where English isn't their first language it would be the thing that people pick up; and then they would discriminate, because it would be 'this person doesn't know how to speak English'.*

Anna noted that as English was her home language, her South African identity was not easily discernible from her accent. The accent of English speakers in South Africa varies between the different areas they live. Anna's accent has changed a little.

*I think it has a little bit with me – I think with my job that is possibly one thing that has changed at work. The way I talk to my clients as well, I don't. A lot of them in the beginning didn't actually know that I was South African because they couldn't pick up on the accent. I don't know if it was because I was more English than Afrikaans or not but definitely the accent has changed a little bit.*

As South Africa and New Zealand share English as a common language and a history of British colonialism, there is often a presumed similarity of the two cultures. However, as Winbush and Selby (2015, p. 56) pointed out, “the European colonists in South



Africa and in New Zealand developed distinctive ways of verbal and non-verbal communication; the geographical location, the political history and indigenous people of each country influenced their separate cultural development”. These differences mean that immigrants will need to make language adjustments. Afrikaans native speakers will have more adjustments to make linguistically than English speakers, as essentially English will be their second language (Winbush & Selby, 2015).

#### **6.4.2. Family Language policy**

Parents decide, either deliberately or by default, on a family language policy with regard to maintaining or introducing first, second or third languages. This could be, for example, to forsake Afrikaans and concentrate on English; having one parent speak in Afrikaans; or make a concerted effort to retain Afrikaans (Barkhuizen, 2006; Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005). As part of their language plans, parents need to determine their motivations for having a bilingual or multilingual child, such as connecting to the parent’s culture, connecting to the immigrant community, feeling at home in South Africa, communicating with relatives, or an asset for the future (Arnberg, 1987; Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999; Hinton, 2001b). Alzayed (2015, p.266) noted that immigrant’s proficiency in their first language “plays a positive role in their ethnic identity, since their heritage language is closely linked to their parents”.

Libby and her husband want their New Zealand born daughter to speak Afrikaans. They have a language policy of speaking Afrikaans in the home. In addition, Libby makes an effort to read Afrikaans to her daughter, even though she does not read Afrikaans media for her own benefit.

*My sister-in-law gave my daughter an Afrikaans bible from South Africa for her first birthday, so I read those to her. I read Afrikaans to her but not for myself. My child will ten to one, learn three languages, because she will speak Afrikaans at home, English at school and Māori at school.*

Hanna and her husband decided that they wanted their South African-born daughter to retain Afrikaans when they immigrated to New Zealand. Their language policy is to speak Afrikaans at home. Hanna has taught her to read Afrikaans, and shared Afrikaans children's television series from her childhood.

*She takes my bible and read it, or my mum will text her in Afrikaans. She doesn't write it, because it is phonetic and it wouldn't make sense. Recently we talked about our stories that when we were kids that was on television, "Haas Das se Nuuskas", "Oskaring", "Knerses", "Kassiemer", all those sort of stories that they would laugh if they see that. But I showed her on uTube some of those stories, and she did laugh and go "oh my word, I'm glad I didn't live in that era" (laughing).*

Similarly, Ann would like to retain Afrikaans at home and intends to speak it at home when she has children. She willingly accepts that her children will be New Zealanders but will use Afrikaans as the language in the home.

*I would like to study more, and having a family is a big thing for me – I love kids. Like a bit of both, they are after all going to be Kiwis but I would like to have a bit of both. I would definitely like to keep to the values and the culture of South Africa in them, as well. I would definitely like to keep up the Afrikaans as*

*well. I understand that schools and things are all English here, we'll definitely incorporate that at home and try and keep it that going.*

Participants had a variety of opinions when it came to retaining Afrikaans in the home. Most were content with their children being able to hold a conversation in Afrikaans while others were fatalistic and accepted that language loss will occur or has already taken place. Some participants have retained their language usage in a number of ways: by speaking Afrikaans daily as the language in their home, reading their Afrikaans' bibles, listening to Afrikaans music, and regularly speaking Afrikaans to friends and relatives.

If parents do not have a defined language strategy with regard to the family retaining either their home or second language when that language is not English - then by the time they realise their children are not able to speak that language, it will be more difficult to reintroduce the language to the next generation. Studies have shown that it is difficult to retain minority languages in foreign countries and many parents surrender to what they feel is inevitable – the loss of the minority language (Barkhuizen, 2006; Boyce, Innocenti, Roggman, Norman, & Ortiz, 2010; Brezjanovic-Shogren, 2003).

## **6.5. Summary**

Chapter Six examined the present time and looked at the way that family stories ground us in our present and help us maintain our tūrangawaewae. Findings revealed that family stories enabled the participants to know who they were through the eyes of their parents and grandparents. The family stories portrayed their family values and traits by means of narrative, and by telling them from generation to generation they formed their

family legacies. In consonance with the assertion of Ballard and Ballard (2011, p. 69) that we “inherit the stories, experiences, and identities of our fathers, mothers, grandmothers, and grandfathers”, Goodall (2005, p. 497) notes that these inherited stories provide “a framework for understanding our identity through theirs”. The family stories reflect the family values and culture which contribute to building family identities.

The family stories were often related as memories that revealed the way participants connected to their culture through experiences, travel, food and celebrations. Participants shared family stories to teach values and uphold family traits they considered significant. Strong supportive families were considered of utmost importance. Most participants, particularly those who did not have strong New Zealand European friendships, had the perception that their value on strong families was only shared by Māori and Pacifica people. In their mind a strong supportive family was one that spent time together, and they saw this happen more often in indigenous cultures than with New Zealand Europeans.

A salient point that arose from the findings was the trust that the participants found with other South Africans that they did not have with New Zealanders. The responses from participants confirmed the results of previous studies with regard to making connections with other South Africans. As Meares et al. (2011, p. 41) notes, a “common theme was the increased intimacy which developed in friendships with other South Africans as they recreated a sense of extended family amongst other nuclear families in their communities”. These friendships helped the immigrants to connect with their heritage culture. My findings revealed that the trust in fellow countrymen enabled some participants to share certain stories with their compatriots that they were not prepared to

share with their new countrymen; they believed the experiences revealed by their narratives would not be understood or valued. This lack of trust leads to the development of a secret past. This secret past can have three implications: prevent connections with the new country, prevent the next generation from hearing the stories; and prevent New Zealanders from understanding the complex nature of South African culture. Those participants who had more trust in New Zealanders were able to use their stories to find common ground and make connections.

Language is an important factor in connecting with cultural identity. A family language policy is needed if the family intends to maintain Afrikaans as either a first, second or extra language. The findings of this study support language maintenance strategies from previous studies. These include opportunities to use the language wherever possible, speaking Afrikaans as the home language, and using music and stories to introduce Afrikaans to children (Arnberg, 1987; Barkhuizen, 2006; Cunningham-Andersson & Andersson, 1999).

## 7. Adaptation of family stories to a new culture

“The bottom line: if you want a happier family, create, refine and retell the story of your family’s positive moments and your ability to bounce back from the difficult ones. That act alone may increase the odds that your family will thrive for many generations to come” (Feiler, 2013 para. 14).

Chapter Seven explores looks at the present and scrutinises the adaptation of family stories to a new culture. Two themes emerged from the data analysis. First, the connections that South African immigrants build with the Māori culture as the indigenous culture are examined. Second, the importance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in relation to South African immigrants is discussed. Third, the connections that South African immigrants develop with New Zealand Pākehā culture are considered.

New Zealand is a multicultural society with the European ethnic group overwhelming dominant at seventy four percent of the population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006, 2103). The other major ethnic groups are Māori (14.9%), Asian (11.8%) and Pacific peoples (7.4%). However, Māori is the indigenous culture of the country. Bidois (2012, p. 338) asserts that “a cultural frame that promotes inclusion, must allow for cultural distinction, difference and affinities to be mediated between Māori and Pākehā first, in order to be inclusive of other cultures”, suggesting that the immigrant has to first negotiate the cultural distinctions between these two New Zealand cultures and find connections with each, in order to integrate into Aotearoa/New Zealand society. In other words, the path of biculturalism (Māori and Pākehā) has to be navigated in order to find the route to multiculturalism.

Farthing and Dixon (1994, p. 4) notes culture includes the “language, food, housing, clothes, and values” of a group of people, and these aspects are explored in section 7.1 (Māori) and 7.2 (Pākehā).

### **7.1. Connections with Māori culture**

Mātauranga Māori’ is a term used to describe the collective knowledge of the culture. Renowned Māori scholar, Hirini Mead memorably observed:

Mātauranga Māori is thus made up of a core of traditional knowledge plus the values and ethics that go with it and new knowledge, some of which we have added as a result of our discoveries and research, and some we have borrowed outright from western knowledge and from our experiences of living with exponents of other belief systems and other knowledge systems (Mead, 2012, p.14).

Mātauranga Māori includes language and culture, mythology, traditional ways (Black, 2012a; Doherty, 2012). If, as Mead (2012, p. 10) notes, “mātauranga Māori is a unique part of the identity of all New Zealand citizens” – whether they repudiate, acknowledge or are oblivious of it – then it could form part of the new immigrant culture, either deliberately or by unconscious assimilation. This knowledge of mātauranga Māori is found in stories, waiata and names of places as “there are many ways to capture knowledge” (Mead, 2012, p. 12).

Analysis of the data revealed that participants connected to Māori culture in five categories. This section explores the five categories that emerged: language (te reo

Māori), food (kai), cultural experiences (pōwhiri and kapa haka), traditional narratives (pūrākau) and customs (tikanga).

### 7.1.1. Te Reo Māori

Te Reo is one of the official languages of New Zealand and is widely used in the country. There are countless terms that are used in New Zealand English such as iwi (tribe), whānau (relatives) and hapu (family), to name a few. Government departments and educational institutions have bilingual names. When they first arrive in New Zealand immigrants, have to absorb these words along with English New Zealand words and expressions. This section explores the participants' use of Te Reo.

In order to informally explore the participants' use of Te Reo Māori (Māori language), a list of one hundred commonly used Māori words was constructed. The list was sourced from “50 Māori words every New Zealander should know” (*Māori Language.net, 2015*) and “100 Māori words every New Zealander should know” (New Zealand History, 2015). Participants were asked to complete the list and tick a box to indicate whether they recognised, understood or used the Māori word. (See Appendix 4 for survey list). It should be noted that this list has not been used for empirical research, and the sample size of nine participants is not sufficient to make definitive claims or generalisations. The comparisons made between the participants' answers, and the comparisons between the participants usage of language are based on my instincts.

As one would expect, the longer their time of residence in New Zealand, the more Māori words the participants recognised, understood or used. Figure 2 depicts this trend; in this graphic participants are arranged in order of time spent in New Zealand.



The notable exception was Gert. He had had absorbed less Te Reo than Sansa and Libby, who had lived in New Zealand for a shorter period of time than he had.

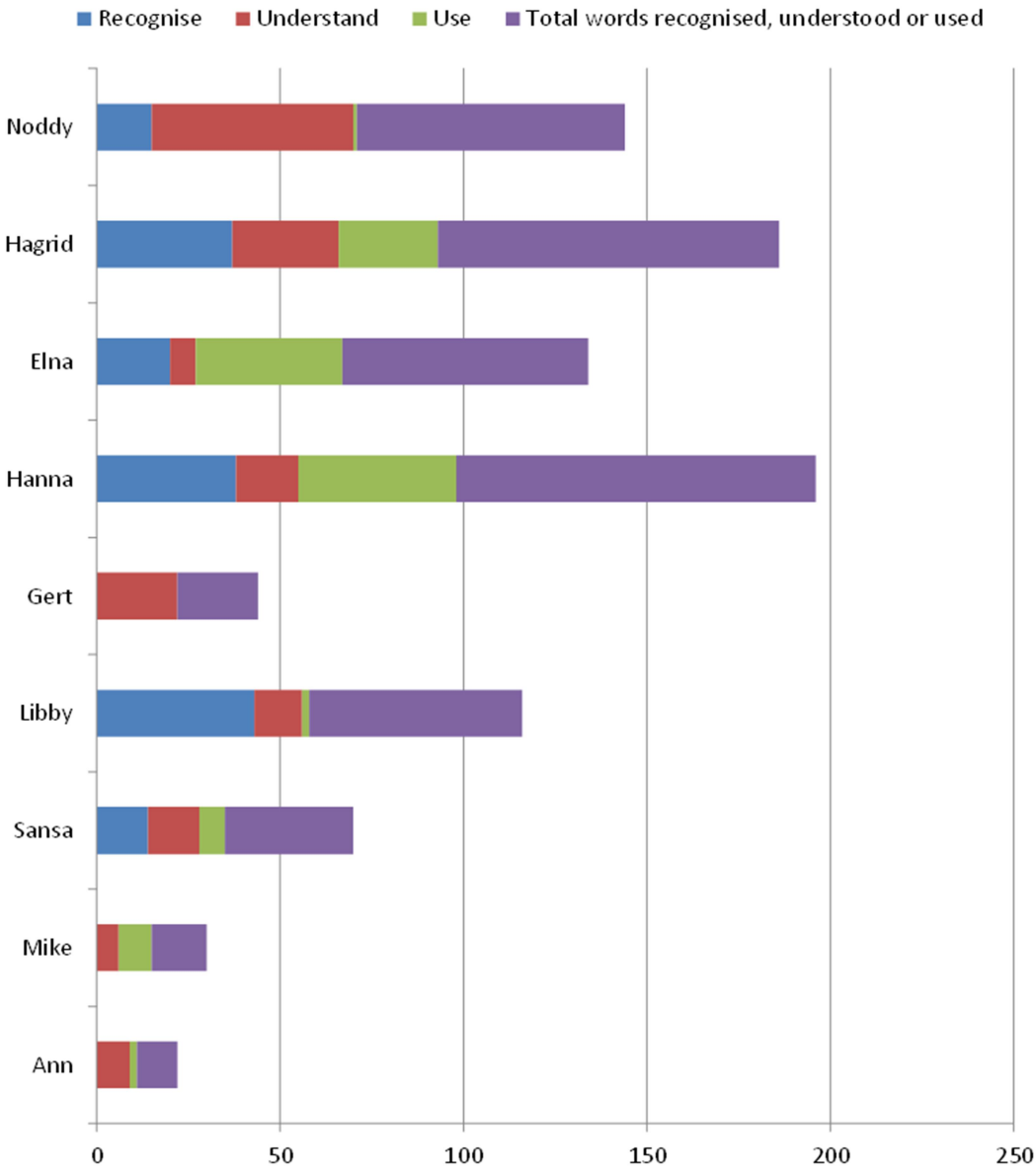


Figure 2 Participants use of Te Reo Māori in order of their time in New Zealand.

It can be noted that participants did not necessarily speak Te Reo, even when they understood the words. Some participants, such as Noddy, Gert, Libby and Sansa used few of the words they understood. However, Hagrid, Elna and Hanna, who had lived in New Zealand for a longer period of time, used considerably more Te Reo words in their everyday speech. (It can be noted that Hagrid, Elna and Hanna are also more voluble in

their storytelling, and explain narratives comfortably in English, so an innate skill in languages may be a contributing factor.) Mike knew very little Te Reo Māori but used a high proportion of the words he understood. The participants had lived in a multilingual society in South Africa and had not had trouble adapting to bilingualism in New Zealand. The one anomaly was Noddy. She had been born in New Zealand in a predominantly English society and spoke the least amount of Te Reo in proportion to the words she understood. Libby and Gert, who spoke predominantly Afrikaans at home, were less likely to use the Te Reo words they understood.

In New Zealand there are many place names of Māori origin which have two pronunciations, the correct Māori pronunciation and an anglicised version, which many Pākehā use. These dual pronunciations often cause confusion for new immigrants as they can sound like different places. In addition, the macrons (which aid pronunciation) are often left out on place signboards. For example, the town of Taupō is pronounced as toe-pour by Māori and tow-po (*tow* as in towel and *po* to rhyme with go) by Pākehā. All the participants try to use the correct Te Reo Māori pronunciation for place names. As Elna noted, Afrikaans has the same vowel pronunciation as Te Reo Māori, and this helps South Africans to achieve the correct pronunciation.

*The Māori - I think all South Africans do that – the same way of pronunciation.*

*I think how the Māori would say it rather than this is the way the English would say it.*

Mike noted that he had been corrected by Pākehā if he pronounced the word the Māori way, and so adjusted his pronunciation of place names to accommodate the person he was addressing.

*When we first came I was saying it like I thought it would be pronounced. A lot of people corrected me on some and others didn't. I know Ōamaru, if I talk to a Pākehā person I would probably say Omaru (Pākehā pronunciation) but if there was like a Māori I would say O-amaru like it is supposed to be pronounced; and Tauranga, with the rrrs like pushing it out like in Afrikaans.*

When seeing a Māori word for the first time, the participants indicated that they read it as though it was an Afrikaans word, rather than an English word, and, in so doing, were more likely to achieve the correct pronunciation, as noted by Mike.

*It is easier to like pronounce it if is Afrikaans word, and I tend to do it more often, like the aa's the same pronunciation.*

The attitude toward Te Reo is also a factor. Hagrid, who intersperses his English with both Afrikaans and Māori words, is encouraged by opportunities to learn more Te Reo.

*But I'm just thinking with language and the Māori side of things, I was flying the other day on Air New Zealand, and saw the Air New Zealand quizzes. This is something they have started the last couple of months which I think is quite cool. They give you the answer in English and then they give you the answer in Māori, which I think is cool.*

### **7.1.2. Food**

Food is very important part of culture and can serve as a point of connection between cultures (Longhurst et al., 2009). The association of food with family identity as well as the attitude to eating foods from the new country will affect the way immigrants deal with the host country's culinary practices. Parasecoli (2014, p. 416) observed that

immigrants' "reactions may vary enormously in terms of participation in foreign culinary practices, from enthusiastic embrace to participative negotiation to active resistance, all the way to total refusal". The eating of Māori kai (food) and use of Māori cooking methods by South African immigrants is explored in this section.

Hāngi is a form of cooking food in a covered underground earth pit. In a similar fashion to a braai, a hāngi is considered a social occasion as well as a cooking method. All nine participants had eaten food cooked in a hāngi, and Noddy and Mike expressed their interest in learning how to lay down a hāngi. However, Mike had reservations about doing it incorrectly.

*I thought of cooking a hāngi in the past but it is something you would want to secretly try yourself, before inviting people over, especially someone who might have like a Māori background.*

Noddy would like an expert to show her how to cook a hāngi.

*I think I would invite someone over to help us – to show us how to do it. The thing was when we used to have hāngi at school, there would always be someone really early in the morning, digging the hole, and setting it all up, and you didn't see that – you only saw the last bit (laughs).*

Ann enjoyed the hāngi as a new experience, but preferred the *potjie*, a South African form of cooking meat and vegetables in a three legged cast iron pot, over an open fire.

*Hāngi, yes it was good – I think I only ate the potatoes. It was good, it was a really nice experience, it was good to see how they do it. I will stick with a potjie.*

A particular favourite Māori food amongst the participants is parāoa parai, as this fried bread is similar to the South African vetkoek, where dough balls are fried and either eaten with jam and cream or stuffed with a meat sauce. Kina (sea urchin) is a Māori delicacy that participants felt were an acquired taste. Hagrid had eaten hāngi and fried bread. Gert and Sansa had tried hāngi, kina and fried bread. Sansa noted the similarity between fried bread and vetkoek.

*Fried bread is tasty and a lot like vetkoek. It has a different flavour but the texture is the same.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Libby did not enjoy hāngi but enjoyed the resemblance between fried bread and vetkoek.

*Tasted hāngi but it is not the best. Fried bread is like vetkoek. I have eaten that and it tasted to me like vetkoek.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

In a similar fashion to Libby, Hanna did not like hāngi but enjoyed the more familiar fried bread.

*Yea, not [like] the hāngi, not [like] the kina. Fried bread - That's nice, it's almost like vetkoek, isn't it?*

Elna also liked the fried bread and compared it to South African potbrood, which was a bread baked by the trekkers in a cast iron pot set in a pit with hot coals.

*Hāngi, kina. Fried bread – I like it, it is like potbrood.*

The Māori rēwena bread uses a potato yeast and is made with a similar recipe to South African potbrood.

Māori  
Hāngi



Stewart (2010)

South African  
Potjie



MaxPixel (2016)

Rēwena bread



(Soepkipje, 2011)

Potbrood



(Viljoen, 2011)

(Viljoen, 2010)

Parāoa parai fried bread



(Light, 2016)

Vetkoek



(Picknpay, 2017)

Figure 3 Visual comparison of Māori and South African food.

All the participants had made an effort to experience Māori food and had been most attracted to the food that was similar to their own cultural food in visual appearance and taste. As can be seen in Figure 3, a visual comparison between parāoa parai and vetkoek show they are essentially the same.

Food can act as a bridge between cultures. Longhurst et al. (2009, p. 342) incorporates this concept in their studies of migrant cooking, observing that “[f]ood can evoke a familiar sense of taste, texture and smell as well as create a new sense of taste, texture and smell helping people to create new visceral associations between their country of origin and their new country”. The participants enjoyed the fried bread because it was similar in taste and texture. In this way, it acted as a bridge between South Africa and New Zealand.

Although the participants had varying degrees of enjoyment of food prepared in a hāngi, they felt that their own style of cooking was tastier. The participants showed no resistance to trying Māori food when it was prepared for them, but only one couple was interested in recreating the experience for themselves,

### **7.1.3. Cultural experiences**

This section explores the Māori cultural events, such as a pōwhiri or kapa haka, that participants had the opportunity to experience at work, school or through tourism activities.

A pōwhiri or pōhiri is a ritual welcome ceremony. It is used to welcome visitors (manuhiri) to the marae or to welcome employees or visitors to a workplace, or new immigrants to the country. Different iwi have their own tikanga which will dictate the

process but the proceedings are similar. The manuhiri gather outside until they hear the karanga (welcome call) from a tangata whenua woman. The woman leading the manuhiri returns the call and the group walks forward. When they reach the wharehau they are seated with the men in front. The hosts start the whaikōrero (speeches) followed by a waiata (song). The tikanga of the particular iwi will determine the waiata that is sang. The manuhiri reply, followed by a waiata. The last speaker on the visitors' side may give a koha (monetary gift) by laying it on the ground for the tangata whenua to collect. After the whaikōrero and waiata have been completed, the manuhiri and tangata whenua hongī (press noses) and harirū (shakes hands). The pōwhiri ends with a shared hākari (meal) (Bidois, 2012; Winitana, 2014)

Kapa haka is Māori cultural performance that is closely aligned with the iwi performing the routine (Fraser, 2014). Black (2012a, p. 77) noted that there “are many components of mātauranga Māori that are unique to kapa haka such as whakaeke (entry), whaikōrero (oratory), karanga (call of welcome), waiata ā-ringā (action song), poi, haka (war dance), mōteatea (traditional chant), waiata tira (choral), whakawātea (exit)”.

A number of organisations in New Zealand offer Māori cultural experiences for tourists, which includes a pōwhiri, kapa haka, hāngi, and activities such as flax weaving and learning waiata (Māori songs). Sansa, Mike and Anna had experienced Māori culture through this type of tourism activity. Sansa explored a marae with her family on a visit organised by immigration agents.

*I went with my uncle and his family to a marae in Auckland. There was a group of us that went on, and they did the welcoming, and then we went into the marae and sat where you usually sit. They told us about the marae, and what the pillars and*



*faces are about. I can't remember everything. After a period of time we had a hāngi. So it was a tourist group and they made a large meal for us, and we ate and made roses and someone made baskets. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Similarly, Ann had visited a marae in Rotorua as part of a tourism visit. Mike attended workshops on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and also visited a marae, where he learned about tribal tattoos, dancing, weaving and food.

*When we first came here we do all the workshops to try and learn about it. A group, I can't remember their name, they sat us down and went into the Treaty of Waitangi. They took us out to marae visits, and explained about the moko and the welcome dance and the hāngi and how they welcome you and that is as far as we came to experiencing it; and also the flax and weaving and the baskets – I've forgot some of that now.*

Hanna, Elna and Libby came into contact with Māori culture through work-related activities. Hanna has participated in pōwhiri as part of her employment. Similarly, Elna has been part of many pōwhiri and visited many marae. She escorted a number of international students on these visits so that they could become familiar with the culture.

*Mostly through work and taking students on 'famil' trips so that they can experience the culture. I used to teach international students when we first came to New Zealand so I would do the 'famil' trips.*

Libby attended a tangi (funeral) when one of her work colleagues passed away.

*Yes, with the work because someone had passed away. I worked with people where the general manager was a Māori and when they greeted people, they started in the*

*Māori language, and that is how I picked up Māori words and things and learnt about it. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Gert, Noddy and Hagrid received their understanding of Māori culture through school activities. Gert visited a marae with his school

*Yes, at school. Yes, we did the whole flax thing. We went to the marae, did the welcoming and ate the hangi. It was to learn their culture. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Noddy indicated that she had learnt kapa haka at school.

*We had a lot at school – and even at intermediate we made poi and got an introduction to poi dancing. Someone came to us and showed us the Māori welcome, so I think it was a bit easy.*

Hagrid had received Māori cultural education at his primary, intermediate and high school. The boys' college (high school) he attended had their own school haka, which they performed at school, sport and cultural events. He also considered himself fortunate that both his primary and high school had their own marae, which enabled him to learn about Māori culture at school.

*Every school I've been to, apart from one, has had a marae on it. I think that's a big thing. During school having – at the one that didn't have a marae – a sleepover at the marae, and learning a little about culture and stories, then at high school having the school haka.*

Hagrid noted that he had only worked for private companies and they did not offer cultural integration.

If immigrants attended school in New Zealand, then they are more likely to have had the opportunity to experience the local indigenous culture through school programmes. They are also more likely to experience Māori culture if they work for government organisations such as city councils, educational institutions, hospitals or government departments. However, the participants working in private organisations noted that, unless the manager was Māori, there was no effort to incorporate the indigenous culture into work practices, and so had not had an opportunity to interact with the indigenous culture once they left school. The only avenue open for immigrants who have not had their schooling in New Zealand, and who work for private companies that do not offer cultural training, is to actively seek information on the local indigenous culture through tourism outlets, at their own cost. Alternatively, they can make use of available library and online resources in order to educate themselves.

#### **7.1.4. Pūrākau**

Māori culture is rich in pūrākau (legends or tribal narratives) and an understanding of these stories helps an understanding of the culture. Traditional pūrākau is a Māori narrative used to create support and disseminate knowledge about Māori and the world around them within their whānau, hapū and iwi. As Fraser (2014, p. 128) memorably observed “Ngā kōrero pūrākau (tribal narratives)—the various stories passed down through songs, dance, and storytelling—are a way that connects the people to their ancestors”. Most places in New Zealand have distinct stories that can be related around their origin.

All nine participants have heard or read pūrākau. Six participants were aware of the creation story of the North and South Island of New Zealand and five participants were able to retell a story or waiata. Gert had heard of pūrākau but could not recall any specific stories, and was the least interested among the participants in learning about New Zealand culture (both indigenous and colonial).

*I have heard of them but I can't recall any. The North and South Island is shaped like a fish. I have heard of the story but I can't tell it. I can't remember where I heard it. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Sansa found pūrākau interesting and desired to find out the stories of the place where she lived.

*I know many of them speak of the Land of the Long White Cloud, because when they arrived, the little white clouds were a long shape. The North Island was fished out. I can't remember where I heard it. I don't know of any stories of my area where I live but I would like to. I would find it interesting - my husband not so much - but I find it interesting.*

Libby learned about Māori customs and stories from her work colleagues.

*All that I have heard is that the Māori fished up New Zealand. Many people speak about it, and I also know that the Māori say you shouldn't turn your back to the sea when you walk away. When you come out of the sea, you shouldn't turn your back on it. I know that on the way to Mount Ruapehu, near Turangi, there is a stone that Māori believe you should stop each time you pass by, to leave something in it, money or whatever, to bring you luck. I learnt that at work because I worked with many Māori, and they told me about it. When we went to a leadership meeting in*

*Turangi, we stopped there and they placed money or lollies in it. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Hanna heard Māori stories from her daughter, who in turn had heard them at school. She learnt waiata to sing at pōwhiri at work.

*Stories – My daughter told me stories she heard at school over the years such as “The Legend of Māui fishing up Aotearoa”, “Kupe's travels around Aotearoa”, “How Māui brought fire to the world”. Waita – I know a few that I learnt over the years working in government that we sing at a pōwhiri.*

Elna had researched pūrākau to relate them to her international students.

*Yes, I do know some of the stories broadly but I can't remember the names always, like their creation stories. I read up on that when we first came here and because we took the international students on their family-trips I used to tell the story broadly on the way, so there is the background to where they going. But also I have been to Te Papa where they have got the displays on the stories, the visual displays. I've seen one of them quite recently at Te Papa, and how the North Island got pulled up from the South Island –these sorts of things.*

Ann is interested in the local culture but has not had many opportunities to experience it. She would like to participate and learn more.

*I must say when we were down in Rotorua I really enjoyed that cultural experience. It was nice to see and hear what they had to say and how they lived. So definitely, it is not that I am not interested in it, it's just that I – ek is nie blootgestel daaraan [I haven't been exposed to it]. I don't have many opportunities to actually be involved or know much about it.*

Noddy noted “I know a Māori waita Te Aroha – we sang that a lot at school”. Hagrid also knew the stories from his schooldays.

*Probably the one that is Māui hooking up the North Island and how his brothers got greedy. How he roped the sun to slow, playing with fire with his grandmother and he got them from the fingernails. But all those legends were from school, primary and then first couple of years at college. Know the haka from school. Poi E – just on the radio and on my phone.*

Mike had heard stories over the radio. He found the use of the silver fern in battle particularly interesting and had an emotional reaction when he heard the story.

*From me, I only just about two years, on talkback radio learning about the silver fern and how it was used in historic days. The Māori, instead of using a smoke signal and how in the full moon, they used to turn the silver fern upside down and the silver shine means that you need to advance. I never knew that and I got goose bumps the first time I heard it; and I think it's almost the same as what I put towards the All Blacks, the silver fern is how they do the haka. I got goose bumps thinking about the haka, the war dance and the silver fern how they used it and advancing. For me that's what I learnt and what I know.*

Sansa wanted her future children to be able to connect with the local indigenous stories and be accepting of the Māori culture.

*I will help our children to accept such things. It is a big thing - we are still South Africans, but our children will grow up here and it will be their country and their culture, so I would like to get a little into it. I don't want our children to feel out*

*because they aren't Kiwis - because that is also not a bad thing. I mean it is what it is.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

The participants had heard the Māori tribal narratives and legends but had not understood the cultural significance or deep spiritual and emotional connection that Māori have with their pūrākau. The story they had most heard was the origin of the North Island, known to the Māori as Te Ika a Māui (Mikaere, 2004). In this pūrākau, Maui's brothers do not want to take him fishing with them. He steals a magic jawbone to be his hook and hides in his brothers' canoe. He reveals himself when they are out at sea. His brothers refuse to give him bait so he punches himself on the nose and uses his blood for bait and the magic jawbone for a hook. He catches a huge fish and dives down into the ocean to thank Tangaroa for his catch. Maui's brothers hack the fish while he is away and that is how the valleys and mountains of the North Island of New Zealand are formed (Pohatu, 2000; Te Ake Ake, 1999). The theme of the story shows that resourcefulness and care for the environment is valued by Māori. A child with the desired qualities of creativity and imagination can rise above the circumstances of their birth if they are bold, intelligent and creative, as Maui find a way to overcome not having bait and a hook. Respect for nature is shown in the story as Maui dives down to thank Tangaroa for the fish (Vermeulen, 2002).

#### **7.1.5. Tikanga**

This section discusses the extent that South Africans incorporate Māori tikanga into their lives.

Tikanga is the protocols and cultural practices which are consistent with a Māori worldview or the Māori way of doing (Fraser, 2014; T. Black, 2014). Protocol elements

of tikanga can differ between the tangata whenua of different iwi (Doherty, 2012; Fraser, 2014; Mikaere, 2014; Winitana, 2014). Mikaere (2004. p. 12) regards tikanga as the “first law of Aotearoa and argues that while “the practice of tikanga may adapt over time, the underlying principles ... comprising values such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, aroha, mana, tapu, noa, wairua and utu do not”. Māori tikanga is not only observed on the marae – it can be found in the wider New Zealand society. For example, in some organisations, business meetings are started and end with a karakia (blessing), a gift as a koha is presented to hosts (in business and at home) and tables are not sat upon.

In South Africa, there was no expectation of removing shoes before entering homes (unless the shoes were dirty), and shoes were worn indoors (after being cleaned on doormats). In New Zealand, however, most visitors will automatically remove their shoes when entering a home, in the same way that Māori will remove their shoes before entering the wharehau (communal house). Participants noted that they adopted this practice when entering the homes of New Zealanders, as a sign of respect, but had not adopted the practice in their own homes. Hagrid observed that this was a practice he had acquired when visiting friends homes.

Hagrid had an awareness of and respected the Māori customs of tapu (sacred) objects.

*Things that are tapu, like the very first flax thing you make you give away, or you never buy greenstone for yourself, I think those things that are tapu (that are superstitious) still resonate and you follow them, which is Māori culture. So, I'm sure if a South African came in and saw a greenstone, they would buy it for themselves, but I would never buy a greenstone for myself. No matter how much I liked it, I wouldn't buy it for myself, because it is tapu.*



Pounamu (greenstone) is a type of nephrite jade found on the South Island of New Zealand and has traditional cultural significance to local iwi. The Māori name for the South Island is Te Waipounamu (greenstone waters). Hagrid's parents had bought him a pounamu pendant for his birthday, and they blessed the stone with a Te Reo Māori blessing in water, according to Māori tikanga. Hagrid felt that the blessing showed that the pendant was "not some trinket" but rather a treasure with value and meaning, and it enabled him to pay his respects to the culture of his new home. This occasion has developed into a family story that has become part of Hagrid's narrative inheritance.

Elna consciously adjusts her work style as she does not want to give offence, and incorporates Māori protocols into her work meetings.

*Basic ways of protocol, so when you arrive at a meeting, giving people an opportunity to say where you are from, rather than dive straight into. Yeah, of course, we learn it. I have to work on it every day, it is not my natural style. I am task focussed and I just want to get on. But it is not working that way, so if you have got the awareness, at least you've got the choice. If you live in oblivion then you are going to offend where you go.*

Elna noted that her husband has a similar awareness of tikanga. His knowledge helped him to build positive relationships with his clients..

*My husband works with many Māori clients. He is working in quite a specialist area, and because he is aware, Māori would rather work with him than anybody else, and it just because of basic awareness.*

Elna has worked on strengthening her connections to and understanding of Māori culture. She believes it is important for international students to hear stories about the

places they visit as it helps them feel more at home. She facilitate a programme whereby international students are taken around the campus and introduced to the Māori stories associated with the buildings and the meanings of names.

*I feel like I've got a few really strong connections mainly through work, but it is a nice avenue to connect with Māori. Our Māori friend is great – we've had a few good conversations in cars on our way somewhere. In the last year, we have been trying to bring Māori culture and to create more awareness around it with international students, so we organise events in the evening when they go to the whare; and they then teach them everything you can think of, just to create more awareness, because I think it connects the students better to where they are now. They will walk the students around campus and say this is where the name of this building is coming from. So we are trying to facilitate, because I think that type of awareness, being aware of the stories of the building, that sorts of things, definitely connects you to a place a bit more.*

Pūrākau have a connection with tikanga as the themes in story enforce the reasons for tikanga. For example, in the story of Maui and the sun, Maui persuades his bothers to help him trap the sun in a specially prepared net. Various methods were tried but they only succeeded when the net was made from plaited green flax ropes ((Pohatu, 2000; Te Ake Ake, 1999). The tikanga indicates that green flax can be used to make strong items, The pūrākau also demonstrates the value of teamwork as Maui and his brothers had to work together to tether the sun (Vermeulen, 2002).

Tikanga can be seen in Māori values. The value of manaakitanga acknowledges “our responsibility to behave at all times with generosity and respect, and in a manner that is consistent with enhancing the wairua and mana of past, present and future” (“Ngā Mana

Whakairo o Toi," 2017). When a new staff member is shown around the campus of the organisation I work for, the tikanga of manaakitanga means that we stop work and rise to greet them personally. We acknowledge their mana (status and self-esteem).

Manaakitanga can be seen at job interviews and at school. If a person wishes to have a support person while they are being interviewed, it is permitted by tikanga. Parents are welcomed into the classroom to support new children to settle in on their first day.

Other values such whanaungatanga (which reminds people of their responsibilities to each other and the environment) aroha (love) mana (self-esteem and status), tapu (sacred), noa (free), wairua (spirit) and utu (reciprocation or balance) form part of tikanga.

#### **7.1.6. Summary**

South African is a multicultural society with a multitude of languages, so adapting to the multiculturalism in New Zealand is not an alien notion to most South African immigrants. When the national anthem of their birth country, for example, is sung in four languages, then they do not consider it unusual to have a new national anthem in two languages. When they have grown hearing English spoken in a variety of accents then adjusting to new version of the language is both possible and achievable.

South African immigrants are, for the most part, interested in the local indigenous culture of New Zealand and are willing to learn and experience it. They accepted that knowledge of Māori traditions and language was part of being a New Zealander.

However, unless they attended school in New Zealand or worked for government agencies, their exposure to the culture was limited to media, personal contacts or tourism activities. They usually use the Māori pronunciation for place names as the

similar vowel structure to Afrikaans made it familiar. They connected to Māori through similar foods, family values and respect for elders.

Although they had been exposed to pūrākau, most of the participants did not remember the details of the legends they had heard, which emphasizes the importance of repetition to commit stories to memory. They were willing to respect and, in some cases, adopt Māori tikanga in their personal as well as public lives. Participants who incorporated Māori tikanga into their work practices found that they were able to make better connections with their Māori colleagues.

## **7.2. Te Tiriti o Waitangi - Treaty of Waitangi**

This section discusses the South African immigrants' understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi

As the Treaty was an agreement between the local Māori population and new immigrants, it could be considered as New Zealand's first immigration policy (Nayar, 2013). As such, it could be expected that it would be particularly relevant to immigrants. However, as new settlers have to adapt in many areas, the document – with its emphasis on Māori and Pākehā relations – is not seen to be a priority from their point of view. In addition, new immigrants take their cue from the dominant Pākehā culture that sends mixed messages around the relevancy of the document (Omura, 2014).

A brief introduction to Te Tiriti o Waitangi offered as part of an immigration pack, provided by the New Zealand government to new migrants, and this information is often their first introduction to the Treaty. Immigration New Zealand (2015, p. 6)

points out in this brochure that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the “founding document of our nation”, and it will help immigrants to “understand the nature of society within Aotearoa New Zealand” and “realise the significance of the Treaty within every aspect of life in Aotearoa New Zealand”. However, it does not describe how it will aid their understanding, and this can lead to the document to being dismissed as irrelevant.

As the Treaty was between Māori and non-Māori, all immigrants from non-Māori backgrounds are included. As Omura (2014, p. 25) convincingly argues, “Within the Crown sub-framework, multiculturalism can also be maintained to include Pākehā and immigrants from various cultural backgrounds”. When immigrants realise that the Treaty is not “between two races” but an agreement between the Crown and Māori, they are able to reflect on their own cultural identities (Omura, 2014, p. 229). In this way multiculturalism has a place in biculturalism.

In my study, two participants felt Te Tiriti o Waitangi was relevant to South Africans, four felt it had no relevance and three participants did not know. Three participants felt the Treaty was a historic document with no relevance to current society. Two participants had a good understanding of the Treaty, four had a broad understanding of the Treaty, and three knew very little about the Treaty.

Gert did not believe that Te Tiriti o Waitangi was relevant to immigrants, to South Africans or to himself. His perception was that the Treaty was not relevant in modern society, and noted “there are other laws that replace it - that is my understanding”. (It can be noted that the Treaty is entrenched in New Zealand law, not replaced by it.) Ann did not know much about the Treaty and, therefore, did not believe it was relevant to her.

Libby did not believe it was relevant to immigrants, believing it to be between Pākehā and Māori only.

*I only know that the Pākehā and Māori had that meeting when they first met and things happened. That is all I know about the Treaty of Waitangi. I don't think it is relevant to South African immigrants. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Similarly, Elna has never considered the relevance of the Treaty to immigrants. She believes that were aware of the discrepancies is helpful to understand the Treaty claimants.

*My broad understanding is that there is a difference in interpretation between how Māori understands it and how Pākehā understands it, and I have never thought of it in terms of relevance to South Africans no. It is good to have the awareness that there is a discrepancy in the understanding*

The perception that the Treaty is between Māori and Pākehā only distances the immigrant from the Treaty, leading to the misunderstanding that it is not relevant to them.

Noddy felt it was a historical document that did not apply in modern society.

*I think also it was quite hard because the Māori have a different idea about land. It is not like you own the land, you are caretakers of the land and the people coming in didn't have that same view of New Zealand. I feel like it is historical, like a lot of things that were in the document were two different versions, and now there is a lot of land ownership. I think it is historical and doesn't apply now.*

Mike perceives the Treaty to be a historical document and is unsure of its relevance to immigrants. He believed the situation between Māori and Pākehā it to be similar to that of the Boer settlers clashing with the Zulu people in eighteenth century South Africa. He viewed the Treaty has having a connection with conflict. He has received his information on the Treaty primarily from the media which focussed on the land debates arising from Treaty claims.

*For me the Treaty of Waitangi, the agreement between the Māori and the Pākehā, especially, I think, to do with the land to come on, and not own. But what the Māori thought they were getting wasn't what they were getting because they probably didn't understand English Pākehā agreements and negotiations. For me, it is almost the same as the Boers and the Zulus and how we pretty much turned up there and started taking stuff, instead of being allowed to live there. We just thought well, we will put up settlements and fight if we need to. I think it is historical. I don't think I know enough about it to comment, but I see on the news the Māori going to government because they want their land back because they don't really own it but they used to. I don't know if it is relevant to South Africans.*

Sansa believes that the Treaty has a historical relevance and immigrants need to be aware of its historical significance, as part of living in New Zealand. She equates the historical impact of the treaty to be similar to the impact that apartheid had on the history of South Africa. She is also aware that Treaty claims are still being made and settled.

*I think Gert and I understand the same thing. It was meant to be a coming together of the British and the Māori who were already living here, and they*

*signed so that they could live in peace, and the British can use the land to trade. Unfortunately, things went wrong and a double-cross happened. They had two languages or something and what they signed was different in the other language. I think it is relevant to South Africans because we have come here to a country with its own history and it is something important, and for our children. It is historic like apartheid in South Africa was and people would think that was important for South Africa. It is still relevant because they are giving land back to the Māori as a result of it. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Job descriptions – particularly in the government sector – require an understanding of the Treaty. However, immigrants found that a cursory knowledge of the three principles was enough to satisfy most interviewers. Omura (2014, p. 180) observed that “talking about the three principles (partnership, protection and participation) of the Treaty was deemed to be sufficient” – without going into detail. Hanna has studied the Treaty as part of her employment and believes that a knowledge of the circumstances of the Treaty aids in understanding New Zealand culture. She believes that it enables her to feel more at ease in her environment, more grounded in her surroundings and more understanding of the politics around the Treaty from both the European and the Māori point of view.

*I have done several Treaty trainings as part of my job. Likewise my husband, and with our daughter and social studies, we have been through it every year, as well. So we’ve got a reasonable understanding of it. I never used to think it does [have relevance to South African immigrants]. But I think, for me, ‘cause this is my home, that it helped me to understand things better. It’s like this local area war and what happened there, and I think it helps you to just feel grounded and*



*understand what happens around you, and politics, and sometime a Māori colleague would make a comment, and you just understand things better.*

Hagrid has a clear understanding of the Treaty and believes that it is a living document with relevance to everyone living in New Zealand, including immigrants.

*I understand the Treaty of Waitangi and what it was intended for, and that there was miscommunication and that was a big factor. My fiancé has had to study the Treaty of Waitangi, as in her occupation she had to understand it, and she has explained a bit to me. I think it applies. I think it applies to any person that lives in New Zealand. It was a document between the immigrant and the locals – an immigrant coming in and going to the locals and understanding what that is. Yes, I think it is very important. I have always believed that if you were moving to a country to live, that you should understand the country you are moving to. By saying “I’m a South African so I don’t really need to know about the Treaty of Waitangi”, then you are not really a New Zealander, you are just visiting this country for an extended period of time. Like if you really want to be a New Zealander then you need to know New Zealanders, and it is still a living document - oh yes.*

In 2016, the New Zealand Society of Translators celebrated their thirtieth anniversary by translating the Treaty into thirty languages, including Afrikaans, with the aim of promoting diversity. In the forward to *The Treaty times thirty*, Orange (2016, p. 7) argues, “that the translations will produce fresh understandings of the country’s bi-cultural underpinnings as well as considerations for future developments which accord with its diversity”. The ability to read the Treaty in their first language makes it more relevant to immigrants and helps them to have a better understanding of the differences

between the English and Māori versions. One of the Afrikaans' translators of the Treaty, Alta Rall (as cited in Langenhoven, 2017) noted that "given the number of South Africans that have settled in New Zealand, I think it underpins and broadens not only our dedication to our new country and the Treaty of Waitangi, but also our willingness to become part of the local culture and to accept it as our own" [translated from Afrikaans]. Nayar (2013, p. 385) noted that the Treaty is "about equal citizenship" and it "acknowledges that everyone has the right to participate; a critical link in the relationship between the Treaty and immigrant communities".

It is important that immigrants receive accurate information regarding the Treaty. There are many excellent academic discourses available that discuss the Treaty but these are not readily accessible to the average layman investigating immigration. As previously mentioned, it was difficult in the late nineties to obtain accurate information on New Zealand and a few self-help books were sold which offered practical advice on settlement in New Zealand. In one such book, *A New Life in New Zealand: A Working Guide for South Africans.*, the authors (Harrison & Nortje, 2000) make a number of inaccurate, prejudiced and misleading statements with regard to the Treaty, such as:

*Those Māori who feared slavery and cannibalism by their protein-starved neighbours were also grateful for the enforcement of the Treaty and the protection of the British Empire (p. 2-18).*

*Sadly, the present management of these claims is creating unnecessary racial tension stoked by certain "liberals" who are on some sort of guilt trip. We know their sort very well (p. 2-19).*

*Waitangi Treaty grievances appear to be orchestrated by a small minority of Māori who are the "Wabenzi" of New Zealand. Sadly, it seems that little of the profits from successful claims ever get back to the rank and file Māori (p. 2-20).*

If South African migrants derived their understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi from the intolerant and biased viewpoints of these authors, who obviously have not understood the complexities of the situation, then it can be expected that their readers would be ill-informed on the purpose and intentions of the Treaty. The inaccuracies in their writing with regard to the Treaty, Treaty settlements and Māori culture is profound. They appear to have made an effort to understand Pākehā culture in the book, but have not afforded Māori culture the same respect. This is unfortunate and is in direct contrast to the values and beliefs of the participants in my study. The book was written by relatively new immigrants and it is a pity that they did not consult Māori cultural experts before offering their uninformed opinions as fact. Their type of “information” can lead immigrants to have a distorted view of the role of the Treaty and Māori culture.

The Treaty can be viewed from different perspectives – Māori, European and the many different immigrant groups. These different points of view do bring conflict and debate in New Zealand society; but they can also add richness and connection to time and place. The Treaty fosters discussion on cultural identity of all New Zealanders, and the importance and challenges of retaining individual cultural identities.

### **7.2.1. Waitangi Day**

Waitangi Day is a public holiday held on 6 February to commemorate the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi - Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 by representatives of the British crown and Māori chiefs from the North Island. All the participants viewed Waitangi Day as

having no special significance in relation to national identity and spent the day as they would any other public holiday. Gert, Sansa and Libby have a braai on the public holiday. Libby noted that “it is another day that we all come together; every public holiday we get together as friends to enjoy the day”. Elna spends the day “doing sport and recreation, tramping trails and building a house”.

Hanna and her family arrived in New Zealand for the first time on Waitangi Day, so it has a special meaning to her family.

*Because it's our anniversary of landing here, we do celebrate it. It is such a lovely time of year too, isn't it? We'll decide as a family what we are going to do, have a barbecue or go out for dinner, but it is more about us*

Waitangi Day held no cultural significance for the participants and they considered it as a day of leisure to be spent with the family. This is in keeping with the way the majority of New Zealanders spend the day. However, it is day that issues relating to Treaty and to indigenous rights are particularly highlighted in the media during this time of the year.

### **7.3. Connections with Pākehā culture**

In this section the effect of the dominant New Zealand Pākehā culture on the immigrant is explored. New Zealand is “about balancing a good day’s work with time for family and friends” and is advertised as being “family friendly”, “safe and secure” and “clean and beautiful” (Immigration New Zealand, 2017). These elements of living in a safe environment and a focus on a balanced lifestyle affected the behaviour of the participants.

Mike noted that his cultural behaviour changed since he immigrated, as he accepted that he was living in a safer environment. He has learned to trust again and has established new relationships. In particular, he finds it easy to connect with older New Zealanders as he values their respectful attitude.

*Since I've come here, I've stopped looking over my back a lot. Started leaving doors open, doors unlocked and I think I have gotten used to not seeing security fences. The biggest change that I have made is having a lot more trust in people. I have started letting my guard down in a lot more things. I think the environment. I do have to say that a lot of the older New Zealanders that we have been in touch with here, the atmosphere is different around them as well; and me and Noddy do have a lot older friends in our group than our own age. They are so warm and welcoming and they are not disrespectful.*

In South Africa, Mike had been exposed to a high level of crime, and, as a result was in a constant state of heightened awareness of attacks. Once he was removed from that environment he was able to relax his guard. Noddy has noticed a change in Mike's behaviour.

*Mike used to be a hot-headed – over the wall. I think he was quite uptight and wound up when I first met him, and I didn't meet him that long after he arrived in New Zealand. Yes, and he was really uptight and I think as he has gotten more comfortable living here, and sort of got used to the environment. He has become a lot calmer. He is not quite as worried about things as he used to be, like going out at night and being free. He doesn't worry about things like that and he also doesn't seem to be as ready to throw a punch. I feel like they [New Zealanders] are quite accepting of a wide variety of people as a culture.*

In a similar fashion to Mike Sansa had, as a result of her experiences in South Africa, been in in a state of heightened alert. She noticed a change in her behaviour, where she is more relaxed and has more compassion and community spirit – traits that she has picked up from New Zealanders. As she is less fearful of her own life, she is able to be express compassion more readily toward others.

*This is a difference in my behaviour. I have taken on the Kiwi attitude of “she’ll be all right”, to relax and everything will be okay; it is not the end of the world. I didn’t have that feeling in South Africa because I was always on high alert. But I think my behaviour is now “she’ll be all right” when something goes wrong, it can be fixed and then I move on. Also perhaps values, I have picked up that I care more for my fellow men, wider than my family. In South Africa it is cut-throat, it is only your family and don’t worry about anyone else, because everyone is living their own rat race, and concerned with their own survival. So here, you feel less fear, and I can worry about my fellow men and stuff like that. That is where I feel my values have changed to be concerned about people wider than my family.*

Hanna noted the same changes as Sansa, in her work behaviours. She is less time driven and more focussed on a balanced lifestyle.

*Um ... mmm, I was very quick to say no but let me just think this through. I needed to relax more, relax in the sense that “tomorrow is another day”. You know – if the boss asked you for a report and said “I want it on my desk at the end of the day”, you worked until it’s finished. I had to adjust my thinking around that. Not that I’m saying the Kiwis don’t have a good work ethic but tomorrow is another day. What’s going to be – why will it be – what will happen if you didn’t do it at the end of the day. I think that we – if you are sick you come to work. Here if you*

*sick you stay home and don't give your germs to the others. So, yea, thinking about it, we did have to make some adjustments – probably without realising it.*

Elna feels that moving to New Zealand enabled her to change her behaviour with regard to traditional cultural and religious beliefs. Immigration allowed her to express less conservative religious beliefs. She never employed servants in South Africa (unlike the rest of her family) and so found it easier to adjust to the New Zealand idea of DIY home maintenance.

*Yes, probably because we are less bothered by the typical South African cultural stuff, if you can call two or three braais every week or if you watch rugby religiously every week. I have done that just because the family was doing it so you will join in. But we don't do that sort of stuff; and I mean, religion wise, we moved away from the very conservative Doppe thinking while I was still at university, so we don't feel comfortable with that. We have already done things a bit upside down in other people's eyes while we were there [in South Africa], so we wouldn't have had people working in the house, or in the section. We've always done our own work. So, therefore, everyone complains here about "aw, the work" but we just do it.*

Sansa commented on the multicultural and accepting ways of New Zealanders.

*New Zealand is multicultural. They accept people, doesn't matter who or what you are. That is the way of life and at least they are growing up here, but I would tell them stories of how we arrived and how people accepted us here. There are so many with different cultures that arrived here and, basically, sit around the same fire, and that is okay. In South Africa it was not like that, if you*

*spoke a different language or were from a different culture, then it was wrong. Here, they know there is something different about you, and you come from South Africa, but that is okay.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Sansa noted that New Zealander teenagers were more accepting of newcomers than had been her experience in South Africa.

*It was easier to make friends in New Zealand. It was difficult to make friends if you joined a school in South Africa in the middle of a school year, but here it was easy. There was always a group who would accept me. That I found nice of Kiwi-kids. They accepted you quickly and went out of their way to invite you to parties and such.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Sansa did find, however, that she had to adjust to studying in English, her second language as well as to a more liberal New Zealand society.

*I think that the biggest change was that in South Africa I attended an Afrikaans school, and so I had to relearn the terminology. Luckily my English was reasonably good so I didn't struggle. I had the same home rules as back home, but these were different rules to those of my Kiwi friends. I was not allowed to overnight at friends' houses or attend late parties. Some of the girl's parents bought them liquor and my mother did not - stuff like that. It seemed to be more acceptable for younger people to drink in New Zealand, and I found that different from South Africa. I found the standard to achieve and pass easier. There wasn't always the respect that was expected in South African schools, where students were expected to listen to what their teachers had to say. Sometimes, here and there, there was a child - I don't know what the circumstances were - that was*



*disrespectful toward a teacher and back-chatted or spoke ugly or that type of thing. That was different to what I was used to.*

Sansa moved schools from a city school in the North Island to a rural school in the South Island. Here she found her fellow students to be more mature and respectful to teachers and, therefore, felt more at home.

*I had good years at a smaller school and it was a great experience. There was more respect for teachers in the South Island school and the girls had more maturity and direction. They were less worried about boys and drinking and parties and stuff like that, because, I think, they had more responsibilities. They worked on the farms; they had their own cars and drove to school. They had more afterschool activities, and then they drove home, where they helped on the farms. So, I think it was more like what I was used to in South Africa. I think, I realise it only now that I felt more at home in that school than I did in the one in the North Island, although I enjoyed both. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Gert had moved from a conservative rural school in South Africa to a big city school in New Zealand, and he found the adjustment to be difficult, as his interests were very different to those of this new urban classmates.

*I came from a small town in South Africa so it was difficult for me to adjust. I came from an agricultural school and I didn't really fit in with Kiwis. I don't think our interests were the same. I like fishing and that type of thing while they were more concerned with parties and drinking, and making mischief and stuff like that. They were disrespectful. It was the first time that I heard a student swear at a teacher. I never found that in South Africa - if you did that in South Africa then you wouldn't still be living (laughs). [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Hanna noted that she had been taken aback by her first experiences with New Zealand children but had learned to be less judgemental without compromising her values.

*But in terms of having to compromise my values, no, but maybe adjust my thinking around it. My first experience with Kiwi children was after church – they had a bring-a-plate. In South Africa, when you have these sorts of functions after church, the elderly will go first, then the adults, and usually the adults will have a plate for their kids. Here it was the kids first and it was chaos really. Then whatever is left, you know, for the rest, and that includes the elderly, so that was different. Oh no, and my daughter still doesn't join the kids (laughs).*

Reyneke (2004) noted that the participants in his study had adjusted their thinking in this domain to realise that in New Zealand the child is seen as being equal to an adult in social discourse. Immigrants were forced to reconsider their child-rearing methods, and for some parents this was difficult and created family tensions. These are issues that the participants in their twenties have to consider as they move toward parenthood.

Hanna has found that she attends less family gathering in New Zealand because her child is involved in weekend sport. However, the same situation would have arisen in South Africa.

*It [family gatherings] has changed but I don't think it is because of the family not wanting to do it. I will give you an example. My husband's cousin would try and get the family together at least once a month for a big lunch. You know bring a potluck basically, or a barbecue. We often can't go because of my daughter's sports – in fact, we haven't been to one for quite some time, and it is not because we don't want to, it's just because she's involved in some big competition.*

Libby does not believe that New Zealand has affected her cultural behaviour, particularly in relation to family values.

*I don't think so, nothing has changed. My husband parents have been married for forty years. My ma and pa will be married for forty years next year and that will be the same for me and my husband. We look to our parents. Nothing has changed.*

Similarly, Gert believes his cultural values have not changed.

*I don't think so. I think it is still the same. The only thing is that in South Africa I obviously still lived with my parents - not now anymore - but I see them regularly. Yes, that is a difference, but I don't think any other parts.*

Participants had made a variety of connections with New Zealanders. Gert, who has a close circle of South African friends, has a few New Zealand “acquaintances but not really good friends”. Sansa is “part of certain Facebook groups, but not really physically where I socialise with Kiwi-people during the week”.

Libby supports the national South African rugby team, the Springboks, when they play New Zealand, but supports New Zealand in other sports. She has learnt part of the New Zealand anthem.

*Is doesn't matter what happens but if the All Blacks and South Africa are playing against each other then we always support the Springboks. I'm not into cricket, it is mainly rugby. Not that it is that important but if South Africa plays the All Blacks then we try to watch. In the Olympic Games I watch New Zealand but it is still nice to see South Africa there, when they are getting medals and stuff. I don't*

*know the whole New Zealand anthem, and only a few words of the South African anthem. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Hanna, on the other hand, supports the national rugby team, the All Blacks, because they are prominent in the news and she made a conscious decision to support New Zealand.

*I think, for us, because my husband and I talked about why the All Blacks; the conclusion we came to, I mean they are the best team in the world just face that, but I mean that's what's in your face. If someone asked me "who's the captain of the Springboks", I would have absolutely no idea. Because when we came here, maybe not deliberate, we embraced what's here. We both agreed beforehand that we need to give it everything to make it a success.*

Ann has made connections with her New Zealand work colleagues and would consider socialising with them.

*The girls at work definitely on a personal level as well. We get along really well and we have fun together at work. I definitely, we don't really do it, but I would definitely invite them over or go out with them for a night or spend some time with them as well.*

Hanna has formed both friendships and working relationships with New Zealanders.

*Friendships – getting to know people at church, school and sport functions. You connect with some people and from there friendships have been formed from all nationalities. Working relationships with my colleagues, team leaders etc. As we have family in New Zealand we have family connections too.*

Hagrid has made friendship connections through attending school in New Zealand and he is engaged to a New Zealander. He does not make a special effort to build relationships with South Africa.

*Well, I mean as you go through school, you make friends. I don't latch onto South Africans. I mean like some people, if you look at their friend group – they made South African friends and they keep their South African friends. They latch onto South African friends, so they are still holding onto that idea of South Africa with them, where I don't have that connection. If I make a friend with a South African, it is not because they are South African, it is because I like them as a friend.*

Mike has worked on developing connections in order to feel part of a community.

*Connections that I developed is mainly my older employers, through work, and they are good friends I would say. They are, especially for Noddy, being a second mum. It is hard for me to go out and create a new friend group because I would always be working. The only thing I can do is golf. We did try and do things like basketball but it didn't work out. We are getting better at not just doing things by ourselves but to try and reach out and to create that feeling that we are also needed by someone else as well.*

Elna has made extensive connections with New Zealand as a place. She believes she has a more intimate knowledge of the countryside than most New Zealanders, as she has visited remote spots.

*Heaps of connections to country. I feel very connected to place – I know New Zealand really well, better than most New Zealanders I have found. We have been to places that nobody else I have met have been to, magic spots. Like Oparara*

*basin, a stunning place. We've gone to Doubtful Sound– it is expensive to do like a boat trip overnight. But the whole boat is full of foreigners and it is way more beautiful than Milford Sound and quieter. It is sad that New Zealanders don't know, or don't care, about going there. So I feel a lot more connected in my mind, to New Zealand, than many New Zealanders, because people tend to go to the Gold Coast for holidays whereas they haven't been to the South Island, and I am “whaaat?” Yes, we really and truly love New Zealand and we've got many, many places that are very special to us and we go back as much as we can.*

Elna supports both South African and New Zealand sport teams, but feels more connected to New Zealand.

*I will give you an example, a couple of years ago these rugby-mad friends of ours came up from the South Island to see a game in Hamilton between the Springboks and the All Blacks, and all of us, including them, were in the stadium. So when the All Blacks got a try we all jumped up and “yay” and then when the South Africans got a try “yay”, and after a while the people around us were like “who are you actually supporting”. I don't know any guys in the teams, and certainly no South Africans, I don't know any names. We have definitely got a way bigger connection with New Zealand than with South Africa.*

Although she watches rugby on occasion, Elna is dismissive of both South Africans and New Zealanders who are obsessed with the game.

*For me, rugby is a god that I am not really wanting to support all that much, but it is a game. It is good, it is fine, and if we get the opportunity we will watch a game with people, but, yeah, we honestly don't sit every weekend waiting for the next*

*game. I probably follow the New Zealand athletes more than the South African ones but that's mainly because they are highlighted I suppose.*

The connections that immigrants make with their new country help their socio-cultural adaptation (Huijnk, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2012). Making connections is also part of the process of creating a feeling of belonging to the new country (Cain et al., 2015; Meares et al., 2011). As Parasecoli (2014, p. 419) rightly suggests, “[u]nless migrants find themselves alone and refrain from any contact, the adaptation process to the new land is shared, influenced, and constructed through interactions at least within the intimate circles of family, friends, neighbours, co-workers, and the immediate social sphere”. The participants had developed friendships, joined clubs and explored the country. One participant, who had a very friendly personality, had found teenagers very accepting of new cultures and made friends more easily in New Zealand than she had in South Africa.

Connections with New Zealanders help the immigrant to build memories of their new environment and to feel more secure in their new country. The lower crime rate created a feeling of safety and security which was very important to the participants. They were able to flourish when they were not in a state of constant alert against danger. They had adjusted to a more relaxed lifestyle and felt more secure.

### **7.3.1. Combating stereotypes**

Immigrants internationally experience ethnic prejudices from locals in their new country (Bol Jun Lee, 2007; Meares, 2007). Barkhuizen (2013, p. 94) observed, “[m]oment by moment and over time migrants negotiate their way through this space constantly

searching for recognition, respect, security and a sense of belonging”. I have occasionally met New Zealanders who assumed, because I was born in South Africa that I automatically subscribe to the racists’ policies of the pre-1994 government, and are taken aback when I challenge them on their incorrect perceptions. The participants noted that they would not automatically associate with a South African immigrant simply because they came from the same country, and that they would have to have to connect with them on a personal values level. South African immigrants should not be treated as a homogenous group with identical racial prejudices (Small, 2015).

Hagrid felt fortunate that he had moved to New Zealand when he was young, and distanced himself from an older generation of South Africans immigrants who may still have prejudiced views.

*I think for me it was lucky because I came over when I was little – and my parents are open people, but I think for a few of the South Africans I meet, are always that stereotypical thing that all South Africans are racists, just ‘cause of the history of South Africa. I think a lot of that still stems from the older generation of South Africans. We bumped into an old South African friend of my fiancée’s father, and he was saying like “Oh PE, all those blacks they’ve made it horrible” and they say those things and there are those negative connotations with the darker skinned races that a lot of the older generation of South Africans – not all of them – have not let it go as such; and while they might realise, say if there’s a person that’s working the till in New Zealand, they can’t really treat them the way as what they would have done if they were back in South Africa. You know everyone is equal, and that is the way it should be.*



Walrond (2015 para.13) noted that “South Africans’ forthright way of speaking has been perceived as arrogant by some New Zealanders, used to more indirect communication”. This sentiment was echoed by Small (2015, p. 746) who observed, “Afrikaans-speaking immigrants found it difficult to express complex emotions in English, and their direct and outspoken manner was misinterpreted by New Zealanders as arrogance”. Sansa noted that she had come across this attitude, which she diffused by being friendly. She, in a similar fashion to Hagrid, had come across South Africans who had shown unacceptable superiority toward workers. She disapproved of South Africans who immigrated with an attitude of superiority and an inflated sense of their own importance.

*I have come across people who told my mother something about “big-headed South Africans” or “South Africans have double heads”, and she had to learn that not all South Africans are arrogant or know-it-alls. I can understand it because there are some South Africans that come over with a chip on their shoulder, and think because they had this house or that car, that New Zealand owes me something. I haven't personally come across it. I think I am too friendly to even give people that idea. I feel that those types of people give us a bad name, and I wouldn't want to visit with them.*

Previous studies have noted that some South Africans felt discriminated against and were bullied in the workplace by New Zealanders (Meares, 2007; Small, 2015). This, however, was not the experience of my participants. Sansa noted that her mother and aunt were bullied in the workplace by South Africans.

*My mother and aunt have been taken advantage of by South Africans when they were working on their farm and felt that they were superior to their workers.*

*Actually, here everyone contributes to a better country and environment, and some South Africans just don't get that.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Both Hagrid and Sansa remarked on the egalitarian nature of New Zealanders where equality amongst workers is encouraged. New Zealand, as a society, has the aim of being fair and providing its inhabitants with equal opportunities. This may not always be the case but the goal to do so is articulated in government policy, and is seen as the dominant discourse in society (Reyneke, 2004; Winbush & Selby, 2015).

#### **7.4. Summary**

In order to integrate into a new country, immigrants are often expected to embrace New Zealand culture, and indeed, many are willing to do so. However, there is a lack of knowledge as to what does New Zealand culture entail. This is exacerbated when there are conflicting ideas between Māori and Pākehā in relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the pronunciation of place names and the purpose of Waitangi Day.

The majority population is the Pākehā culture but the minority Māori is the indigenous culture, and it can be confusing for the new immigrant to know how they are expected to behave in order to integrate. They also have to establish whether multiculturalism will be embraced in a bicultural society. The role of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in ensuring cultural rights of immigrants was not clearly understood by the majority of the participants. Participants had picked up their knowledge of the Treaty from employee workshops, media, government pamphlets or friends. The Treaty fosters discussion on cultural identity of all New Zealanders (including immigrants) and the importance and challenges of retaining individual cultural identities in a society that is becoming more

multicultural. The participants indicated that a lack of knowledge and a fear of giving offence due to ignorance may lead to inertia, where the immigrant does not attempt to speak Te Reo or incorporate local practices into their domestic or work arrangements. However, most of the participants make an effort to adopt Māori tikanga when they understood it and felt able to implement it.

## 8. A new narrative for next generation immigrants

“I want to hold onto my roots, but I also want to experience new routes” (Nesteruk et al., 2015, p. 466).

Chapter Eight looks at the family legacy and considers new narratives that are created for second generation immigrants. Two categories on how new stories develop and are retold in a multicultural environment emerged from the data analysis. The role of the participants’ story in the acculturation process is discussed in section 8.1. The participants’ views on the identity of a South African immigrant living in New Zealand, including their definitions of their ethnicity, place of standing and maintenance of culture is explored in section 8.2.

### 8.1. Acculturation

Acculturation can be defined as the changes that occur in cultural practices of immigrants, when they come into contact with one or more new cultures, and is affected by the immigrants’ desire or ability to retain their heritage culture and the amount of contact the immigrant has with the new culture (Nesteruk et al., 2015; Small, 2015).

Immigrants use integration as an acculturation strategy if they wish to retain their cultural identity and have interaction with the host country, and separation as a strategy if they wish to retain their cultural identity and avoid interaction with the host country.

Immigrants use assimilation as a strategy if they do not wish to maintain their cultural heritage and have interaction with New Zealand society, and are marginalised if they not able to maintain their cultural identity and have little contact with the host country (Bedford, 2004; Berry & Sam, 2013, pp. 152-153; Winbush & Selby, 2015, p. 49).

The strategies adopted by the participants in adjusting to New Zealand society varied. Gert, for example, on the one end of the acculturation scale, is inclined toward separation as he does not have any New Zealand friends, finds it difficult to adjust to a liberal New Zealand society and holds strongly to his cultural beliefs. His first experiences of New Zealanders at school were not positive and he has chosen to keep his relationships with New Zealanders on a professional basis. Ann primarily associates with a close circle of South African friends that she met soon after she arrived in New Zealand, and admits that she is not familiar with the New Zealand lifestyle. While her friendship circle had supported her settlement it had prevented her integration into society.

*To be very honest, I haven't really, I mean when we came we kind of immediately met all South African friends and all together being South African and stuff, it is quite hard to actually see how New Zealanders live, and what their lifestyle actually is.*

On the other end of the scale, Elna and Hagrid have assimilated with New Zealand culture as they feel stronger connections with New Zealand than South Africa. The rest of the participants are on a scale between these two ends and have integrated to varying degrees (see Figure 4). Note that the placing of participants on this scale is my estimates and not based on any statistical procedures.

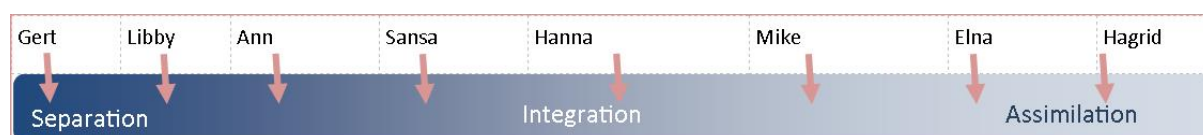


Figure 4 Participants on acculturation scale.

Some participants felt that having a group of South African friends made their adjustment in New Zealand easier. Gert would have appreciated it if he had a friendship group when he arrived, as it takes time to make friends.

*I think it makes you feel more welcome. I think it makes it easier than if you came in alone with no friends, or if it was only your immediate family. Some don't even have that – it is maybe only the husband and wife that comes across. It takes time to make friends. So, if you are lucky enough to already have friends or family, then it is easier.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Similarly, Sansa thought it helped some newcomers to have a familiar face in New Zealand to introduce them to the local culture. However, she did not think that everyone needed to have South African friends in order to settle. She had lived with relatives when she first arrived in New Zealand and had readily made friends at school. She observed that older South Africans perhaps found it harder to adjust.

*I see, especially with friends who have recently arrived, to have someone who introduces you. It is easier than going cold turkey from your culture and moving from your home. We were lucky when we arrived that we had an aunt and uncle here, but when we moved away, and in a Kiwi-school, I made friends easily. Perhaps, it was because I was younger. I wonder if you are older, that you would perhaps find it more difficult to make friends if there aren't Afrikaans people around. But I do think that not everyone needs a South African friendship circle.*  
[Translated from Afrikaans]

Libby noted that immigration had brought her family closer together as they only had each other to rely on for support. It also made her parents' marriage stronger.

*It made my parent's relationship stronger, and it made us a stronger family. Our family is scattered all over. Immigration only strengthened it and it definitely helped our transition.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Participants felt that having family stories gave them a sense of identity and belonging and helped in their acculturation process. Ann disclosed that family stories were part of her and they helped her to stay true to who she was and where she came from. Hanna believed that she would have been able to adjust to New Zealand without her stories but it added to the richness of her life.

*I remember that the biggest challenge for me when I arrived was that I had no memory of anything. You know, we would go to the local park, and I could not imagine "Oh yes, I remember being here with my grandfather" or "mum and I used to sit there and look at the sea and she whatever". You know you just have no memories about anything – it's like this is a blank page, and that was, I used to say to my husband "I have no hooks to hang things on" and I realised that only time would change that. That's what I meant when I say "it will only get better". People will come and visit, and I will bring them to local park, and we will sit on that bench, and next time I will pass that bench, I can go "Remember when we sat on that bench"; and that is what happened – we had so many family come to visit, and I have taken them all to local park, because it is such an amazing park, and other parks and all around; and now I can go "I've got all these wonderful rich memories of having family and friends that shared my experience here".*

The strength that Hanna mentioned as a characteristic of her family helped her cope with not having roots during the settlement process. She coped in three ways: by taking one day at a time; by having a positive outlook; and by believing that the feelings of being lost would improve with time. She believed that if she persevered, the familiarity with the environment and the creation of family stories would come with time. Hanna's anecdote emphasises the link between memory and stories. New experiences create new memories which in turn form stories that connect the teller to a place and time. Yuen (2008, p. 304) incorporates this concept as she notes, "we are connected in the present moment by historical memory as you are reconnected with your own memories and your own stories" and Popova (2017, para.11) echoes it in her thoughtful assertion "it is story — our inner storytelling — that orders memory into a coherent thread". It is also memory that provides "a hook", as Hanna phrased it, to hang your story on.

Elna believed that her family stories both helped and hindered her settlement in New Zealand. It helped by accentuating her resilience in dealing with change. However, it also highlighted her differences to New Zealanders, as she felt they would not understand her life experiences she did not share these stories. She has stronger connections with New Zealand as a place than with the people.

*It helped in the sense that I don't think that immigration is for everybody, not even every South African. But even for hubby and I it is quite different. We've got quite a lot of resilience. We grew up with some situations which nobody here would even fathom if you tried to explain it. Like, I grew up in the terrorist era – we got shot on in our school buses when we drove from one town to the other to play netball. We grew up when there were landmines planted on the farms. I have literally sat, you can imagine this, sat on the bonnet of the ute when we drove from*



*town to the farm, and I would sit and watch the sand road to see if there was any disturbance and say “stop” maybe something has happened here. So dad can come out and go “eee, yea, let’s go around”. So, I mean, try and explain that to anyone here, it’s bizarre. And the same in terms of animals - we grew up where there were like black mamba. I’ve been present where one got shot with a kettie [slingshot] out the top of a tree. So there was a guy on the farm who used to carry a kettie around his neck, and he would shoot a black mamba from twenty, thirty metre distance, dead by your feet and it is two and a half metres long.*

Elna had been able to reel off a number of stories where she had come into contact with either violence or death while living in South African. She believed that any difficulties she came across in New Zealand were trivial and paled in comparison to her previous experiences. At the same time, her stories emphasised the differences in background between South Africans and New Zealanders.

*Nothing would ever compare to some of the stuff we’ve gone through, even since we have been here. We have had really bad stories in the family, so nothing compares to that. So the nonsense that you deal with on a daily basis doesn’t compare at all.*

Mike observed that family stories helped his adjustment process by acting as a reminder of the journey he had travelled, and encouraged his family to persevere through difficult times.

*For me, I would say it is helpful – my parents and where we have been. Now hearing back on stories and comparing, it is always interesting and good to see how far we have come, and how we’ll say we haven’t lost certain things.*

Noddy observed that her family stories helped her to empathise with the Mike's experiences in South Africa, and to understand the journey he had been on – physically, emotionally and spiritually. His family stories drew them closer together as a couple and made their relationship more meaningful.

*It is different for me but I can imagine how things were when they were in South Africa. Because I know when I went back, the stories they would tell, would tell me a lot about my parents and how they were growing up. It helps to let you know where they have been or where you have been, as a family and where you are now. So, if you are struggling you can see that you have come so far. I know that, for instance, Mike, when he would tell me stories about his family and when they were growing up, it brings us closer, and I can relate to some of the things they are talking about.*

Hagrid believes that his family stories give him a goal to strive for and defines his individuality. He was comfortable with being different from his peers and felt that his South African stories helped define him as an unique individual.

*I think having a family slogan is that whole having an ideal. I think, I mean I like being different – having something different that makes me unique. Having my South African stories, you know, saying that I can trace my ancestors makes me different and that I like. I do use that. Some people don't like being different and some people don't like people who are different – just look at history. But I like being different. I like standing out.*

Sansa and her mother maintained the same traditions when they moved which helped her adapt. Her mother tells a story where Sansa was excited to be leaving South Africa,

and although she cannot remember it, her mother's memory of the event has become her reality through the medium of the family story.

*Many of our family stories were not traditional, like my mother and I had our own traditions, which we carried on here. It wasn't difficult for me when my mother said we were moving and I wasn't one of those teenagers who kicked against leaving. I probably thought that I would miss my friends, but, one day, when my mother arrived home, I asked "Have you bought the airline tickets?" Sshe says that I was very excited.*

It can be seen that family stories help immigrants' acculturation by grounding them in their cultural identity. Stories help the family to process their experiences by reminding them of their successes, encouraging them to persevere through difficulties and giving them a goal to strive toward. Their stories enrich their lives and aid in the development of resilience to cope with change. In consonance with the assertion of Vuorinen (2001, p. 114), "experiences become more real when they are verbalised", Huisman (2014, p. 145) considers that "family identity is not static or permanent, but something that evolves as family members jointly adapt and construct their stories". Family stories help immigrants to adapt their family identity to accommodate their new lives.

## **8.2. A South African in New Zealand**

Chapter Eight looks at the family legacy and considers new narratives that are created for second generation immigrants. The role of the participants' story in the acculturation process is discussed in the previous section. The participants' views on the identity of a South African immigrant living in New Zealand are explored in this

section, using four categories: sub-section 8.2.1 discusses the ways that South African immigrants maintain their tūrangawaewae when they are physically relocated and mentally outside their comfort zone; sub-section 8.2.2 explores the choice South African immigrants make when declaring their ethnicity; sub-section 8.2.3 explores the new narratives that might develop as part of maintaining the South African culture in the new country; and sub-section 8.2.4 considers the new family narratives the participants have developed since living in New Zealand.

In a new country immigrants find themselves in a place where they have no memories to ground them and, unlike a tourist who can experience the new culture and then return home to the familiar, the immigrant has to cope in an environment where everything is consistently new (Bennett & Rigby, 1997; Pietersen, 2000; Trlin, 2010; Winbush & Selby, 2015). Cain et al. (2015, p. 1151) observes, “[w]hen creating a new home in a new land, a new affective space is created that occupies an in-between space in which (often) contradictory experiences and memories must compete”. Immigrants have to negotiate and reconcile these conflicting emotions and recollections.

### **8.2.1. Tūrangawaewae**

This section discusses the ways that South African immigrants maintain their tūrangawaewae or place of standing, when they are physically relocated and mentally outside their comfort zone. The participants had varying insights into their tūrangawaewae; four participants have planted new roots in New Zealand, two participants hold onto their traditions and culture to keep them grounded, and two participants connect with family.

#### 8.2.1.1. New Zealand

Hagrid considers home to be the place in New Zealand where he grew up. Similarly, Hanna describes New Zealand with affection using expressions such as “Kiwiland”, “settled” and “happy”. She places emphasis on the country as “home”, mentioning the word six times in one narrative.

*For us New Zealand is home. We call it Kiwiland. This is the only home my daughter has known really. We are settled and happy. When we go away on holiday and come back now, we talk about New Zealand as our home. As we fly in at Auckland Airport we say, “we are home now”. Home is where the heart is. We have made the decision to come here and to make it our home and that is what we have done over the years.*

Mike believes his roots are where the bulk of his family in New Zealand are living. He is reconciled to not having his roots in one place.

*I think it was probably a bit harder to do. I think once we moved here the roots would be where the bulk of the family is now, and that at the moment for me would be the South Island, where most of memories are since we moved here. But, I guess as we go on, as I’m not attached to every single little place anymore, I would say that we would probably call home where Noddy and I in the future will settle down.*

Elna is not sure that an immigrant is able to transplant their tūrangawaewae, but she finds comfort in coastal places, and imagining her overseas family in similar places. She chooses to remember South Africa through the lens of her childhood memories and does not try and recreate those memories in either New Zealand or South Africa. She

draws upon her memories of past experiences and returns to visit family in South Africa to stay connected to her roots.

*I don't know if you do actually. Because things are so bad now-a-days in South Africa, we kind of made a conscious decision to think back about those things and remember all the good memories. So, when we go back now, we are not trying to have those same experiences because it is impossible. What we had, it was really amazing, it is no longer there. We've got lots of memories to draw back on, and some of those will be the things that we will discuss with each other and with other people. I guess, to keep in contact, we try and go back at least every two years.*

To many South African who grew up in the interior of South Africa, the sea was a wonderful place where vacations were held. Elna spent all her childhood vacations at the sea. She finds that reminding herself how fortunate she is to be able to live permanently in a coastal town in New Zealand helps her feel at home.

*I guess by remembering how privileged we are to be here near the sea. Because, one thing, we have been here two-and-a-half years, and people always say "ah you go live by the sea and you get used to it and you won't enjoy it or appreciate it as much" but we really feel different. Every time we drive around or we just go to the beach after work, every time we say to each other "wow, we are lucky to be here".*

Elna uses her imagination and memories to make a connection with her family overseas, picturing them in similar places and doing similar activities but on the other side of the world.

*My mum bought a house in South Africa, which is probably just a block or two away from the beach, and my sister moved in there. They are living there; and*

*they are very much sea people. So, when I walk on the beach here in the afternoons, I see the sun set and then nine out of ten times, I think, “yep, they’ll be on the beach”. There is a similar sort of, not a similar kind of feel, but there are similarities in view between the two beaches. So, I strongly feel connected to the coastal side of things, and through their love for the sea, which is the same thing we’ve got.*

#### **8.2.1.2. Culture**

Gert finds his place of standing in his cultural identity rather than a physical place.

*I think it is difficult. I think we have only now settled to a home. We have a house that is near family and friends and things that are important to us, and we live a good life. I would also say photos, and the traditions that we have like braai and certain foods. This is where my life is, but the definition of what is a South African Kiwi is different for each person. It is about culture and language - not the land. You don't have to totally assimilate. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Sansa finds her roots in photos which are the pictorial representations of her memories. She is very proud of New Zealand and considers herself a South African-New Zealander.

*My photos are very important to me - photos of friends and family and places. It was something – even now when I look at photos of places – that was important to me. If my home was burning I would grab my photos – they are my piece of South Africa. I feel like a South African-Kiwi, even though I am not a citizen. I am very proud of this country and I feel very connected and this is my home. When we went to visit my ouma in South Africa in 2010, I couldn't wait to get back home here. This is the place where I have planted my life and where life will continue.*

Sansa makes a clear distinction between her place of birth and her cultural identity, which she defines as her “Afrikanerdom”. She is comfortable transplanting her music, food and traditions to grow new roots in a new country. She perceives herself as a South African-New Zealander who loves and is proud of New Zealand, while simultaneously integrating her “Afrikanerdom” into her new identity.

*I think the big thing for me is to remain an Afrikaner in New Zealand. You can separate a South African and an Afrikaner because you can be an Afrikaner somewhere else. You don't have to be in South Africa to be an Afrikaner. I love the country and there is much that I miss but I am not attached to the land. I can take my Afrikanerdom everywhere I go. I can take my music, my food, my traditions and move, but the country can stay behind. This is now my country and this is where I have planted my Afrikanerdom. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Gert and Sansa are also proud of being their own independent family unit that could fit into any environment.

*Definitely unity - we are proud of our little thing. We can fit it in other places, but we are our own unit. It is like a lego-block , that four corner lego block, it can work anywhere, but it remains that little block. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

### **8.2.1.3. Family**

Libby finds her tūrangawaewae in peaceful escapes with her South African friends and family.



*I visit with my parents on their farm to escape a little from the city. We camp, to go away with friends and be peaceful. We lived far away from the sea in South Africa, so here to escape we visit the beach, and go away for weekends and so on.*

[Translated from Afrikaans]

Ann maintains regular contact with her family in South Africa, a place she still considers home in order to stay connected to her roots. She keeps her feelings of homesickness to herself and looks to the future to cope. She keeps her home environment the same as it was in South Africa, in order to have a feeling of home.

*I try to talk to my family back home. I don't think I am a big sharer. I will have a little cry and get over it and be alright the next day. I think it makes me feel a lot better knowing why I do it, and I think of the reasons why we did come and what's in the future for us. I think that we as a family, we try and keep it the same, all of that kind of feeling like home. ... that atmosphere and that environment the same.*

### **8.2.2. Ethnicity**

Ethnic identity is formed by the way a person identifies with the emotions, values, behaviours and knowledge of a particular ethnic group (Phinney & Ong, 2007). On official documentation, immigrants are asked to define their ethnicity, and their choices are often limited to New Zealand European/Pākehā or New Zealand Māori or Other. This section explores the choice South African immigrants make when declaring their ethnicity.

Ann is on a work visa and married to a permanent resident. they plan to reside permanently in New Zealand. She classifies her family identity as South African and

her ethnicity as English. Libby is a New Zealand citizen and classifies her ethnicity and family identity as South African, observing “we will always remain South Africans”. However, on official documents she notes her daughter’s ethnicity as New Zealand European as she was born in New Zealand. Libby considered that ethnicity had to be either South African or New Zealand. She had not considered the possibility of an official hyphenated or multiple cultural identities for her daughter.

Mike considers his ethnicity to be South African and finds it confusing to fill out forms that do not offer this option. He has noticed a change in his attitude toward ethnicity and race, since living in New Zealand, and feels he has become more tolerant. He is a with identifying his race as he believes highlighting his race is a racist action, but admits that when he first arrived in New Zealand he did declare his race on forms.

*I generally would say I am South African and if people ask where I am from, I would say Pretoria. I don't introduce myself as a white South African – that would sound for me really racist. I think before we left South Africa I was really racist – I didn't like anyone with a black skin before coming here, while at the moment I won't have a problem with any of them. But I think it is where we are from ... but I won't go as far as saying I am a white South African, or white Afrikaner.*

Many official forms in South Africa were focussed on race and not ethnicity. This meant that many South Africans had difficulty distinguishing between the classification of race and ethnicity. Sansa and Gert classify their heritage as Other European and their ethnicity as Afrikaans white South African, thereby including race in their definition of ethnicity. They are both permanent residents.

*I am not African - because that is black, and there is no Other Africa, so then it is European. I think of myself as a South African - more specifically an Afrikaans white South African. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Hanna is a New Zealand citizen and defined her ethnicity as being a South African New Zealander, because she was born in South Africa but is a citizen of New Zealand.

The importance of full commitment to immigration with a positive attitude is supported by research studies (Small, 2015). Hanna, (unlike Gert, Sansa, Libby and Ann and similar to Hagrid, Mike and Elna) made a conscious decision to embrace New Zealand culture. She tells her daughter stories of South African shopping experiences but she does not buy South African brands of tea (Five Roses) or jam (Old Gold) that is found in local supermarkets. She believes that this has helped her to integrate.

*This is where I live, this is what I identify with. This is home to my daughter– she doesn't know Checkers and Pick 'n Pay [South African supermarkets]. I always tell her that my dad used to say "My mum picks and he pays". I'll tell her about that. But this is home.*

Hanna is close to her South African heritage and speaks Afrikaans at home, but does not try and recreate South Africa in New Zealand. She observes that New Zealand is the only home her daughter knows, and made arrangements for her to remain in the country in the event of her and her husband's untimely demise.

Noddy, who has South African parents and has lived her whole life in New Zealand, identifies strongly with her South African heritage, identifying as a New Zealand-South African. When describing her hyphenated identity (as a second generation immigrant)

she places New Zealand first. The other participants in the study (first generation immigrants) placed South Africa first.

*I always tick Other and say New Zealand South African because I feel like it is not just about where I was born. I've got that South African influence particularly from my sister. That South African influence I feel like it is part of who I am as well. As far as my ethnicity – I don't feel like it is just where I am born.*

Hagrid is a New Zealand citizen and he defines his ethnicity as New Zealand European and his family heritage as South African.

*Well, I suppose those lovely pieces of paper that say "What's your ethnicity", I always put down New Zealand European. Well, I am South African, originally from South Africa, but I have spent more time in New Zealand than I have in South Africa. I identify my family identity as South African – from a South African family; South African roots.*

Elna also a citizen is ambivalent about her ethnicity and heritage, and observed that she was a New Zealander to South Africans overseas, and a South African to local New Zealanders. She chooses New Zealand European/Pākehā on forms by considers herself as a global citizen. It took time living in the country before she could identify the country as home.

*Interesting. Um, as far as our family overseas are concerned, if we engage with them then we are basically New Zealanders. As soon as we engage with any Kiwis here, we are South Africans. I guess we see ourselves as citizens of the world to some extent. But I know, we went to the US a few months ago and they would ask*

*“where are you from” and we would say “New Zealand” and they’d sometimes say “ah, that accent” and then we would go “South Africa as well”. But, I think, this is definitely more home now. It took many years before I would refer to New Zealand as home.*

The majority of the participants acknowledge South African as either their family heritage or ethnicity. The residence status of participants had an effect on how closely they identified with New Zealand. Participants who had taken citizenship were more inclined to consider themselves as either New Zealand Europeans or New Zealand South Africans. Libby considered her child to be a New Zealand European as she had been born in New Zealand. Noddy, however, who is in the same position as Libby’s daughter, considers her ethnicity to be New Zealand South African, primarily because her sisters were born in South Africa. None of the participants identified with Africa as a continent, (although I personally do consider that my roots are in Africa). Ann was on a work visa and had been in New Zealand the least amount of time out of the participants. She identified most strongly with South Africa as home.

Statistics from the 2013 New Zealand census indicated that approximately half of the people born in South Africa identified as being South African. One reason could be that South Africans who have taken citizenship are perhaps more likely to identify with their passport country than their birth country. Some immigrants find acculturation emotionally easier if they close the door on South Africa and identify as New Zealanders (Reyneke, 2004). Others feel it is not loyal to their new country if they identify too strongly with their old country. Participants had fluid ideas on the definitions of family heritage, ethnicity and cultural identity. They vacillated between defining their homeland as the country they were born in, or the country they had

immigrated to. However, it was clear that all the participants recognised their South African roots, and wished to keep elements of their culture, albeit at varying degrees.

### 8.2.3. Maintenance of culture

The previous sub-section explores the choice South African immigrants make when declaring their ethnicity. This sub-section of a South African in New Zealand explores the new narratives that might develop as part of maintaining the South African culture in the new country.

Seven of the eight participants want to maintain South African heritage and culture, and pass it over to their children. Gert observed that stories and traditions are the way he plans to transmit his culture to the next generation.

*I think just doing the same types of things that we are doing now to carry over that culture and, at the end of the day, it is how you are raised. It is the same thing that you follow the traditions that you were brought up with. We will definitely keep those traditions and the way that we do things. It would be difficult to carry over to our children but I will tell those stories of how we grew up in South Africa, and probably a little more history and stuff so he or she knows where they come from.*

[Translated from Afrikaans]

Sansa plans to teach her children to speak Afrikaans and considers family stories to be an important teaching tool in accepting diversity and embracing multiculturalism.

*First, of course, we will teach them to speak Afrikaans. They will not necessarily need to write or anything like that, as long as they can communicate in Afrikaans. Fortunately, I still have my Afrikaans children's bible from when I was little and Afrikaans little books. I think, for me it will be stories. By the time we have*

*children, the stories that we have will be old stories; how we arrived and immigrated.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Libby chooses to ignore the history of South Africa as she does not like history in general. She plans to teach her daughter to speak Afrikaans, cook South African food and uphold her family values.

*I am not into the history of South Africa.. The heritage that I carry over to her will be through Afrikaans, the food and the respect for people.* [Translated from Afrikaans]

Ann plans to tell her children stories of her experiences with wildlife and scenic beauty in South Africa, which she still nostalgically refers to as home.

*Telling them stories and talking about our experiences and things back home.  
Such as our Kruger National Park holiday — the wildlife and just how beautiful the country is.*

Hanna has maintained her daughter's knowledge of Afrikaans and her South African heritage. It is not important to her that her grandchildren maintain their South African heritage, as long as they are happy.

*Unless my daughter marries a South African and these days there are so many South Africans around, you never know – for me, it would be as long as they are happy. I don't care if they have some understanding of South Africa or not.*

Elna does not make an effort to retain her South African heritage but believes that her accent will remain the same.

*We don't go out of our way to maintain it but we think, by default, there are certain things that we will never do. Like the bad accent for one, it is never going to improve.*

Mike would like his children to have the basics of Afrikaans and maintain elements of South African cooking.

*But for me and Noddy, I think it will be harder for us to have Afrikaans in our house, because Noddy understands it but doesn't speak it a lot. For me, I would probably be more open, if the little ones still understand it but not necessarily speak it fluently. I won't want it to die after me, so I would probably attempt to say that this is where we are from and this is the language we spoke. I think that even if we can do the basics, I would be happy. I think I am now open to change. I say just the family gatherings, the braais, the biltong, the certain parts I say the cooking styles and those sorts of things are still important to me. I would say the respect as well. That would be important.*

The social and moral aspect of the culture is sufficient for Mike and he does not believe it necessary to teach South African history.

*But for me, I would generally say that I won't go as far as say the Boer war and that sort of thing. Unless we go there and have a South African tour and say "this is where this happens" and "this is probably where we lived". But if we are mainly going to focus here then probably it won't be necessary to me.*

Hagrid wants his children to know their South African heritage as well as the other countries that they have roots in. The sense of family belonging is important to him.



*I definitely thinking letting them know their heritage – of them knowing where they came from. Look that side of your family, your South African part of your family, this is your heritage. Showing them you are 1/64th Irish, telling them that definitely, so then at least they know where they came from, at least that side of the tree. I think that family you know, that sense of family and close-knitness – I think that is definitely one thing that is important.*

Participants planned to use family stories and traditions to teach Afrikaans and South African cooking. These narratives also had a role to play in teaching the acceptance of diversity, family heritage and the road to multiculturalism.

#### **8.2.4. New narratives**

The participants' views on the identity of a South African immigrant living in New Zealand are explored in section 8.2. The previous section explores the new narratives that might develop as part of maintaining the South African culture in the new country. This section considers the new family narratives the participants have developed since living in New Zealand.

In order for a narrative inheritance to continue to grow families need to develop new stories to relate (Ballard & Ballard, 2011; Goodall, 2005). The participants created new stories based on their activities and travels. Gert tells stories of his fishing and camping trips. Ann noted that her “best stories” are the activities she does with her South African friends. Sansa's tales of her experiences in New Zealand resonate with elements of safety, freedom of movement and the independence of women.

*We visit and drink a wine and sometimes we go to the city and walk around and do stuff that you don't want to do with men around. In South Africa, we wouldn't have been able to do that on our own. There is one night, (I have a photo of it) where a couple of friends and I are standing in totally darkness, with the most beautiful skyline view of lights down below. It was, basically, in the middle of nowhere and in South Africa we wouldn't have dared to do that on our own. We also, as a group of friends, are able to eat out more often, whereas in South Africa that would have been too expensive. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Sansa's new narratives highlighted the higher standard of living and the better quality of life she experienced in New Zealand.

Libby has developed narratives around regular camping trips with her friends.

*Every year we try and go away with our friends over ANZAC weekend and over Labour weekend because our friends are like family. It doesn't matter how old or young you are, you go camping. We also try to get away New Years and if we can't get away we still get together. [Translated from Afrikaans]*

Mike is intent on creating new positive stories for the future, rather than focussing on the difficult times of the past. Making time for family gatherings has also made a difference to their stories. During the first years of their settlement the stories resonated with immigration difficulties and the problems of the present, but now Mike is more focussed on a positive future and wishes his family stories to reflect this sense of hope.

*Just being together and doing fun things that we wouldn't normally do. Go to fun places, walking, and it didn't always have to be something that we spent money on – just even at the campground itself. So, even though we have been here for nine*

*years, the stories would have been about what the path that we were heading on and the things we did to try and stay; rather than trying to create something to think back on, and I think that is what we are getting good at now. To go back to the big family holidays and gatherings.*

Noddy observed that she and Mike have started a new family holiday tradition where annually they have a family holiday with his parents and brother. They do this in order to create positive memories with a focus on family and fun, rather than dwelling on immigration woes.

*So we have started a new family holiday tradition, where we all go together and have a family holiday. It didn't need to be costly but just having new memories to think back on, and because it has been trying these last few years for Mike's family, it is nice to be able to have fun and positive.*

Hagrid has also developed stories around place and activities.

*I guess it is all the new places we have stayed and travelled around New Zealand. Stories of work, road trips, where we lived, where I went to school and the different schools. Going through college and the dance and drama productions and musical theatre and the musicals we did and the stories we have made out of that.*

Elna has developed stories around her varied careers, including creating her own culture and having the freedom to make career changes at any age.

*Well, we have done more business minded activities, which my family didn't used to do. They used to do, you know, the more eight to five, get a job, stay there for forty years; the whole one career sort of thing. My husband changed careers*

*completely, also did I actually. We are not scared to do stuff outside the box. But you have got the freedom to decide at forty or forty-five that you want to make a serious career change, just go for it. So that's quite cool. And, I guess that we had the freedom to build our own sort of culture, that doesn't necessarily comply with, or be restrained, by the typical South African culture. So we don't see ourselves as typical at all. We do quite stupid things that people will think "are you bloody mad" like this building project, but we always have a good reason for it.*

Life in New Zealand had given Elna the opportunity to explore new careers and have the freedom to take risks. She and her husband have been able to free themselves from what they perceive as the constraints of "typical South African culture", which in their context is the Afrikaner culture.

Hanna has developed stories around her family activities that would have been restricted in South Africa, as they would have been unsafe. She feels privileged to have freedom of movement.

*I think some changes because we live in New Zealand, and that is the whole freedom thing. I can't imagine, because we didn't do it before my daughter was born, I can't imagine that we would have done it as she grew older. We go camping and outdoor sort of activities, walks on the beach and that sort of thing. We are very privileged to do that.*

Hanna has created new family traditions in New Zealand to ensure that her daughter has fun childhood memories to relate to her descendants in the future.

*We've started family traditions but again, it's not because we are South African. It's because we want my daughter to, when she's older, to be able to say "I*

*remember when I was ten, on a Friday night, we went camping”. It’s because family is important and family is forever, and you want your child to have pleasant memories of their upbringing.*

Hanna has passed on the family stories to her daughter. Hanna regularly tells her daughter anecdotes, and both she and her husband animate their stories to make the retelling exciting.

*It is usually in the car on the way to a sport activity or sometimes at night, before my daughter goes to bed, I would go and lie with her for a bit. We would talk about, sometimes about family and family stories, and especially my husband, he would animate it to a T.*

Hanna shares a family story that resulted from her parents visiting from South Africa which highlights some of the difficulties faced by immigrants when an older generation is not in the same country.

*When she was small, my daughter always thought her grandparents lived in an aeroplane, because she would see them arriving and leaving. One night when she was saying her prayers she said something about protect them in the air or something to that extent, and I asked her afterward what that was about, trying to understand what she meant. She said, “well they are up there all the time in the air”, and as we discussed it I realised that in her mind that aeroplane is a house and they lived up in the air, the sky.*

Many of the new narratives shared by participants highlighted the benefits of New Zealand over South Africa, and their desire to create happy stories for the next

generation. They have deliberately chosen to focus on positive aspects of freedom of movement, independence and family activities.

### 8.3. Summary

This chapter dealt with creating a new narrative for the next generation. When participants created new stories they linked to the memories of their past, and they used (or intended to use) their family stories to teach their children. They retold to their children the stories that they had heard from their parents. If they did not have children as yet, they expressed their intention to use stories as a teaching tool for maintaining cultural identity, persevering through difficulties and having goals to strive for.

Teaching their children to speak Afrikaans, having an appreciation for South African food and cooking methods and having family values, especially respect for elders, were recurring themes.

Many of the new narratives created for the next generation highlighted the participant's wish to create positive stories for their children (or their future children). This is not unusual as previous studies have shown similar results, where the focus is on optimistic and affirmative recounts of families' experiences and rarely focus on the negative aspects of their families. This is particularly the case when relating tales to listeners outside the family ((McGeough, 2012; Pratt & Fiese, 2004; Vuorinen, 2001).

The labelling of ethnicity was problematic for the participants. If they were New Zealand citizens they tended to call themselves New Zealanders or South African-New Zealanders. South Africans do have the option to hold dual citizenship, with the permission of the South African government; but due to the additional bureaucratic

paperwork and effort involved, it is not a route often followed. It can be noted that there was a strong desire to be associated with South Africa by immigrants choosing a hyphenated identity i.e. they referred to themselves as South African-Kiwis, not New Zealand-Springboks. The participants had a variety of way of identifying their ethnicity, heritage and residency status but were unanimous in their wish to be associated with their South African cultural identity. It would make it easier if the New Zealand government had the option of South African-New Zealander, as an available choice in ethnicity fields on forms, for those residents and citizens who wish to associate with a hyphenated identity. However, Other and entering in South African-New Zealander is an option available.

## **PART THREE – Mātauranga South African-New Zealander**

Part Three discusses the conclusions and implication of this study and is divided into three chapters. Chapter Nine revisits the research questions to review how they have been answered and to establish the conclusions of the findings. Chapter Ten examines the implications of the findings. It outlines a new knowledge framework for the cultural identity of South African-New Zealanders that integrates South African knowledge, the family history of the immigrant, mātauranga Māori and New Zealand Pākehā knowledge. Chapter Eleven ends the research with final conclusions and reflections.

### **9. Conclusions**

“I am a product of my ancestors” (Fraser, 2012, p. 116).

The purpose of my study was to explore family narratives as a definition of family identity in a new culture. The goal was to examine the relationship between family stories and family identity for South African immigrants and the influence of mātauranga Māori on these stories and on the immigrant family’s identity. This chapter summarises the findings of Part Two, reviews the research questions outlined in the beginning of this project, and draws conclusions from the research.

Part Two discussed the ways that family stories act as a bridge that connects us to our past, grounds us in our present and leads us to our future, and the four chapters in Part Two are linked to past, present and future.



**Chapter Five** discusses the way family stories connect the migrating family to their past and, thereby, aid their settlement process in their new country. It explores the research question – Does the migrant family’s choice of either holding onto their South African family identity and stories or creating a new family identity and narrative in New Zealand, help, or hinder their settlement process?

Similar to other studies on South African immigrants, a desire for a better future for their children or a final incident of violence impelled the participants to immigrate (Cain et.al. 2015; Meares, 2007; Phillip & Ho, 2010; Reyneke, 2004; Trlin, 2010; Van Rooyen, 2000). This voyage of discovery to a brighter future forms part of the narrative inheritance of immigrants (Ballard & Ballard, 2011). The way that the new immigrant deals with the immigration process creates a story ((Boyce et al., 2010; Goodall, 2005). Knowledge of how your immigrant ancestors coped with their settlement can serve as a guide and inspiration for your own process of immigration. Some participants connected to the *trekkees* of their ancestors and these immigrants drew strength from the stories of their ancestors’ explorations into the interior of South Africa. The independence, hardiness and self-reliance of their forefathers served as a source of inspiration and comfort. The migrant and immigrant stories of predecessors formed part of the narrative inheritance of the participants and strengthened their family identity (Dawson 2005; Schoonees, 2005; Nesteruk et al, 2015), If South African families to New Zealand want to maintain their migratory stories as part of their family legacy and part of the narrative inheritance, then they will need to make a deliberate and sustained effort to include these stories in the narratives they tell their children and grandchildren. Transmission of stories to the next generation is an important part of maintaining family culture (Bletti, 2010; Huisman, 2014; Taylor et. al., 2013).

The participants obtained their knowledge of New Zealand's cultural society from books or other migrants, and very few had personally spoken to either Pākehā or Māori before their arrival. This can lead to unrealistic expectations of settlement in New Zealand (Small, 2015). In addition, culture shock can be exacerbated as the reality of a living in a different culture is experienced (Igoa, 1988; McInnes, 2012, Winbush & Selby, 2015). The advent of the internet and social media has facilitated current information gathering but at the time the participants came to New Zealand information was not as widely available online as it is today.

Three conclusions can be drawn from Chapter Five. First, the journey to New Zealand (whether it be as a result of push or pull factors) is part of the family's migratory story and adds to the family's narrative inheritance. Second, if the migratory story is to remain in the narrative inheritance then it needs to be remembered and related to the next generation. Third, the connection of South Africans, (who have trekker heritage) to the *trekgees* of their forefathers, offers comfort to migrants as they draw strength from their ancestor's endurance during their explorations, and feel that they are following in their footsteps.

Immigrants who find inspiration from ancestors from their colonial past (English, European and Boer) can use immigration to move beyond their colonising past. They can endeavour to find genuine connections and meaningful relationships with Māori as the tangata whenua (indigenous people of the land), by taking an indigenous view rather than a colonising view of the culture (Chilisa, 2012; Fraser, 2012; Lee Morgan, 2016; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1996). An indigenous view signifies that knowledge is not only the absorption of information – it encompasses knowing, experiencing and understanding

(T. Black, 2014; Doherty, 2012; Mead, 2012; Smith, 1997). It is acceptance of not only the facts and logic, but also the metaphor (Meyer, 2014).

**Chapter Six** looks at the present time and scrutinises the way family stories ground us in our present and help us maintain our tūrangawaewae. It examined the second research question – How do family stories help immigrants to maintain their tūrangawaewae when faced with a new culture and a new country? The family values, traits and stories shared by the participants revealed the development of their family legacies that form part of the narrative inheritance passed down to future generations. Three conclusions were drawn from Chapter Six.

First, in order to understand this inherited identity immigrants first need to be connected to their culture (Nesteruk et.al., 2015; Stone, 1998). Participants emphasized the importance that they place upon family values. Half of the participants believed that their focus on close family values is more similar to that of Māori and Pacific Islanders than of New Zealander Europeans.

Second, immigrants need to be aware of their family stories, and be prepared not only to share these stories with their descendants, but also to create occasions to tell the stories. Telling family stories connects individuals to their tūrangawaewae by enabling them to share their cultural and family identity (Bylund, 2006; Galvin, 2006; Stone, 1998). If they feel they are not in a position to tell their story, or their audience will not value and respect their story, then they may not tell the story, leading to a “secret past”. This, in turn, could mean that the next generation would not have an opportunity to hear the story and could become disconnected from their family identity and tūrangawaewae (Stone, 1998). Family identity is drawn from memories, which form a spiritual and emotional part of the family tūrangawaewae. Family stories are a form of oral histories,

particularly when they related to the reminiscences shared by parents and grandparents (Pratt & Fiese; 2004; Vuorinen, 2001). If a person knows their family history and genealogy, they are able to connect to their ancestors (Black, 2012a, 2012b; Doherty, 2014, Fraser, 2012; Fraser, 2014; Kelly, 2002). In addition, the recollections of their forefathers add richness to their life. Stories were most often told at family gatherings, at bedtime or dinnertime, or in the car while travelling, so occasions for the family to share their tales is needed. It can be noted that the family gatherings that these stories were retold at, often became the story that would be told at future gatherings. In addition to family values, food connected South Africans to their culture, and enabled immigrants to share their culture with New Zealanders in an accessible way. The participants were able to share family stories relating to food, as well as telling stories during food preparations and consumption.

Third, a family language policy is needed if speaking Afrikaans is important to the family's cultural identity. A defined language strategy with regard to the family retaining either their home or second language, when that language is not English, is needed to perpetuate the language in the next generation (Barkhuizen, 2006; Barkhuizen & De Klerk, 2006; Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2006; Hinton, 2001, Smith-Christmas, 2016).

**Chapter Seven** looked at the present and discussed the adaptation of family stories to a new culture. It studied the third research question – How are family identities influenced when immigrants experience the values, beliefs and behaviours of Māori?

South African immigrants are, for the most part, interested in the local indigenous culture of New Zealand and willingly to learn and experience it. They accepted that knowledge of Māori traditions and language was part of being a New Zealander. The

participants connected to Māori through similar foods, family values and respect for elders. Food can act as a bridge between cultures, and participants had been most attracted to the food that was similar to their own cultural food in visual appearance and taste (Longhurst, 2009). Participants received their Māori cultural experiences through school, work (particularly if it was in government organisations) or tourism. They respected and were willing, in some cases, to adopt Māori tikanga in their personal as well as public lives, such as removing shoes when entering homes and blessing pounamu pendants. It was evident that whilst the participants were willing to learn, the connections that they had made with Māori culture had been superficial and *ad hoc*. There is an opportunity in this area for deeper and more meaningful connections. If immigrants are able to explore pūrākau in more depth, a connected community of South Africans with a New Zealand vision could form with a deeper understanding of the local indigenous culture. Renowned Maori scholar, Taiaiaha Black (personal communication, 19 January 2018)) noted that family narratives are an approach to decolonisation in New Zealand for South African immigrants. He thoughtfully observed, “Family narratives are connected to Māori whānau pūrākau which creates a constructive learning environment, encourages reflective thought and action, enhances new learning, and facilitates shared learning”.

Participants had made connections with Pākehā culture through friendships, clubs, sports and travel. In addition, they had adjusted to a more relaxed lifestyle and felt more secure.

Two conclusions could be drawn from this chapter. First, in order to integrate into Aotearoa/New Zealand society, the immigrant needs to negotiate the cultural distinctions between the Māori and non-Māori and find connections with each. In other

words, the path of biculturalism has to be navigated in order to find the route to multiculturalism (Bidois, 2012; Hill, 2010). Second, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is relevant to all New Zealanders including immigrants (Nayar, 2013; Omura, 2014). It can be viewed as the first immigration policy (Mikaere, 2004). The ability to read the Treaty in their first language makes it more relevant to immigrants and helps them to have a better understanding of the differences between the English and Māori versions (Langenhoven, 2017). The relevance of the Treaty to the maintenance of cultural identity of Māori and other ethnic minority groups needs to be highlighted and explained to immigrants (Omura, 2014).

**Chapter Eight** looks to the future – to the family legacy and considers a new narrative that is created for second generation immigrants. It examined the fourth research question – How are new stories developed and told for second generation immigrants and their descendants in a bicultural and multicultural environment?

It can be seen that family stories help immigrants' acculturation by grounding them in their own cultural identity (Langellier & Peterson, 2006; McGeough, 2012; Trees & Kellas, 2009)). New stories help the family to process their experiences by reminding them of their successes, encouraging them to persevere through difficulties and giving them a goal to strive towards ((Ballard & Ballard, 2011; Bylund, 2003; Huisman, 2014). Their stories enrich their lives and helped them develop resilience. Family stories help immigrants to adapt their family identity to accommodate their new lives (Berger & Quinney, 2004).

The majority of the participants acknowledge South African as either their family heritage or ethnicity and wished to keep elements of their culture, albeit at varying

degrees. Participants perceived family stories and traditions to have a pedagogic role for second generation immigrants. It helped them accept diversity and embracing multiculturalism, taught Afrikaans and South African cooking and values and enhanced family heritage. Participants developed new family narratives based on their activities and travels.

Many of the new narratives that participants share highlighted the benefits of New Zealand over South Africa, and their desire to create happy stories for the next generation. They have deliberately chosen to focus on positive aspects of freedom of movement, independence and family activities. Participants felt that they were able to adapt more easily to New Zealand as they had accepted that South Africa had changed to such an extent that the country they remember from their childhood no longer existed. This idea of a perfect childhood lead the participants having, as Reynolds (2011, p. 19) puts it, a “cultural romance with the idea of childhood (as distinct from real children)”. The idealised childhood that the older participants recalled is a stark contrast to the plight of non-white children during the same time period. It is not unusual for adults internationally to have a romanticised view of their childhood (Griswold, 1996; Vermeulen, 2013).

Three conclusions can be drawn from Chapter Eight. First, family stories and traditions have a pedagogic role in transmitting culture to second generation immigrants. Second, families use family stories to portray themselves in a positive light. Third, there is a need for a hyphenated South African-New Zealander identity for immigrants who desire to celebrate their integrated identity in a multicultural environment.

In order to integrate into society we do not have to totally assimilate. As immigrants, we can be good citizens without foregoing our cultural roots, values, languages and stories (Reyneke, 2007). However, we do not want to recreate a ‘little South Africa’ in New Zealand and follow a policy of separation that keeps us apart from our wider community. This would make it difficult for our children who are growing up in New Zealand society. We need to find a way to integrate into New Zealand’s multicultural society, while at the same time honouring our roots and personal family identity. As Smith (2017, p. 92) asserts, "We must defend our cultural inclination towards collectivity and ... revitalise and re-empower our cultural ways of knowing, being, and acting”.

Acculturation studies of migrants in New Zealand tend to focus on immigrants' adaptation to New Zealand Pākehā society as this is the dominant discourse, and including the indigenous culture in integration is only superficially covered (Meares, 2007; Reyneke, 2004; Small, 2015; Winbush and Selby, 2015). One of the issues with regard to integration with Māori is that most immigrants receive their knowledge of tangata whenua second or third hand, and many may only have a superficial “tourism” viewpoint of the culture. Most participants perceive an affiliation with Māori views on family and are interested in Maori culture. However, as they had limited opportunities to engage with mātauranga Māori, they were unsure of how to make connections. Many participants believe that the Treaty of Waitangi, which shapes many New Zealand laws, had no relevance in modern society (Omura, 2014). Therefore, what they may find useful is ways to appreciate and engage with mātauranga Māori; its place as the indigenous culture of New Zealand and an understanding of how the country and people are shaped by it. This knowledge acquisition would not only aid their understanding and enable them to negotiate a pathway through a new environment – it will help them find



their tūrangawaewae in a new landscape. They will then be able to find a place in multiculturalism that is respectful to the Pākehā and Māori of New Zealand.

My study aimed to look at the way family narratives define the identity of a family and exploring the way family stories are affected by the indigenous culture of a new country. Essentially, the implications of this study's findings are that family stories create family identity by connecting the family to their identity and culture, and in turn the family identity effect the way that the narrative inheritance is passed on to become the family legacy., The findings further show that the creation of new stories (and by implication the family's identity) are influenced by the family's culture in home country as well as the cultures of the host country, which in New Zealand is the indigenous Māori culture and non-indigenous Pākehā (used in the sense of non-Māori) culture. The immigrant's identity in New Zealand is, therefore, composed of four elements i.e. family identity, the family's culture in South Africa, Maori culture and non-Maori culture. Reflections on these four elements enable the immigrant to choose the level to which they want integrate into the cultures of the host country, and to decide if they want identify with a hyphenated cultural identity.

I propose that a hyphenated cultural identity should accommodate our individual family cultural identity, mātauranga Māori, Pākehā knowledge and knowledge of our African and European whakapapa. I contend that this hyphenated cultural identity is an enhancement as it could help integration and enable the path of biculturalism (between Māori and non-Māori) to be negotiated.

## 10. Mātauranga South African-New Zealander (from wagon to waka)

“While we should not forget our history, we must use it as a lever for building and transforming our futures” (Smith, 2017, p. 32).

In the previous chapter, implications from my study demonstrated that the immigrant’s identity in New Zealand is composed of four elements i.e. family identity, the family’s culture in South Africa, mātauranga Maori and Pākehā culture. In this chapter I discuss the Wagon Framework which I have developed as a heuristic for immigrants to reflect on their changing cultural identity in a new country.

### 10.1. South African-New Zealander Wagon Framework

I have conceived this framework to demonstrate how immigrants could enhance their cultural identity by acquiring cultural elements from four sources: knowledge from New Zealand Pākehā (non-Māori), South African cultural knowledge, mātauranga Maori and family cultural history. Inspired by my trekker ancestors who immigrated to and migrated in South Africa in search of a better life, I have used the image of the ox-wagon to illustrate this framework, and to connect to the spirit of my *trekgees*.

Each wheel of the wagon represents the elements that influence the integrated cultural identity. The four wheels of the ox-wagon come together on a chassis to support the wagon called “Cultural identity of the South African-New Zealander”, for this enhanced and integrated identity in recognition of the multiple elements that need to be

negotiated. I originally considered the phrase “South African-Kiwi” as this is also the term that some of my participants used to refer to themselves. However, using the word Kiwi as a name tag for a person may be offensive to some Māori. Kaumatua Nuki Eldridge from Whangaroa Harbour in the far north of New Zealand explained, “The biggest insult you can put on a tangata Māori is to call him something you can eat ... It’s a hell of an insult. It means you can eat me” (as cited by Warne, 2015 para. 6). In deference to tikanga, I have chosen the word South African-New Zealander for the new hyphenated cultural identity.

Figure 5 outlines the evolution of the imagery of the framework. The first image is the ox-wagon, the second image depicts the chassis of the wagon and the third image is the framework.

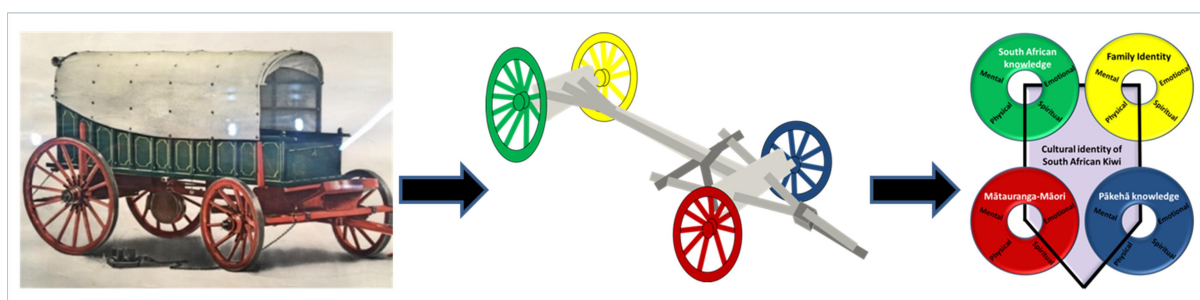


Figure 5 Evolution of imagery used for framework.

The jawbone ox wagon was specifically designed to carry heavy loads in the harsh and mountainous terrain of South Africa, and was not found in Europe or America (McCallum, 2016). The larger back wheels were fixed in place and were designed to carry the load and provide stability. The manoeuvrable smaller front wheels were attached to a single shaft or *disselboom* that yoked to the oxen, and enabled the wagon to be steered. In my framework the placement of each element to correspond with a specific wheel has meaning.

In the Wagon Framework the back two wheels provide stability and represent the past (South African knowledge and family history) and serve as the starting point for first generation immigrants. The front wheels represent the future (mātauranga Māori and Pākehā) knowledge). In Afrikaans, there is an expression that is used when a plan is progressing smoothly – “alles loop klopdisseboom” meaning that the shaft or *disseboom* is functioning as it should (McCallum, 2016). It alludes to the single shaft meeting the challenges that the journey is offering. The wheels (elements) carry the carriage (cultural identity of South African-New Zealander), as the driver (the immigrant) uses the *disseboom* to steer the course through the new environment. If any of the wheels are not working properly, then the wagon will not run smoothly, and the cultural identity will not be “klopdisseboom”.

Each wheel in the framework has four spokes representing the physical, mental, spiritual and emotional elements of each knowledge wheel. Physical refers to the body and the physical place. Mental refers to the reasoning conscious mind and includes the individual’s personality and the perceptions that they have of their environment. Emotional refers to the subconscious mind and the way that individuals process their emotions. Spiritual refers to the connections that individuals make with their families and friends as well as to divine beings and self. This holistic way of viewing knowledge is in keeping with indigenous knowledge epistemologies (Doherty, 2014; Mead, 2012; Meyer, 2014; Porsanger, 2014)

Figure 6 is a graphic representation of the Wagon Framework for understanding the cultural identity of a South African-New Zealander.

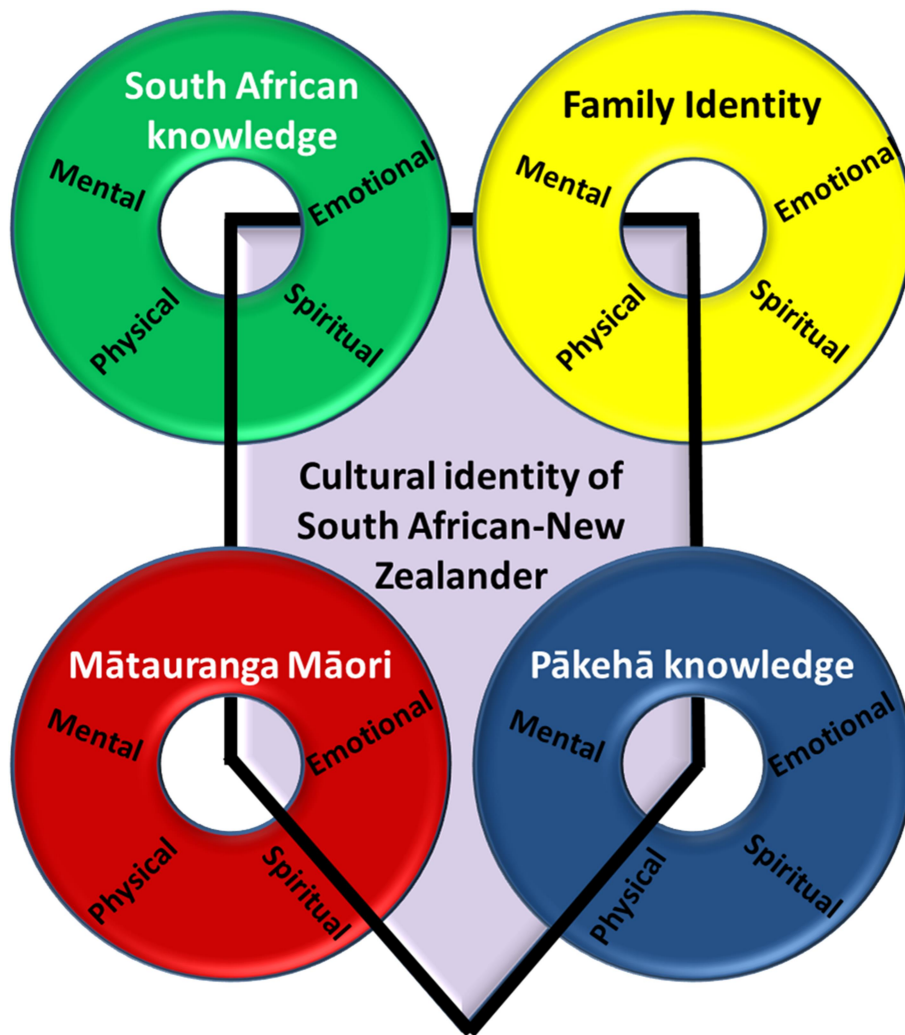


Figure 6 Wagon framework for cultural identity of South African- New Zealander.

The Wagon Framework shows the importance of both past and present. Doherty (2012, p. 30) emphasises the significance of the relationship between past and present; “To describe the past is to state ‘I ngā rā o mua’ [in] the days that hang in front of [me] Māori are walking backward into the future, the days that have passed hang in front, and the future is behind”. This concept of “walking backwards into the future” is one that immigrants can find comfort in. Their family history and narrative inheritance can help them to advance in a displaced landscape, while simultaneously looking into the encouraging faces of their ancestors. This sentiment is echoed by Reyneke (2004, p. 271) as he convincingly asserts “die onthou van die verlede is belangrik, dit dien as

boumateriaal vir die toekoms”, which translates as remembering the past is important as it serves as the building blocks of the future. It is a concept that enables a person to steadfastly move forward without forgetting their past.

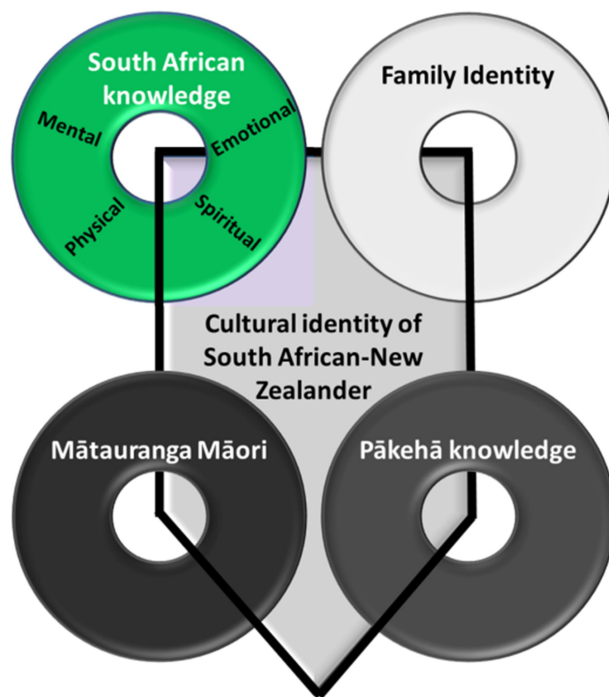
The Wagon Framework provides a guide for migrants to retain their family stories and South African roots in their new country while simultaneously adapting to New Zealand in three ways: integrating into New Zealand culture; incorporating elements of the indigenous Māori culture; and building new family stories for future generations to enjoy. Feiler (2013 para. 6) notes, “The more children knew about their family’s history, the stronger their sense of control over their lives, the higher their self-esteem and the more successfully they believed their families functioned”.

In the next four sections, I outline the content of each element in the framework.

#### **10.1.1. Element One – South African knowledge**

This section of the discourse explores the first element of the Wagon Framework – the culture of South Africa, which represents the soil that the roots of immigrants were planted in. As South Africa is a multicultural country, this focus of this element would be different depending on the ethnic group and language of the individual (Bosch, 2000; L.Thompson, 2001). The first element includes the South African cultural influences of the immigrants, including history, friends and family, location, education and experiences.

Figure 7 highlights the placement of the element in the framework.



*Figure 7* South African identity in the Wagon Framework.

Most of the participants of my study were young and had been children when apartheid was dismantled in 1994. A change in environment gave the older participants a different perspective and, as a result, the more egalitarian New Zealand society affected them. The environment that a person is raised in has an effect on their perceptions of life (Kotze et al., 2015; Vignoles et al., 2011). These, however, are changeable as a person matures and has new experiences that shape their life in a different direction (Remennick, 2009). Elna, for example, had a very traditional and conservative Afrikaans upbringing, but, by her own admission, chose a different and more liberal path which lead her to New Zealand. Similarly, Mike noted that he was racist when he arrived in New Zealand but the classless society has had an effect on his outlook and temperament and broadened his knowledge base to incorporate new viewpoints. South Africa is a multifaceted country and immigrants could come from a multitude of backgrounds, areas and ethnicities, which defines their individual South African culture

(L. Thompson, 2001; Meares, 2007). Time in a new country provides clarity and distance that brings new insights into your birth country. Two years after we had emigrated from South Africa we returned for a visit; at the time, I made a note in my personal diary “South Africa is a complex country, which you have to live in to know it, leave it to understand it, and return to it to appreciate it”.

Apart from the differences between cultures, the physical location of the place that the immigrant lived in South Africa has an effect on their outlook ((Bosch, 2000; Kotze et al., 2015; McCormick, 2006). Participant Elna contrasted her more traditional Afrikaans family from the Bushveld in northern South Africa with her more modern Afrikaans family that lived at the sea in Western Cape. Sansa and Gert noted the differences between the city scene and pastoral life.

Participants alluded to the English South African culture being more liberal (L.Thompson, 2001). In my own experience, this meant that although I attended an English school and had English-speaking friends, the rules I had to follow at home were stricter than those of my friends. This was as a result of my Afrikaans mother being religious and conservative, and, although my father was English-speaking he, too, was a strict Christian parent. This unconscious negotiation of identities in my childhood helped me during my settlement process, as I had practise in adjusting to changing social environments.

In addition, the political orientations of the family would have had an effect on the upbringing of the child (Bruner, 2010, Kotze et. al., 2015; L. Thompson, 2001). That is to say, whether your parents supported or fought against the policies of apartheid, your culture would have been shaped by it (Barkhuizen, 2006; Louw, 2004; Van der Waal,



2015). There can be no doubt that I, as a white child growing up in South Africa, was afforded benefits that many of my compatriots did not have. My schooling in the seventies under apartheid, for example, delivered me a privileged well-funded education that was designed to foster leaders – in an environment where self-belief and confidence were encouraged. My husband, for example, would never have chosen the military as a career, but all white males of his generation were conscripted into the defence force for two years, and failure to do so resulted in six years imprisonment or exile. Conscription had a profound effect on 600 000 white young men who were forced to serve in the South African Defence Force from the time compulsory military service started in 1967 to the time it ended in 1994, irrelevant to their personal beliefs on the apartheid system (Edimann, 2015). During the same period, many Africans joined military organisations fighting against apartheid (Cawthra, 2015). Both situations affected the men – many of whom were damaged by their experiences – as well as their families. Understanding the context of the history of your culture prepares you to examine the future more thoughtfully.

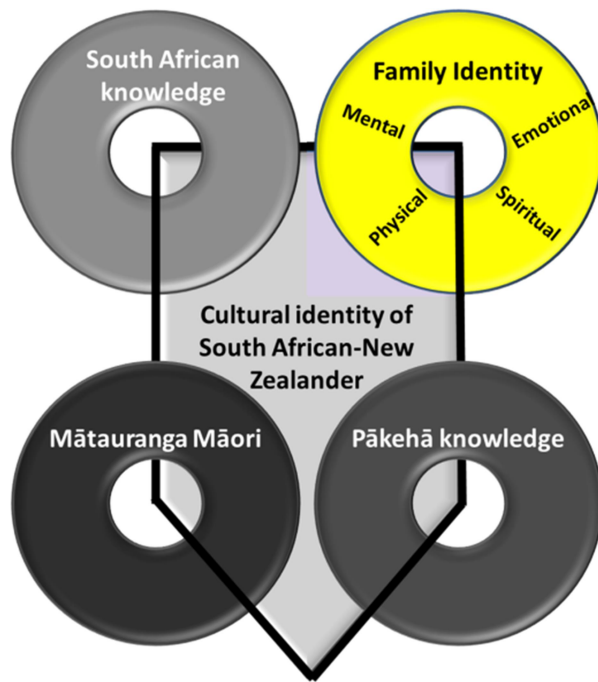
In preparation for their journey to their new country, immigrants need to decide what treasures and baggage (both physical and spiritual) of their culture they want to carry and what they want to leave behind (Bennett & Rigby, 1997; Pietersen, 2000; Reyneke, 2004). Some participants in my research took the opportunity to start afresh and make different choices to that of their parents. The Wagon Framework encourages an immigrant to mentally think about these choices, to emotionally feel the pain of loss and excitement of new beginning, to say farewell to their physical environment and to acknowledge their spiritual displacement. In addition, when this element is considered against the other elements of the framework it encourages them to think of their values

and history, and understand how they fit into their new culture. It is useful for a person to know their history to help them understand the motivations of their action, that is to say, **why** they do what they do (Vuorinen, 2001).

### **10.1.2. Element Two – Family Identity**

The second element and back wheel of the Wagon Framework is family identity. Family identity is the family's traits, visions and goals that make them a distinctive unit (Bolaffi et al., 2003; Galvin, 2006; Huisman, 2014; Nesteruk, Helmstetter, Gramescu, Siyam, & Price, 2015; Scabini & Manzi, 2011; B. Thompson et al., 2009). Family identity will vary between families in the same culture and different cultures have different concepts of family (Fraser, 2014; Mead, 2012, Remennick, 2009).

The Wagon Framework encourages the immigrating family to consider the family values and stories that are important to the individual family members. They would need to mentally identify the trait, consider the emotional and spiritual value that they place on the maintenance of that trait, and then decide whether they wish to foster it in a new physical place. Figure 8 highlights the placement of family identity in the Wagon Framework.



*Figure 8* Family Identity in the Wagon Framework.

The experiences that a person went through as a child might give them an idyllic and nostalgic view of childhood (Butts, 2010). As they peruse their narrative inheritance, there may be parts of their family story that might make them feel uncomfortable, ancestors that have made choices they do not agree with or tales that they find confronting. When relating family history to children they have the choice to adapt their stories by adjusting language and plot, or deleting content and characters (Stone, 1998, 2004). They could choose to protect children from what they considered the unsavoury contents and sanitise the story, or they could empower children, and introduce new way of telling the story (Bruner, 2010). I have termed the contrast as the “ignorance is bliss” versus “knowledge is power” approach to adapting stories for children (Vermeulen, 2013, p. 117). This choice could be made unconsciously because of the influences in their background. However, a person could consciously consider the route they want to follow and frame their stories accordingly. Whichever path they

choose, it is important to relate the family stories to their children, in order for them to hear and remember them.

We can learn from Māori knowledge in the way that the family stories are related, and connections to ancestors honoured (Fraser, 2009; Mead, 2012; Smith, 1997). We can respect and honour our ancestors without agreeing with the choices they made - politically, socially or personally. If they had not existed, we would not have existed; their path has led us to where we are. We do not have to carry the burden of guilt for their actions, try to eradicate the parts we do not like or sanitise our history. We can acknowledge their story, accept it as part of our narrative inheritance and move forward to make our own choices (Bruner, 2010).

Family stories not only relate the identity of a family, they can be used to build families identities and foster family culture (Byers, 1997; Bylund, 2003; Fraser, 2012; Langelier & Peterson, 2006; Trees & Kellas, 2009). Many of the participants in my study, for example, hosted and attended braais, where they mixed with other South Africans. The braai was a place where family stories about the history of the family was retold, where Afrikaans was spoken and where South African food was consumed. In addition, if the braai was to celebrate an occasion it would become an event that would be retold in a story at a later time. The identity of the family was in this way both created and cultivated (Barkhuizen, 2013). Family stories also set the standard for family values and behaviour by creating a vision for family members to abide by, until these stories eventually develop into their family identity (Ballard & Ballard, 2011; Bylund, 2003; Huisman, 2014; Langelier, 2002; Meares, 2007)

Family identity is also created by the external forces which influence the family, such as membership of cultural groups, the culture in which the family lives, and the culture to which the family belongs (Barkhuizen & De Klerk, 2006; Hall & Du Gay, 1996; Huisman, 2014; Langellier & Peterson, 2006). The effect of fictive kin in the form South African friends who become pseudo family, also have an impact on family identity (Galvin, 2006).

### **10.1.3. Element Three– Mātauranga Māori**

The third element and front wheel of the Wagon Framework is mātauranga Maori. Mātauranga Maori encompasses Māori behaviours, knowledge, history and customs (Doherty, 2012; Mead, 2012; Smith, 2017). However, the application of mātauranga Māori varies as it is shaped by the environment of individual iwi. Whereas mātauranga Maori encompasses the broad knowledge of Maori, the unique application of this knowledge by individual iwi can be termed mātauranga-iwi, which has its own value in contributing to mātauranga Māori (Doherty, 2012). Doherty (2012, p. 26) convincingly argues that mātauranga-iwi offers a wider and deeper understanding of mātauranga Māori as "[e]ach tribe has their own versions of knowledge that define the application of the values and principles in mātauranga Māori", based on their environmental influences.

I would contend that the South African immigrant could examine mātauranga Māori in a similar way as part of their acculturation process. They can, for example, have a mental awareness and respect of tikanga, whakapapa, pūrākau, and mātauranga Māori, in order to find common ground. They can consider the mohiotanga (physical), maramatanga (spiritual) and ngākauatanga (emotional) aspects of this knowledge to develop a profound understanding from a Māori point of view (Meyer, 2014). This

would avoid viewing Māori, as Doherty (2012, p. 23) succinctly observes “through a lens created for generic knowledge, where assumptions or judgments are made about Māori that deny or overlook Māori concepts and realities”.

The immigrant can then apply this understanding to their own South African heritage experiences, to find and develop new knowledge for South Africans in New Zealand. Smith’s (2017, p. 92) appeal to "re-centre the values of reciprocity, sharing, respecting each other: as families, as tribes, as communities, as lifetime guardians of our environment", is a sentiment that is shared by the participants in my study.

Immigrants can start with an understanding of mātauranga Maori. For example, they could start with exploring the elements of the pōwhiri to understand the people and process (Winitana, 2014). They can deepen their knowledge to understand the spiritual and emotional aspects of the karanga, mihi, oriori, koha, hongi and kai. Once immigrants have settled in a place, they can then explore their environment further for contextual knowledge from local iwi, as the choice of waiata (song) and moeteatea (lament) or the way the mihi is spoken will differ from iwi to iwi (Black, 2012b; Doherty, 2012, Fraser, 2014).

An understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is also an important factor of this element of the Wagon Framework. As Omura (2014, p. 233) noted the “migrants’ post-settlement identity exploration was inseparable from their learning experience about the Treaty”. Migrants can learn the background and principles of the Treaty as a starting point. They can then expand their knowledge by exploring the relevance of the Treaty to their own circumstances, and to standing of Māori customs in New Zealand law. As Fox (2010-2011, p. 229) succinctly notes “it is the oral history of Māori people that is the primary

source of Māori law”. Lincoln (2013, p. p.161 ) echoes this in her assertion that “the Treaty of Waitangi and international human rights covenants to which New Zealand is a party, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, led to the conclusions that the common law should be developed consistently with the Treaty so far as reasonably possible, and that recognising the collective nature of indigenous culture is important”. Knowledge of mātauranga Māori can help immigrants understand the New Zealand laws that govern the society they live in (Fox, 2010-2011, Lincoln, 2013, Omura, 2014).

Figure 9 highlights the placement of mātauranga Māori in the Wagon Framework.

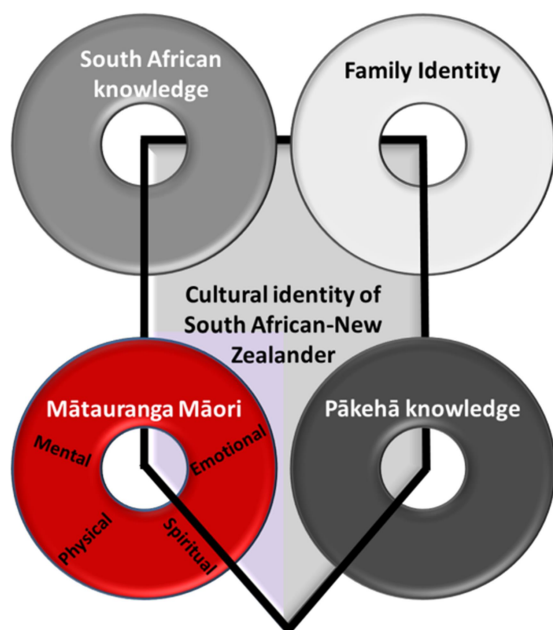


Figure 9 Mātauranga Māori in the Wagon Framework.

Māori have years of experience in maintaining their language, knowledge and culture in a society that is predominantly English (Hale, 2001, King, 2001). There has been a successful regeneration of the use of Te Reo in the past thirty years, as Maori have taken ownership of their own self-development, language retention and cultural revitalisation (Durie, 2011; King, 2001; Smith, 2017). One of the points immigrants

can learn from this struggle is the way that Māori have resisted the hegemony of the majority population ((Mikaere, 2004).

#### 10.1.4. Element Four – Pākehā knowledge

The fourth element and front wheel of the Wagon Framework is Pākehā cultural knowledge. King (2004, see author’s note) defined Pākehā as “an indigenous expression to describe New Zealand people and expressions of culture that are not Māori”. When used in this sense the Wagon Framework can take into account the multicultural aspects of New Zealand and include the other migrant communities in element four. As the majority of New Zealander Europeans associate with Pākehā culture it will have a powerful effect on the cultural identity of the South African-New Zealander.

Figure 10 highlights the placement of New Zealand Pākehā knowledge in the Wagon Framework.

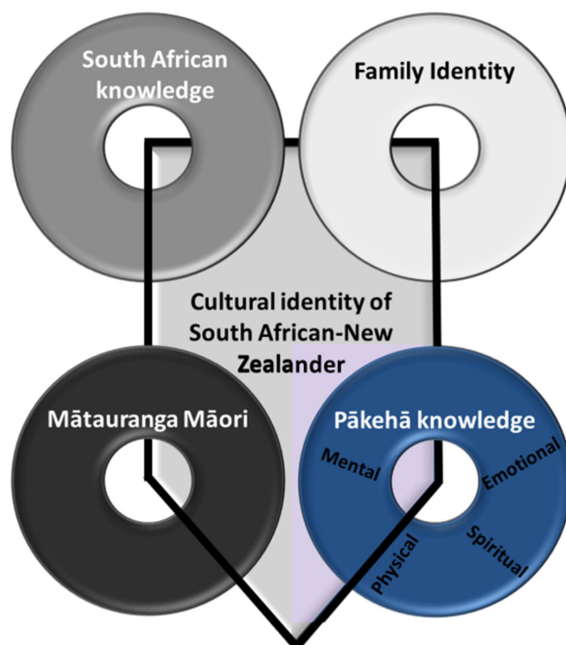


Figure 10 New Zealand Pākehā knowledge in the Wagon Framework



New Zealand society has a reputation for being honest, fair, open and accepting and it is these aspects that draw immigrants to the country (Immigration New Zealand, 2017). However, settling into a new country requires a number of decisions that need to be made, such as where to live, work and play. Connections with New Zealand have to be uncovered and rediscovered. South Africa and New Zealand have, through England, had a long association with each other (L. Thompson, 2001). For example, they fought against each other in the Anglo-Boer wars and on the same side in the First and Second World Wars.

The two countries have a long history as enthusiastic rugby playing nations. Events well remembered by older New Zealanders are the violent protests and debates that featured during the Springbok Rugby tour of New Zealand in 1981, which set friends and family against each other. This has left an association in the minds of some New Zealanders of white South Africans (particularly Afrikaners) as stereotypical racists (Meares, 2007). Many South African immigrants, however, are not aware of the effect of this tour on the psyche of New Zealanders, as it was not reported as extensively in South Africa as in New Zealand, particularly if they are not interested in rugby. Neither my husband or I or any of my participants, for example, were aware of the protests when we first arrived in New Zealand. Knowledge of this event has enabled us to clarify our point of view when dealing with attitudes towards stereotypes.

Education in New Zealand has a profound effect on the children of immigrants (Gordon, 1992; Lee-Morgan, 2016; Olssen, 1997; Smith, 1997). The opportunities for study, exploring sport and recreation and enjoying arts and culture are extensive (Durr, 2011; Winbush & Selby, 2015). The New Zealand concept of “kiwi-ingenuity” strikes a chord with the South African adage of “’n boer maak ’n plan” (translates to a farmer



## 10.2. Combination of elements forming the new cultural identity

Each wheel in the framework presents a container of complex knowledge for the immigrant to consider. It is, however, when these elements form connections, that the integrated cultural identity of the South African-New Zealander is formed. The relationship of the strands of the framework, relative to each other, needs to be considered. While each element plays a part in the development of the integrated identity of the immigrant, the eventual result will vary depending on the application of the knowledge. This varies between individuals and between families.

When immigrants are unprepared for the changes in their new host country they can experience cultural vulnerability, which can lead to problems they did not expect when they left their heritage country (Winbush & Selby, 2015). If they are uncertain of what is expected from them in New Zealand society then varying degrees of culture shock, often manifested by grief and feelings of loss, may set in (Barkhuizen, 2005; Igoa, 1988; McInnes, 2012). Migrants cope with cultural uncertainty in one of three ways: vilifying South Africa, criticising New Zealand or finding a balance between the negatives and positives of the two countries ((Reyneke, 2004). It takes time for immigrants to make physical, mental, spiritual and emotional connections to places and with people (Sonn, 2014; Stuart, 2011). Connections help them establish home by reconciling elements of the heritage country with the new country. The multi-reference points of the Wagon Framework integrate the elements of old and new to assist the immigrant to understand and manage the change, thereby reducing cultural vulnerability by returning the control to the immigrant. As Reyneke (2005, p. 789) notes, the “perception that you are in control of the process is helpful for the process of

adaptation”. The Wagon Framework further supports the previous studies which argued that place is important, the process of making a home takes time, and cultural identity is central to the migrants understanding of their new country (Cain et al., 2015; Small, 2015).

Relating stories of food, sharing recipes or telling stories while preparing food, is important in most cultures. Longhurst et al. (2009, p. 333) assimilates this idea in “food can help people feel at home, it can prompt them to miss home, and it can be a bridge to a new home”. Parasecoli (2014, p. 425) reaffirms it in his thoughtful statement, “Food is not only central to the emergence of a shared identity that is framed by the host community as ‘ethnic’; it is also paramount to the formation of the migrants’ opinions on their own history”. In the Wagon Framework, the immigrants past knowledge of food will be rooted in South Africa and could relate to the wide variety of food available, cooking styles, family recipes and food preparation. Food will affect their family stories as reminiscences around collecting food, cooking meals and preparing dishes will be told. These two elements evoke memories which may make them miss home. However, this may be alleviated when immigrants acquire knowledge of similar foods in New Zealand, or discover that Māori value hospitality in much the same way they themselves would or have the opportunity to share their heritage food.

Some South Africans build a braai when they have settled into a new home, and standing around the braai fire, cooking in a familiar way and swapping stories, enables them to connect with their South African heritage and their family stories (Barkhuizen, 2013). A new place in New Zealand is built as an extension of the old memories. A different type of wood and a different flavour of meat may be used, and the language spoken around the fire may change to accommodate new friendships, as the participants

in my study noted. The whole experience is the same – and yet different – demonstrating the development of the new South African-New Zealander cultural identity.

Many immigrants experience fear of the unknown (Reyneke, 2004). As the knowledge wheels of Māori and Pākehā in the Wagon Framework are negotiated, the unknown becomes known and the fear decreases. Comfort is found when emotional and spiritual connections are made with the new environment.

Once the different elements are understood it is important to bring balance into the framework. Negotiating the “paradox of between-ness”, alluded to by Kobayashi and Preston (2014, p. 240) in reference to immigrants caught between two cultures, means finding a balance between clinging to tradition and denying tradition – between clasping past lives and welcoming new lives. We want to find a way to help our children reconcile the cultural behaviours of their parents and those of their New Zealand-friends’ parents, in a way that enables them to balance their roots with the branches of their new country. Finding equilibrium between the past and future and between the old and the new, aids in the development of an integrated cultural identity for the South African-New Zealander. This, in turn, assists their acculturation, and they are able to help their children, either born or raised in New Zealand, to negotiate the path of integration.

I would suggest that integration and multiculturalism occurs when the wheels on the framework are running smoothly and in balance. Many of the participants in my study spent most of their time with other South Africans from their own community and not with either Māori or Pākehā. The wheels on their wagon of cultural identity would have

very large back wheels and very small front wheels, and the type of wagon would tend toward separation as an acculturation strategy. If the immigrants chose assimilation into Pākehā cultures as their acculturation strategy they may have a large back wheel for family identity and a small back wheel for South African identity, a `large front wheel for Pākehā identity and a small or large wheel for Māori knowledge – depending on their choice. In both these instances, the participants were satisfied with their lives. I am not suggesting that all immigrants must abide by a hyphenated cultural identity – the Wagon Framework allows them to reflect on what they would like their cultural identity to be in an integrated society, and, thereby, make informed choices for themselves and their second generation immigrant children.

In order to successfully parley these issues the equilibrium of physical, mental, emotional and spiritual aspects of South African knowledge, family history, mātauranga Maori and Pākehā knowledge is required. This can be done through the medium of narrative (Cain et al., 2015; Reyneke, 2004; Small, 2015), Reciprocity is a key element in indigenous research (Berryman, SooHoo, & Nevin, 2013; Chilisa, 2012), I wanted to be able to give back to my participants. by offering them a practical example of how their stories could be used, to explore the way their cultural identity has been affected by their move to New Zealand. The Wagon Framework can be used as a practical approach to learning for families who want to develop a narrative inheritance as part of their cultural identity. To these two ends, an application of the framework is offered in Appendix 6.

### 10.3. Conclusion

The Wagon Framework is a visual representation of the elements that form the cultural identity of the South African-New Zealander, and enables the immigrant to reflect on their changing cultural identity. I suggest understanding immigrant identity means understanding the environment (present and past), people and knowledge and, when this is achieved connection to *tūrangawaewae* is successful. Doherty (2012, p. 31) asserts that “*Tūrangawaewae* is achieved when a person is able to define their identity by linking themselves to the wide people of the tribe, their environment and the tribal knowledge base”. If we equate the “wider people of the tribe” to New Zealanders and the “tribal knowledge base” to that of South Africans, then we could extrapolate that the statement defines the cultural identity of the South African-New Zealander. The Wagon Framework shows how South African-New Zealanders are able to define and radiate their identity by linking themselves to Māori, Pākehā, South Africa and their own family identity in a new environment and thereby achieve *tūrangawaewae*. Successful integration occurs when *tūrangawaewae* is established. The South African-New Zealander is not a homogenous person as the content and interaction of the four elements will be different for each person. The Wagon Framework enables the South African immigrant to consider what their individual hyphenated identity would be.

The Wagon Framework encompasses reciprocity, involvement, meaningful relationships and ownership. It requires migrants to be honesty about themselves, their family identity and their South African cultural roots. It needs a willing disposition to acquire new knowledge and new paths. It enables them to learn from their forefathers and prepare their narrative legacy for their descendants. It requires them to reflect on their journey. The Wagon Framework can be used as a heuristic for immigrants to

come to terms with their cultural identity as South African-New Zealanders. It can be used as a learning tool to manage the knowledge that the immigrant receives from the four elements. In addition, it can be a teaching tool for immigrants to convey their culture to their children and grandchildren.



## 11. Epilogue

Chapter Eleven offers final conclusions and reflections on the research project. The section on final conclusions summarises the trends, highlights the contributions to new knowledge, discusses the limitation of this study and offers possibilities for future research. The section on final reflections outlines my deliberations of this research study and my hopes and aspirations for the future.

### 11.1. Final conclusions

The field of immigration, storytelling and cultural identity is wide. From the outset my focus has been on the narrative inheritance as a definition of family identity in a new culture. To facilitate this study I have primarily explored three aspects: the family stories of South African immigrants; the values and traits they consider typical of their families that are reflected in their stories; and the connections they make to the cultures of New Zealand.

From my analysis four trends have emerged. The first is family stories help immigrants' acculturation by grounding them in their cultural identity, reminding them of their successes, encouraging them to persevere through difficulties, giving them goals to strive for, enriching their lives and developing resilience. The second is family stories develop family legacies that forms part of the narrative inheritance passed down to future generations. In order to understand this inherited identity immigrants need to be connected to their culture, be prepared to share these stories and create occasions to tell the stories. The third is the immigrant has to negotiate the cultural distinctions between the Māori and Pākehā to find connections with each. The fourth is Te Tiriti o Waitangi

is relevant to all New Zealanders including immigrants, and its relevance to the maintenance of the cultural identity of Māori and other ethnic minority groups needs to be highlighted and explained to immigrants.

I argue three points. The first is the need to find a way for immigrants to integrate into New Zealand's bicultural society, while at the same time honouring their roots and personal family identity. The second is that integrated cultural identities need to accommodate four areas: individual family's cultural identity, mātauranga Māori, Pākehā knowledge and knowledge of African and European whakapapa. The third is the enhanced and integrated cultural identity could help immigrants to settle into New Zealand society. I conceived the Wagon Framework for Cultural Identity to demonstrate the development of an integrated cultural identity for South African-New Zealanders. The Wagon Framework can be used as a teaching and learning tool for immigrants to explore their own integrated cultural identity to find their tūrangawaewae in New Zealand. It provides a motivation to acquire new knowledge with planned activities.

#### **11.1.1. Contribution to new knowledge**

The purpose of this study was to obtain a deeper understanding of the role of narrative inheritance in the settlement process of immigrants. This project has contributed toward the small body of literature of the cultural identity of South African immigrants in New Zealand, and the role of mātauranga Māori and Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the settlement process of migrants.

The study has augmented our knowledge of the necessity for immigrants to form deeper understanding of mātauranga Māori above the superficial tourist appropriation of culture. It has highlighted the need for education on Te Tiriti o Waitangi to enable migrants to understand the relevancy of the principles to their settlement. The study has further emphasized the role and importance of the family's narrative inheritance in the adaptation process.

The Wagon Framework was introduced in this study to define and explore the elements that comprise the cultural identity of a South African-New Zealander. The Wagon Framework enables South African-New Zealanders to reflect on their identity by linking themselves to Māori, Pākehā, South Africa and their own family identity in a new environment and thereby achieve tūrangawaewae. Successful integration occurs when tūrangawaewae is established. The South African-New Zealander is not a homogenous person as the content and interaction of the four elements will be different for each person.

#### **11.1.2. Limitations and Future research**

The limitations of my research are outlined and I offer suggestions for future research.

My research study was limited to South African immigrants. Settlers from other countries with a different cultural heritage will have different interactions and connections with New Zealand Pākehā and Māori. In addition, the participants of my study came from one ethnicity; the experiences of South Africans from other ethnicities may be different. My participants were all young (under thirty one years of age) when they moved to New Zealand. They were not as set in their ways, and more adaptable and accepting of changing cultural norms that they faced in New Zealand. An older

demographic of participants may have produced different experiences. In addition, the study cannot be generalised as the sample was small. However, the responses of the participants covered the spectrum of acculturation and can act as a starting point for further research.

Immigration policymakers in New Zealand should consider ways that immigrants can form more meaningful connections with Māori. The government should consider policies and action that can be put in place to facilitate a better understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in terms of relevance to immigrants. A stronger focus should be placed on understanding the culture of the immigrant before arriving in New Zealand in order to aid their settlement in New Zealand, and there are opportunities for further research in this area.

In Appendix 6, I apply the Wagon Framework as tool to explore the cultural identity of the South African-New Zealanders with a particular focus on their family stories. The framework could similarly be applied to other aspects of an immigrant's cultural identity, such as education, medicine and employment. Further research into the Wagon Framework in practice could be a useful tool to help immigrants reflect on their integration into society. The Wagon Framework can also be amended to realign with other cultures, by replacing South African knowledge with 'birth country' knowledge, thereby enabling it to be used in a wider context.

A new area that is affecting family stories and identity is the technology that has brought about DNA testing for heritage. This technology outlines the journeys your ancestors made across the world. An unexpected discovery can challenge concepts of family identity and lead to a search for new family stories. Research into the effect of

DNA testing on the perceptions of an individual's cultural identity and family stories, and the potential impact as connections are lost and found, could prove useful in establishing the effect of culture on migration.

## 11.2. Final reflections

“When a man is at peace with his gods and ancestors, his harvest will be good or bad according to the strength of his arm” (Achebe, 1958, p. 13).

From the outset, I have identified that this research will be approached from an emic perspective. As I am actively involved in the research – from the point of view of being a South African immigrant, as well as conducting the research interviews and discussions – I feel it is important to share my reflections on this research. I do this to reveal any unconscious bias and to share my aspirations for my whānau. These deliberations are based on my own experiences and that of the participants in this study. Every narrative can have a different message based on the perspective of both the storyteller and the listener. My reflections are narrated under the headings of preparation, journey, arrival, obstacles and new home, to honour the experiences of my immigrant ancestors and those of my participants.

### Preparation

The first stage in the journey is preparation. My trekker ancestors would have needed to decide what they would be packing into their ox-wagon on their journey. They would have considered their knowledge of the terrain they had to traverse, the obstacles they might encounter and the possessions they would need when they arrived. In a similar way, the breadth and depth of the preparations they make before their journey to New Zealand will benefit their settlement.

Twenty-three years ago when we were researching New Zealand, the internet was in its infancy – Google and social media had not been invented, data speed was slow and information was not as readily available as it is now. The only books we had in the library on New Zealand were the travel or tourism selection, and outdated history books. Due to the policies of apartheid, South Africa was not a favoured tourism destination for New Zealanders, so we had little opportunity to meet people from Pacifica. It seemed to be a lovely little country with nice people – small enough that we felt we could become part of the community. It appeared to have a similar climate, lifestyle and language with a safe environment, stable economy and good education; it ticked all our boxes.

Although information on New Zealand and contact with New Zealanders was limited, I had scoured the web for information and read as extensively as I could. I had consulted with an friend in New Zealand on the education system. He noted that in New Zealand children start school on their fifth birthday (as opposed to South Africa where they start in the year they turn seven years old) and, therefore, learned to read at an earlier age. Armed with this information, I arranged for my son to attend an accelerated education programme before we left South Africa to prepare him for skipping grades. We spent three weeks in 1998 on a vacation in New Zealand to get an overview of the country and decide where we wanted to settle down. It was a big move so we had to think of where we wanted to live, the type of work we wanted to do, and what we needed to bring with us.

At the time we moved, the immigration policy in New Zealand enabled applicants to obtain permanent residency before they arrive in New Zealand, under certain criteria. My husband and I (similar to Elna and Hanna) benefitted from this policy. We spent

two years submitting the necessary documentation in order to obtain resident status. As we had permanent residency on arrival it was easier to obtain employment; we could apply for any advertised position. The situation was much more difficult for the later participants in my study as they had to obtain a job offer in order to obtain a work visa; many employers were not prepared to employ these types of migrants as it required considerable effort on their part. Another advantage of having permanent residency was that we were allowed to import a container of our household possessions. This helped us to find our bearings in a new country more easily. We found that having our familiar belongings around us when we went home – with their accompanying memories and stories – helped us find our roots in a displaced environment. This emotional security is valuable to the integration process.

At the time we immigrated I supposed that my grandfather and great-grandfather were from Germany and Ireland, respectively. I believed I had a heritage of recent immigration in my family. In addition, knowledge that my ancestors had been tough trekkers who had overcome worse obstacles than I would ever need to confront unconsciously bolstered my resolve. This made me always focussed on how blessed I was to be living in a safe and civilised country such as New Zealand – a feeling shared by all my participants. I could connect to the knowledge that immigration was part of my family's heritage.

Seven years before emigrating from South Africa, I migrated from Johannesburg to Cape Town with my husband, son, mother and father. At the time, my husband and I were not aware how that particular trip of 1 300 kilometres would prepare us – emotionally and spiritually – for the 12 000 kilometre journey we would undertake to New Zealand. In my study, Elna commented upon the difference between the



conservative and formal Transvaal (now Gauteng) and the more liberal and informal Western Cape. I agree with her assessment; the beach culture of Simons Town, a small naval village on the south peninsula of the Cape, was more similar to New Zealand in appearance and environment than the tense atmosphere of Gauteng. We had to find a new circle of friends and become accustomed to a different version of South African culture, and in this way we were unwittingly preparing for change in a new country.

My husband and I love to travel but the South African economic and political situation in the eighties and nineties made this difficult. It was also very expensive, as the exchange rate was unfavourable to the South African Rand. We had travelled overseas to a number of countries and found the opportunity to meet other cultures enriched our lives. In addition, we wanted our son to grow up in a country that had low crime statistics and good education. My husband and I had dabbled with the idea of immigration for many years, but the idea of leaving South Africa was daunting. We had travelled extensively across the country over weekends and holidays, and had many memories attached to places and experiences. We found that the move to Cape Town enabled us to see the potential for settlement further afield. In addition, my sister had immigrated to Texas in the late nineties and was thriving in her new environment and her experience acted as further motivation for us to make a move.

## Journey

The journey to a new place requires a number of decisions to be made along the way. The choices you make are influenced by your values, heritage and experiences. If, as Leo Tolstoy (cited in Cohen, 2016, p. 145) said, “All great literature is one of two

stories; a man goes on a journey or a stranger comes to town”, then all migrants have the potential for great stories, as they are both travellers and strangers.

My family are great storytellers, and family events are often when stories are shared. We are all loud and animated and are comfortable with public speaking, so there is no shortage of people willing to spin a yarn, all underscored with our own brand of family humour. South Africa is a large country and many stories were told on road trips from one place to another. I have used stories of my South African life experiences – and those of my ancestors – to connect with people in my work and social environment.

## Arrival

Similar to Elna’s upbringing, self-belief, a determination to succeed, and a focus on doing tasks to the best of your ability were traits drummed into me by my father. The refrain “anything worthwhile doing is worthwhile doing well” still echoes through the decades and permeates everything I do. The drive and determination that is characteristic of many South Africans, and often led us to be branded as arrogant by our fellow New Zealanders, stood us in good stead in the first weeks after we arrived. After we sold our house in South Africa, we had lived with my parents for two months. We then travelled to New Zealand via Texas, where we spent a month on vacation with my sister. This break enabled us to hit the ground running when we landed in January 2001, as we were eager to settle into a new home and not waste any time in starting our new lives. We were met at Auckland airport at eight o’clock on a Saturday morning by our New Zealand friend. We purchased a mobile telephone and motor car by five o’clock in the afternoon, drove to Tauranga two days later to find a rental home, and we both found employment within three weeks. Without a doubt, having permanent

resident status on our arrival made our transition considerably smoother than that of immigrants coming into the country after 2004, when the immigration policy had changed.

I, much like Hanna and Elna, opted for total immersion as I helped my son adapt to his environment. We never looked back or ever allowed ourselves to doubt our choice to emigrate. We embraced the New Zealand lifestyle, become involved in the community, joined societies and attended community events. We supported my son's sporting activities and made acquaintances. We connected with New Zealanders through all these activities. In particular, we met a kind New Zealand couple – a Māori woman married to an Englishman – that had lived in our place of birth, Benoni, as missionaries for a short period of time. This couple become our pseudo-family and introduced us to different aspects of both New Zealand and Māori culture during the first years of our settlement.

Three weeks after we arrived in New Zealand I started work at a primary school. While I would never sit on a dining or kitchen table – my mother forbade that in our house – the same taboo did not apply to desks. For fourteen years, I have lectured to my students while perched on the corner of my desk. In my first two days at the school, the deputy head pulled me aside to tell me that it was culturally not acceptable to have this practice in New Zealand. I was mortified by my ignorance and resolved to learn as quickly as possible about Māori tikanga; seventeen years later I am still learning. I have experienced and participated in cultural activities, such as pōwhiri and marae visits, and learned the basic of Te Reo at my various places of employment – school, city council, polytechnic and wānanga. The willingness to learn and embrace aspects of the indigenous culture of New Zealand has enriched my store of stories – and my language.

As we were only a small intimate family of three, we had to scale down our family traditions. It does not matter where in the world we are – a family gathering in South Africa, at home in New Zealand, in a hotel room in Australia, or on a cruise ship in the middle of an ocean – we play charades on Christmas Day. We have a Christmas tree – sometimes an elaborate one with lights and baubles, once an avant-garde one created from wine glasses and tinsel, and once a flat one that folded up in our suitcase. Each of these occasions generated their own family tale that enriched our Christmas family stories. It is our family tradition that gives us a feeling of familiarity in a new environment. We have learned that flexibility, and the ability to adjust our family traditions to the circumstances has made us a stronger family that can fit in anywhere. We now have a rich warehouse of chronicles, and I am fortunate that my narrative inheritance is rich, wide and deep.

## Obstacles

My ancestors would have negotiated high mountain passes, uncomfortable wagons, small ships, and wild animals on their migratory journeys. In a similar fashion the modern migrant has to negotiate their own obstacles in their path to settlement. Immigrants have certain beliefs of how they will settle into their new country. The migrations stories of my participants outlined the expectations they had of immigration, and part of the success of their acculturation was the extent to which those expectations were met. Often immigrants underestimate the number of obstacles they will face on the path to settlement. Many South Africans, for example, come to New Zealand with the expectation that their South African work experience and qualifications will enable them to find work quickly. My husband and I had that expectation, and we were

fortunate that our expectations were met. However, we know of families who had unmet expectations and emotions such as fear, anger and frustration set in. Each individual has different expectations based on their own perceptions, abilities, preparations and support systems.

I use stories to overcome obstacles. If I meet someone who articulates to me that South Africans are arrogant, I use stories to illustrate experiences that may have shaped their behaviour. I trust my stories as a teaching tool, and find they offer New Zealanders a different perspective to consider. Using stories in this way requires me to understand my audience in order to tell my story in a way that will strike a note of understanding in my listener, as well as reflecting my point of view. A proficiency in English makes this easier; Elna had a 'secret past' because she did not trust her audience to appreciate her story, and her ability in speaking English made it more difficult for her to convey her message. Hanna noted that her husband was able to tell stories with more expression, animation and conviction in his home language of Afrikaans and was reluctant to tell stories in English because he could not convey the same eloquence. Hagrid alluded to this fluency when he expressed his gratitude for having English as his first language during his time of settling in New Zealand.

### New home

As a family we have sought to increase our knowledge of New Zealand. We travelled extensively across the country – by car, train, aeroplane and ship. We visited the big cities, rural byways and remote spots from the north of the North Island to the south of the South Island. My husband and I both furthered our education to a post-graduate level in New Zealand which enabled us to add economic and educational value as citizens.

As a polyglot, I was pleased to assimilate another language and during the years I have augmented my vocabulary with Te Reo words. My ability with languages served me well as my librarian duties were extended to teaching German, Spanish and ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages). As I had grown up hearing English spoken in many different accents, I was able to assist Indian mothers who visited the school, and were not being understood by the New Zealand receptionist, even though they were speaking English. It enabled me to empathise with the plight of homesick German, Russian, Indian, Tokelauan, South African, Indonesian and Samoan immigrant children who attended my ESOL classes, and help them to settle into their new country. I also realised the power of language to both assuage and heighten homesickness. The sadness of the bright child who had been top of her class in Germany, but could not express herself to her satisfaction in English, highlighted the frustration of children not being able to express themselves fully in their home language. My ESOL classes became not only the place to learn to speak English, but a safe haven for the immigrant children to share their culture. I created opportunities for them to communicate their heritage with the wider school community and invited their parents into the classroom to support them during these cultural sharing times. In doing so, I rediscovered a connection with my own heritage.

After years of fully embracing New Zealand culture, I found that during my assimilation process I was losing a part of myself – the melting pot was not working for me. I also began to experience what Omaru (2015, p. 175) describes as “assimilation fatigue”, which sets in when you feel you can never meet the undefined criteria of being a New Zealander. Sometimes I felt I had two countries and sometimes I felt I had none; I felt like a scatterling of Africa trying to fit into a Pacific culture. I found that

exploring genealogy connected me with my ancestors. Exploring their journeys as immigrants connected me with my roots, and my South African heritage. Finding the origins of my DNA enabled me to connect to the journeys my ancestors has made across the globe, and to re-examine my perceptions of my own cultural identity.

I am not a South African living in New Zealand as my identity has changed over the past seventeen years. I define myself as a South African-New Zealander, because I have been influenced by place to such an extent that my identity has changed. I have gained resilience and an appreciation for diversity from the country of my birth. I have received confidence, humour and strength from my family history. I have learned acceptance, reflection and peace from my new country. Finally, through the tangata whenua of New Zealand, I have rediscovered an appreciation for my own culture and a respect for tipunā (ancestors). These four areas form the wheels of my wagon of cultural identity. Each immigrant will have a different knowledge set gained from the four elements, based on their own perceptions and experiences.

### Future aspirations

As my husband and I are the oldest members of our family in New Zealand, I need to consider my intergenerational responsibilities in ensuring that our family stories and values are carried over to the next generation. As Durie (2011, p. 179) convincingly argues “Intergenerational transfers encompassing cultural values and experiences, including associations with tūrangawaewae, are significant sources of identity and contribute to learning, development, and the realisation of potential”. If I want my descendants to fully realise their potential and have a strong self-identity as South

African-New Zealanders, then I need to look to strategies that I can put in place now to transfer knowledge.

My philosophy for the future of my whānau encompasses making connection with the four areas that I have defined as the wheels of my Wagon Framework: heritage knowledge, family stories, mātauranga Māori and Pākehā knowledge. First, I want my mokopuna (grandchildren, grandnieces and grandnephews) and their children, to appreciate the strength, courage and flaws of their immigrant ancestors and to be proud of their South African heritage. I, therefore, have the responsibility to ensure that the next generation learns about the culture of their forefathers. Durie (2011, p. 179) incorporates this concept as he notes that Maori have the “expectation that whānau will be the primary carriers of culture, whānau knowledge, human values and life skills, and in that sense will themselves exercise an important educational role”. We, as a family, have to take responsibility for imparting cultural knowledge. I, in the absence of an older generation of my family in New Zealand, have to accept leadership responsibility in providing guidance and support in this area.

Second, I wish for my whānau to not only be inspired by their family stories, but to use them to develop into observational leaders. This implies that they need to know their stories and have an opportunity to discuss them. I would like my mokopuna to critically think about the actions of all their ancestors, learn from the mistakes of the past in order not to repeat them and be encouraged by their narrative inheritance. I would hope that they consider the opinions on all sides of an issue before making a judgement and taking a stance. I need to teach my future mokopuna to listen carefully and with unbiased intent before making judgements.



Third, I aspire for my whānau to go beyond the colonising view of New Zealand and create meaningful relationships with the tangata whenua of New Zealand. I would want them to realise the benefits of preserving indigenous cultures and to develop a cultural world view where people are not judged from a Westernized viewpoint. In order for this to happen, I need to ensure that our family stories promote the values of tolerance, understanding and an appreciation for diversity, as well as respecting different knowledge sources.

Fourth, I desire for our whānau to be continuous learners and to grow and contribute to the country they call home. I need to cultivate a family legacy of lifelong learning and the notion that knowledge learning is an endless cycle that makes you realise the more you learn, the more there is to discovered. As Popova (2015 para. 4) noted we should not have “arrogance over the knowledge conquered, ... but humility in the face of what remains to be known and, perhaps above all, what may always remain unknowable”. In completing this thesis, I hope that I can show the value of lifelong learning. It is my aspiration that the ongoing process of observing, absorbing, creating and sharing knowledge as part of maintaining meaningful relationships with family members is realised in my mokopuna.

This project represents an under-discussed field of the effect of a local indigenous culture on the cultural identity and family stories of an immigrant group, particularly when both cultures are a minority. My aspiration for my descendants is for them to establish meaningful connections with both their South African heritage and their New Zealand culture, and that their narrative inheritance will empower them to be aspirational and observational leaders.



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## **APPENDICES**

Appendix 1 – Ethics Approval Letter

Appendix 2 – Information sheet for participants in English and Afrikaans

Appendix 3 – Consent form

Appendix 4 – Interview guide

Appendix 5 – Glossary

Appendix 6 – Application of Wagon Framework to maintain family stories

## Appendix 1 – Ethics Approval



# Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

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EC2016/01/023  
ECR2016/01/023

05/07/2016

Elriza Vermeulen  
Address Line 1  
Address Line 2

Tēna koe,

***Re: Ethics Research Application EC2016.01.023***

At a meeting on 29.06.2016, the Ethics Research Committee of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi considered your application. We are happy to advise that your submission has been approved.

Ethics Research Committee wishes you well in your research and recommend that you to contact your supervisor.

Ngā mihi nui

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'A.P. Nathan Matthews'.

A.P Nathan Matthews  
Chairman  
Ethics Committee  
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi



## Appendix 2 – Information sheet for participants

### English version

#### INFORMATION SHEET - Family Narratives as a definition of Family Identity

##### Researchers Information

The researcher is Elriza Vermeulen, ([2151235@ewananga.ac.nz](mailto:2151235@ewananga.ac.nz), Tel 07-3063342) a doctoral student conducting a research thesis for a PhD in Indigenous Culture, under the supervision of Professor Taiarahia Black ([Taiarahia.Black@wananga.ac.nz](mailto:Taiarahia.Black@wananga.ac.nz)) at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangī, Whakatane, New Zealand.

##### Purpose of Study

The purpose of this proposed study is to explore the relationship between family stories and family identity for South African immigrants and the influence of the Māori culture on these stories and the immigrant identity. A working title for the thesis is:

***Family narratives as a definition of family identity in a new culture: An exploration into the influence of a new indigenous culture on the family stories and identity of South African immigrant families in New Zealand.***

##### Four research questions have been formulated for this research:

1. How do family stories help immigrants to maintain their tūrangawaewae when faced with a new culture and a new country?
2. How are family identities influenced when immigrants experience the values, beliefs and behaviours of Māori?
3. How are new stories developed and *told* for second generation immigrants and their descendants and the role that that mātauranga Māori may play in influencing these stories?
4. The migrant family makes choices of with regard to holding onto their South African family identity and stories or creating a new family identity and narrative in New Zealand. How do these choices help, or hinder, their settlement process?

##### Participant Recruitment

The empirical study will consist of interviews with South African immigrants who arrived in New Zealand in the past twenty years. The participants of the research will be limited to South Africans who have immigrated to New Zealand in the past twenty years, and are now over 18 years of age. It is envisaged that at least six families will be interviewed. Participants will not receive any monetary compensation.

##### Participants' involvement

Each participant will complete a questionnaire before the interviews. The researcher will conduct three interviews with each participant, which will be audio-taped if the participant consents, or otherwise hand transcribed. The first interview serves as an introduction and covers participants' questions and the questionnaire. The second interview will be cover in-

depth questions on the thesis topic. The third interview is to clarify any queries from the second interview. Each interview will be between two and three hours and will be held at a mutually agreed place. After the interviews a transcript will be typed up by the researcher and sent to the participant for final approval.

### **Project Procedures**

Transcripts of interviews, consent forms and questionnaires will be kept on a password-protected laptop. Any hard-copy information and back-up data will be stored in a fire-proof safe at the researcher's home. Data will be archived after five years. A copy of the participant's interview transcript will be sent to each individual for verification. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained by the use of pseudonyms and changing any personal information with relation to name that may identify participants.

### **Participants Statement of Rights**

You have the right to:

- Decline to participate;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study at any time before you give final approval to the transcript
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- To be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.
- Ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

### **Support processes**

The migration process is an emotional one for some people and there is a small possibility that this could possibly lead to emotional distress. The researcher will endeavour to end the interviews on a positive note and provide enough time for individuals to complete their stories. In addition, the researcher will provide participants with the opportunity to withdraw from the interview if it is causing them distress and to change the topic if they don't wish to answer a particular question. Participants will be provided with contact details of health professional if needed.

### **Project Contacts**

If you have any questions about the project, please contact Elriza Vermeulen at [2151235@ewananga.ac.nz](mailto:2151235@ewananga.ac.nz) or (07) 3063342.

### **Ethics Committee Approval Statement**

This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangī Ethics Committee, on 26 June 2016. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Committee administrator at:

Email [Shonelle.lopata@wananga.ac.nz](mailto:Shonelle.lopata@wananga.ac.nz)

Postal address Private Bag 1006, Whakatāne

Physical address Cnr of Domain Rd and Francis St, Whakatāne

## **INLIGTINGBLAD - Familiestories as 'n definisie van gesinidentiteit**

### **Navorser**

Die navorser is Elriza Vermeulen, ( [2151235@ewananga.ac.nz](mailto:2151235@ewananga.ac.nz), Tel 0211400872) 'n student wat navorsing onderneem vir 'n studie ter vervulling van die vereistes vir die graad *PhD in Indigenous Culture*, onder studieleier, Prof Taiarahia Black ( [Taiarahia.Black@wananga.ac.nz](mailto:Taiarahia.Black@wananga.ac.nz) ) aan Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, Whakatane, Nieu-Seeland.

### **Doel van Studie**

Die studie ondersoek die verhouding tussen familiestories en gesinidentiteit vir Suid-Afrikaanse immigrante en die invloed van die Māori-kultuur op die stories en die immigrantidentiteit. Die titel van die studie is:

*Familiestories as 'n definisie van gesinidentiteit in 'n nuwe kultuur: 'n Ondersoek **na die invloed van 'n nuwe inheemse kultuur op die familiestories en identiteit van Suid-Afrikaanse immigrantgesinne in Nieu-Seeland.***

### **Vier navorsingsvrae is uiteengesit vir die studie:**

1. Hoe kan familiestories immigrante help om hulle *tūrangawaewae* (plek van oorsprong) in a nuwe kultuur en nuwe land te behou?
2. Hoe word gesinsidentiteite beïnvloed as immigrante die waardes, gelowe en gedrag van Maori ervaar?
3. Hoe word nuwe stories ontwikkel vir en *verteel* aan tweede generasie immigrante en hulle afstammeling en die rol dat *mātauranga* Maori mag speel om die stories te beïnvloed.
4. Die migrerende gesin maak keuse oor die behou van hulle Suid-Afrikaanse gesinidentiteit en stories en die skepping van 'n nuwe gesinidentiteit en vertelling in Nieu-Seeland. Hoe help of hinder die keuses hul nedersettingsproses?

### **Deelnemers**

Die empiriese studie sal bestaan uit onderhoude met fokusgroepe bestaande uit Suid-Afrikaanse immigrante wat in die afgelope twintig jaar in Nieu-Seeland aangekom het. Die deelnemers van die navorsing sal beperk wees tot Suid-Afrikaners wat in die afgelope twintig jaar in Nieu-Seeland geëmigreer het, en is nou meer as 18 jaar oud. Daar word beoog om met ten minste ses families 'n onderhoud te voer. Deelnemers sal geen geldelike vergoeding ontvang nie .

### **Deelnemers Betrokkenheid**

Elke deelnemer sal voor die onderhoud 'n vraelys voltooi. Die navorser sal drie onderhoud met elke deelnemer voer. Indien die deelnemer saamstem, sal die onderhoude op klankboud opgeneem word. Die eerste onderhoud dien as 'n inleiding en verduidelik die vraelys. Die tweede onderhoud ondersoek die studievrae. Die derde onderhoud is om navrae te

verduidelik van die tweede onderhoud. Elke onderhoud sal vir twee tot drie ure duur en sal by 'n wedersydse ooreengekom plek, plaasvind. Na afloop van die onderhoud sal 'n transkripsie deur die navorser opgetik word end it deursteur na die deelnemer vir finale goedkeuring.

### **Studieriglyne**

Transkripsies van die onderhoude, toestemvorms en vraelyste sal op 'n wagwoordbeskernde rekenaar behou word. Enige afskrifte en weergawes van die inligting sal in 'n kluis in die navorser se huis bewaar word. Inligting sal na vyf jaar argief word. 'n Afskrif van die onderhoud sal na die deelnemer vir goedkeuring gestuur word. Vertroulikheid en anonimiteit sal deur die gebruik van skuilname, en die verandering van enige persoonlike inligting wat deelnemers kan identifiseer, behou word.

### **Verklaring van Deelnemersregte**

U het die reg om:

- Te weier om deel te neem
- Te weier om 'n bepaalde vraag to beantwoord
- Te ontrek van die studie op enige tyd voordat jy die finale goedkeuring aan die transkripsie gee
- Inligting te verskaf met die verstandhouding date jou naam nie gebruik sal word nie, tensy jy toestemming vir die navorser gee
- Toegang tot die opsomming van die studie na dit voltooi is
- Te vrae om die klankband enige tyd gedurende die onderhoud af te skakel

### **Ondersteuning**

Die migrasieproses is 'n emosionele een vir party mense en daar is 'n klein moontlikheid dat dit deelnemers mag omkrap. Die navorser sal poog om die onderhoude op 'n positiewe noot te eindig and genoeg tyd maak vir deelnemers om hul stories te voltooi. Deelnemers kan ook enige tyd van die onderhoud ontrek as dit hulle omkrap of die onderwerp te verander as hulle nie 'n spesifieke vraag wil beantwoord nie. Deelnemers sal , indien nodig, met die skakelbesonderede van 'n gesondheidsprofessioneel geskaf word.

### **Studiekontakte**

Vir meer inligting om die studie, tree asseblief met Elriza Vermeulen by [2151235@ewananga.ac.nz](mailto:2151235@ewananga.ac.nz) of (07) 3063342, in verbinding.

### **Etiekkomitee Goedkeuring Verklaring**

Die studie is deur die *Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee* hersien en goedgekeur op 23 Junie 2016. Indien u enige bekommernisse het oor die navorsinggedrag, skakel asseblief die Etiekkomitee-administrateur:

Epos [Shonelle.lopata@wananga.ac.nz](mailto:Shonelle.lopata@wananga.ac.nz)

Posadres Privaatsak 1006, Whakatāne

Straatadres H/v Domainpad and Francisstraat, Whakatāne

## Appendix 3 – Consent form



Te Whare Wānanga o  
Awanuiārangi  
13 Domain Road, Whakatāne 3120  
Private Bag 1006, Whakatāne 3158  
New Zealand  
Freephone: 0508 92 62 64  
Telephone: +64 7 307 1467

School of Indigenous Graduate Studies  
Rongo-o-Awa  
Domain Rd  
Whakatāne

### Family Narratives as a definition of Family Identity

#### INFORMED CONSENT FORM INGELIGTE TOESTEMMINGSVORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS  
DIE TOESTEMMINGSVORM SAL VIR 'N PERIODE VAN VYF (5) JAAR BEHOU WORD

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

*Ek het die Inligtingsblad gelees en verstaan die besonderhede van die studie. My vrae is tot my bevrediging beantwoord, en ek verstaan dat ek verdere vrae enige tyd mag stel.*

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped and to be transcribed. I wish/do not wish for the audio tapes to be returned to me after five years.

*Ek gee my toestemming/gee nie my toestemming nie dat die onderhoud op klankband opgeneem en tot skrif opgestel mag word. Dit is my begeerte/nie my begeerte nie, dat die klankbande na vyf jaar aan my teruggestuur moet word.*

I agree to participate in this study under conditions set out in the Information Sheet, but I may withdraw my consent at any given time before I give approval to the final transcript.

I will not receive any payment or compensation for participating in this research.

*Ek stem saam om aan hierdie studie, onder voorwaardes soos uiteengesit in die Inligtingsblad, deel te neem – maar ek mag my toestemming op enige gegewe tyd, voordat ek goedkeuring aan die finale transkripsie gee, onttrek.*

*Ek sal geen betaling of vergoeding vir deelname aan hierdie navorsing ontvang nie.*

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Full name – printed: \_\_\_\_\_

### Family Narratives as a definition of Family Identity

#### CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I, Elriza Chimeni Vermeulen, agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Full name – printed: Elriza Chimeni Vermeulen

## Appendix 4 – Interview guide

1. Where did you live before immigrating to New Zealand?
2. How long have you been in New Zealand?
3. Tell me a bit about your family
4. What do you know about your ancestors?
5. Tell me some of the stories you share about your parents, grandparents, ancestors
6. What stories did your parents tell you when you were growing up
7. How do you classify your family identity in New Zealand?
8. How do you display/exhibit your South African culture?
9. How do you define your ethnicity
10. What languages do you speak? Do you experience language loss or linguistic longing?
11. Have you maintained your South African language (not only Afrikaans but also colloquialisms, pronunciations, accent and idioms)?
12. What values do you think are most important in your family? Do you think these are uniquely South African – and how are they different?
13. How has your cultural behaviour changed since moving to New Zealand?
14. When and how do your family tell stories?
15. What family traits define you as a family?
16. If you had one what would your family slogan be?
17. Did your family have a defined and shared goal (hopes and dreams) before immigration? Did this change once you were in New Zealand?
18. What South African foods/style of cooking do you cook/share? Do you make or bake koeksusters, melktert, vetkoek, braai?
19. What contact did various members of the immigrating family have with New Zealanders before and after immigrating?
20. Did you have to adjust your values and behaviours in New Zealand?
21. What physical place in South Africa do you most connect to? Why? What stories do you tell that are associated with that place.
22. How do you maintain your “place of standing” or “place to call home” when you are in geographically separate place?
23. Do you desire to maintain your South African heritage and culture? Would you like to pass it down to your children and grandchildren?
24. Do your family stories help you in New Zealand – how?
25. Family stories – family identity – family legacy. What is your family legacy?
26. What new family stories have you developed since being in New Zealand?

27. How do you celebrate birthdays and holidays like Christmas and New Year? How is the different from when you lived in South Africa?
28. Are there any South African holidays you continue to celebrate?
29. What type of connection have you developed with New Zealand – how did this occur?
30. Which of the following Māori words do you understand (provide a list of 100 Māori words)
31. When pronouncing New Zealand place names, do you use the Māori or Pākehā pronunciation?
32. What opportunities have you had to experience Māori Culture?
33. What do you understand about the Treaty of Waitangi? Do you think it is relevant to South African immigrants?
34. What do you do on Waitangi Day?
35. Have you experienced Māori food?
36. What Māori myths and legends, stories or waita do you know? How did you learn these? (If you don't know any, would you like to learn?)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

**MĀORI WORDS (English meaning in brackets)**

		Recognise	Understand	Use
1	āe (yes)			
2	aha (what?)			
3	Aotearoa (New Zealand, long white cloud)			
4	āpōpō (tomorrow)			
5	aroha (love)			
6	awa (river)			
7	haka (generic term for Māori dance. )			
8	Haere mai! ( Welcome! Enter!)			
9	hāngi (traditional feast prepared in earth oven)			
10	hapu (clan, sub-tribe; to be born )			
11	harakeke (flax)			
12	hīkoi (walk)			
13	hui (gathering, meeting)			
14	hōhā (annoyed, a nuisance)			
15	iti (small)			
16	iwi (tribe)			
17	kai (food)			
18	kaiaako (teacher)			
19	kaimoana (seafood)			
20	kaiwhenua (food from the land)			
21	ka pai (good, well done)			
22	kapahaka (Māori cultural performance)			
23	karakia (prayer)			
24	karanga (ceremonial calling to welcome visitors onto the marae)			
25	kaumatua (elder)			
26	kauri (large native conifer)			
27	kaupapa (topic, theme)			
28	kea (native parrot)			
29	kia ora (general informal greeting)			
30	Kiwi (native flightless bird)			
31	koha (gift, present (usually money, can be food or precious items, given by guest to hosts) )			
32	Kōhanga Reo (language nest, Māori immersion pre-school (0 to 4 years))			
33	kōrero (to talk, speak)			
34	koro (term of address for elderly man)			
35	kūmara (sweet potato)			
36	mahi (work or activity)			
37	makō (shark)			
38	mana (prestige, reputation)			
39	manaakitanga (respect for hosts or kindness to guests, to entertain, to look after)			
40	manga (stream)			
41	manuhiri (guests, visitors)			
42	mātauranga (knowledge, education)			
43	marae (the area for formal discourse in front of a meeting house, or applied to a whole marae complex)			
44	matua (parent, father)			
45	maunga (mountain)			
46	mauri (life force)			



47	<b>Meri Kirihimete</b> (Merry Christmas)			
48	<b>moa</b> (extinct large flightless bird)			
49	<b>moana</b> (sea)			
50	<b>mokopuna</b> (grandchild)			
51	<b>mōrena</b> (Good morning)			
52	<b>motu</b> (island)			
53	<b>nau mai</b> (welcome, enter)			
54	<b>nui</b> (large, many, big)			
55	<b>pā</b> (hill fort)			
56	<b>Pākehā</b> (New Zealander of non-Māori descent, usually European)			
57	<b>pounamu</b> (greenstone, jade)			
58	<b>pukapuka</b> (book)			
59	<b>puke</b> (hill)			
60	<b>puku</b> (belly, stomach)			
61	<b>rangatira</b> (person of chiefly rank, boss )			
62	<b>rēwena</b> (bread made from potato yeast)			
63	<b>ringa</b> (hand)			
64	<b>roto</b> (lake, inside)			
65	<b>taihoa</b> (to delay, to wait, to hold off to allow maturation of plans etc. )			
66	<b>tama</b> (son, young man, youth)			
67	<b>tamāhine</b> (daughter)			
68	<b>tamariki</b> (children)			
69	<b>tāne</b> (man, husband, men, husbands)			
70	<b>Tangata</b> (whenua original people belonging to a place),			
71	<b>tangi</b> (funeral)			
72	<b>taonga</b> (treasured possessions or cultural items, anything precious)			
73	<b>tapu</b> (sacred, not to be touched, to be avoided because sacred, taboo)			
74	<b>tēnā koe</b> (formal greeting to one person)			
75	<b>tēnā kōrua</b> (formal greeting to two people)			
76	<b>tēnā koutou</b> (formal greeting to many people)			
77	<b>tēnā tātou katoa</b> (formal inclusive greeting to everybody present, including oneself)			
78	<b>te reo Māori</b> (the Māori Language)			
79	<b>tikanga</b> (custom, agreed way of doing things)			
80	<b>tīpuna/ tupuna</b> (ancestor )			
81	<b>tuatara</b> (New Zealand reptiles)			
82	<b>tūrangawaewae</b> (a place to stand, a place to belong to)			
83	<b>turituri</b> (Hush, quietly)			
84	<b>waewae</b> (foot/feet, leg/legs)			
85	<b>wahine</b> (woman, wife)			
86	<b>wai</b> (water)			
87	<b>waiata</b> (song or chant)			
88	<b>waka</b> (canoe, canoe group)			
89	<b>whaikōrero</b> (the art and practise of speech-making )			
90	<b>whakapapa</b> (genealogy, to recite genealogy )			
91	<b>wananga</b> (place of learning)			
92	<b>whare</b> (house)			
93	<b>wharekura</b> (school)			
94	<b>wharenui</b> (meeting house)			
95	<b>wharepaku</b> (toilet)			
96	<b>whānau</b> (extended family)			
97	<b>whanga</b> (harbour, bay)			

98	<b>whāngai</b> (fostered or adopted child)			
99	<b>whanaunga</b> (kin, relatives)			
100	<b>whenua</b> (land, homeland)			
		0	0	0

#### Sources

<http://www.Māorilanguage.net/Māori-words-phrases/50-Māori-words-every-new-zealander-know/>

<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/Māori-language-week/100-Māori-words>

## Appendix 5 - Glossary

**Acculturation** – The changes that occur in cultural practices of migrants when they come into contact with one or more cultures

**Assimilation** – A strategy of acculturation which involves high contact with the new culture and a low desire to maintain cultural heritage

**Braai** – A form of cooking on a grill using wood or charcoal

**Biltong** – Dried salted strips of meat, usually beef or venison

**Bushveld** – area in the northern and eastern part of South African characterised by veld and bushy and often thorny vegetation

**Culture shock** – The feeling of anxiety that migrants experience when they move into an unfamiliar cultural environment

**Droëwors** – dried boerewors

**Exclusion** – The result if society forces marginalisation upon migrants

**Family Identity** – Family traits, vision and goals that characterises a group of people who are closely related by birth, marriage or adoption, and makes them distinctive

**Family narratives** – The stories that a family relates about the exploits of the family and their ancestors

**Geselligheid** – a convivial social gathering

**Immigrant** – A newcomer who has moved to a new country to live

**Integration** – A strategy of acculturation which involves high contact with the new culture and a high desire to maintain cultural heritage

**Kiwi** – slang for a New Zealander

**Koeksuster** – a plaited donut drenched in sweet syrup

**Kuier** – visit with a spirit of conviviality

**Lekkerlewe** – the good life

**Lus** – craving

**Malvapoeding** – sweet pudding of Cape Malay origin

**Marginalisation** – A strategy of acculturation which involves low contact with the new culture and a low ability to maintain cultural heritage

**Melkkos** – milk and cinnamon dish made with either pasta or flour dumpling

**Melktert** – a type of custard pie

**Melting pot** – The result if assimilation is society's chosen method toward migrant acculturation

**Migrants** – People who move from one location to another within a country or between countries, and can include seasonal workers, immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and resettled slaves and convicts (historically)

**Mishoop** – dung heap

**Mokopuna** – Māori word for grandchildren

**Multi-culturalism** – The result if integration is society’s chosen method toward migrant acculturation

**Ouma** – grandmother

**Oupa** – grandfather

**Pākehā** – Māori language term for non-Māori or for New Zealanders of European descent

**Pūrākau** – Māori legends and traditional narratives

**Segregation** – The result if separation is society’s chosen method toward migrant acculturation

**Separation** – A strategy of acculturation which involves low contact with the new culture and a high desire to maintain cultural heritage

**Tangata whenua** – people of the land, indigenous people of New Zealand, Māori

**Tīpuna** – ancestors

**Trekboer** – itinerant stock farmer

**Trekgees** – restless spirit of adventure

**Tūrangawaewae** – Literally tūranga (standing place), waewae (feet), it is often translated as ‘a place to stand’. Tūrangawaewae are places where we feel especially empowered and connected.

**Vetkoek** – fried bread roll similar to rēwena bread

**Whānau** – family

**Ystervarkies** – vanilla cake rolled in chocolate syrup and coconut (similar to a lamington)

## Appendix 6 – Application of Wagon Framework to maintain family stories

“I wish I had realized that family history is a perishable commodity. It disappears with time, as memories fade, and as loved ones pass on ... the most important aspect of family history is preserving a record of the present for the future” (G. Black, 2014 para. 1).

Appendix 6 demonstrates a practical application of the *Wagon Framework for South African-New Zealander Cultural Identity*. It is used as a teaching and learning tool for families who want to develop a narrative inheritance as part of their cultural identity.

My study has shown that family stories aid the settlement process of immigrants by helping them to maintain the roots of their cultural identity as well as making new connections. The Wagon Framework can be used to guide South African immigrants in New Zealand into discovering, maintaining, and developing their family stories from a mental, physical, spiritual and emotional point of view, and incorporating knowledge from their past and new knowledge from New Zealand.

I wanted to be able to give back to my participants by offering them a practical example of how the stories they shared with me could be used to explore the way their cultural identity has been affected by their move to New Zealand. Figure 12 provides a visual representation of the Wagon Framework with the aim of developing family stories of South African-New Zealanders.

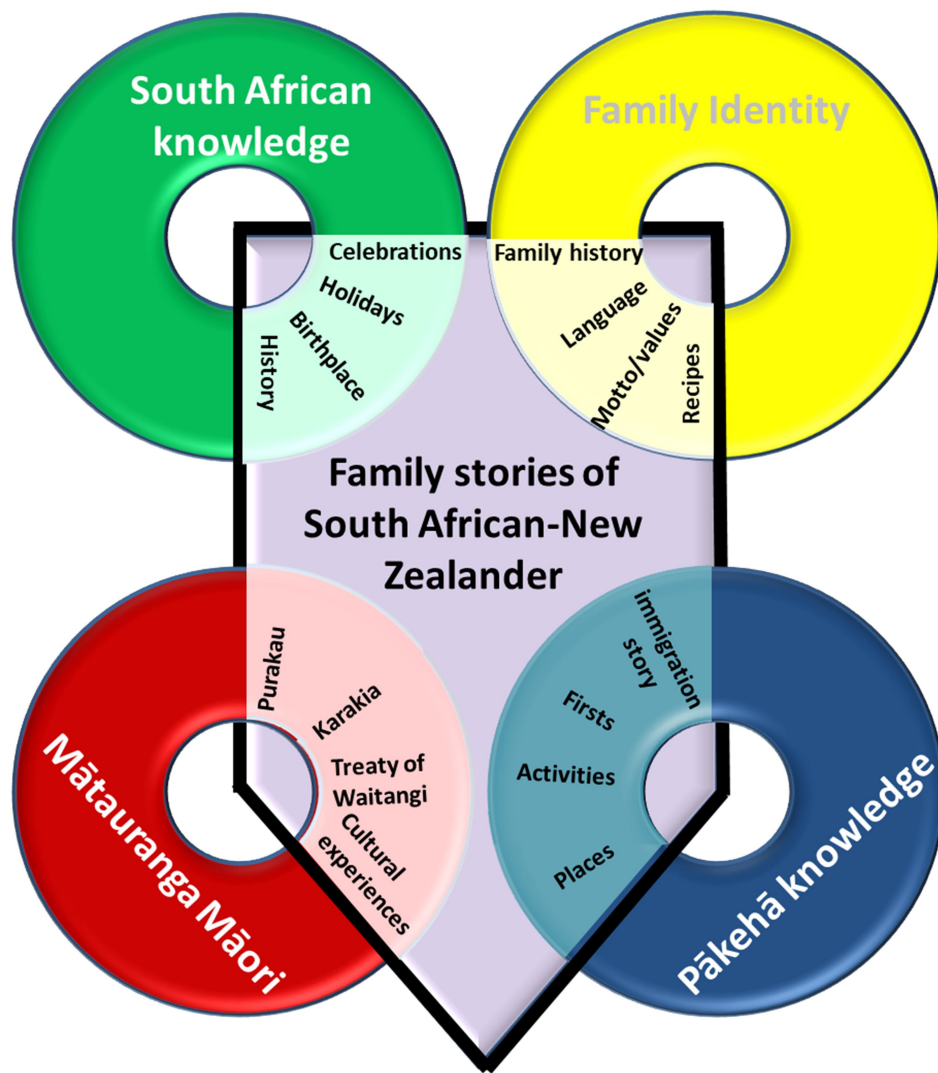



Figure 12 Application of Wagon Framework for stories of South African-New Zealander.



## *The Template*

This template serves as an example for using the Wagon Framework as a prompt for exploring family stories relating to cultural identity, and, for the purpose of this example, is not meant to be all-encompassing. In this spirit, I have selected four topics for each element – there are countless others that could be used to explore the cultural identity in more depth.

### South African knowledge

	<p>The purpose of this section of the template is to recall family memories of experiences in South Africa, before you begin your journey to your new country. The story prompts should be repeated for each member of the emigrating family.</p>
<p><b>Celebrations</b></p> <p>Describe the South African celebrations that are important to your family.</p> <p>Relate your stories from celebrations such as Christmas and birthdays.</p> <p>What memories do you have of celebrations?</p> <p>What was your favourite part about the way your family experienced celebrations?</p>	
<p><b>Holidays</b></p> <p>Where did your family have vacations?</p> <p>What special memories do you have of these places?</p> <p>What happened on your favourite family holiday?</p> <p>How did you feel when you left home for – or arrived at – at a place where you had a vacation?</p>	
<p><b>Birthplace</b></p> <p>What connections do you have with your birthplace?</p>	

What river and mountain is close to your birthplace?

What is your favourite childhood memory?

What is your earliest memory?

### **History**

When did your family first arrive in South Africa?

What events in South African history are important to your family?

What are you best and worst memories of living in South Africa?

Why are you emigrating? (This question will be put to you by many New Zealanders)

### **Resources**

#### **South African Anthem**

The first verse in isiXhosa and isiZulu, the second verse in Sesotho, the third verse is in Afrikaans and the fourth verse is in English. The English translation of the first three verses is on the right.

Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika  
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo,  
Yizwa imithandazo yethu,  
Nkosi sikelela, thina lusapho lwayo

God Bless Africa  
Raise high her glory  
Hear our Prayers  
God bless us, we her children

Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso.  
O fedise dintwa le matshwenyeho,  
O se boloke, O se boloke setjhaba sa heso,  
Setjhaba sa South Afrika – South Afrika.

God protect our nation  
End all wars and tribulations  
Protect us, protect our nation  
Our nation South Africa – South Africa

Uit die blou van onse hemel,  
Uit die diepte van ons see,  
Oor ons ewige gebergtes,  
Waar die kranse antwoord gee,

Ring out from our blue heavens  
From the depth of our seas)  
Over our everlasting mountains  
Where the echoing crags resound

Sounds the call to come together,  
And united we shall stand,  
Let us live and strive for freedom,  
In South Africa our land.

(Brand South Africa, 2016)

#### **Motto on coat of arms**

The South African motto on the national Coat of Arms is a Khoisan phrase “!ke e: /xarra //ke”, which translates as diverse people unite. It replaced the previous Latin motto of *Ex unitate viras*, (unity is strength) in 2000. The symbols !, /, and // are click sounds of the Khoisan language of the /Xam people.

According to Brand South Africa (2016, para. 3) the phrase is pronounced as follows:

!: Place the tip of the tongue against the gum root in the middle of the mouth and click hard. This is similar to the q sound in Zulu, for example in iqanda (egg).

k: Not pronounced and followed by a short ê sound, as in nest.

e: A very long ê which is pronounced with a dip in the voice, like a sheep bleating; similar to ê-hê-hê-hê

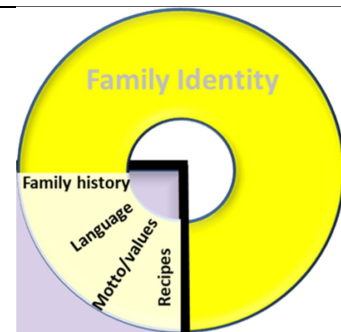
/: Place the tongue softly against the root of the teeth in the middle front of the mouth. Then click with the middle of the tongue. The sound is similar to the c sound in Zulu, for example in ucingo (telephone).

x: Similar to a prolonged gggg sound in Afrikaans, leading to gggarra.

//: Another click, this time with the side of the tongue against the palate, similar to the x sound in the word Xhosa. The k is not pronounced.

## Family History

The section allows you to explore your family identity as you prepare for your journey to New Zealand.



### Motto and values

What is your family motto (or a saying that is used frequently in your family)

What story does your family relate that shows the values that are important to your family?

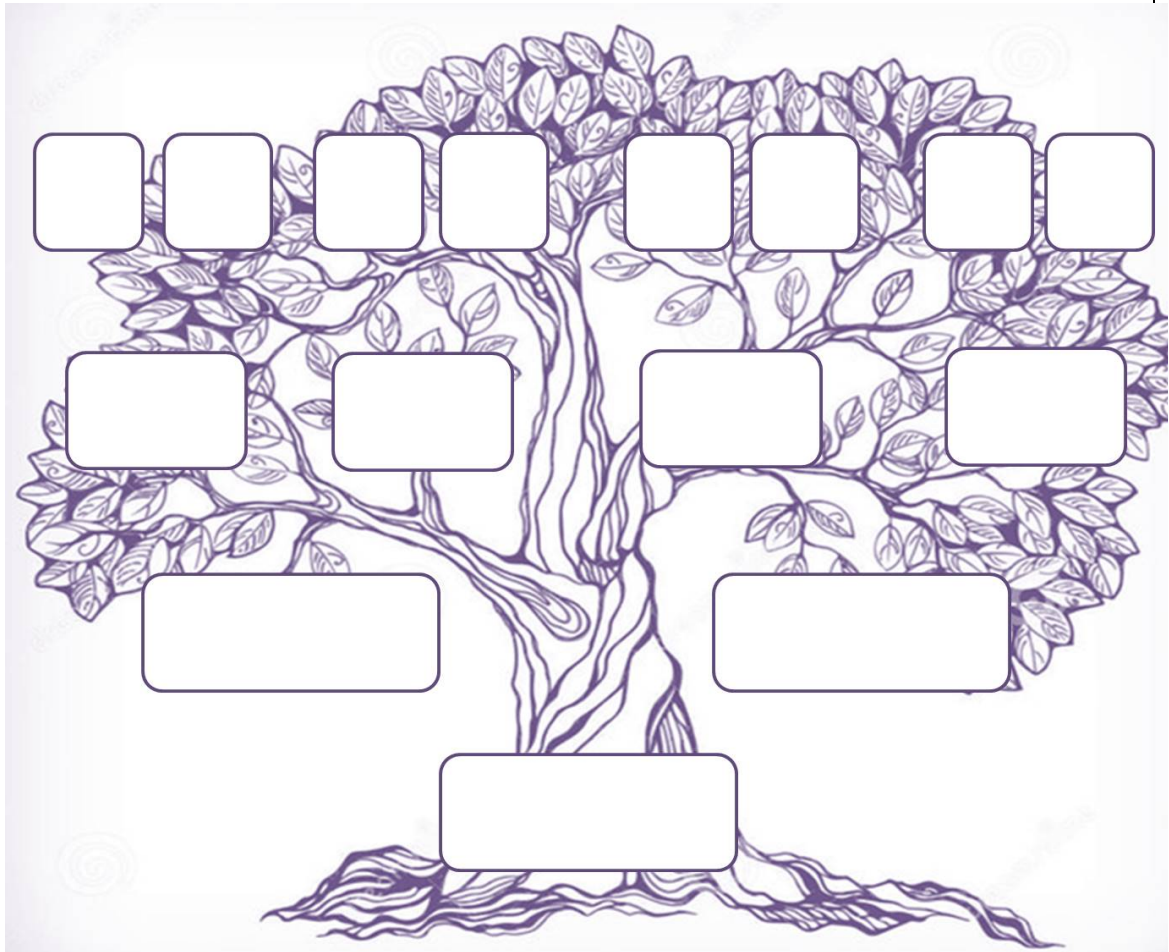
What stories did you parents or grandparents tell you when you were growing up?

What story could you tell New Zealanders that would reflect what you feel about yourself as an immigrant?

### Family history

Complete your family tree, with the names and a photograph of your parents, grandparents and great-grandparents (if this information is not available use names of people who are significant in your life)

Share a memory about each person in the tree.



What stories did your parents tell you when you were growing up?

What do you know about your ancestors?

### Language policy

Do you want to retain Afrikaans – or one of the other languages of South Africa?

How do you plan to maintain this language?

What language will be spoken in the home environment?

How do you feel about living in a multilingual environment?

### **Food**

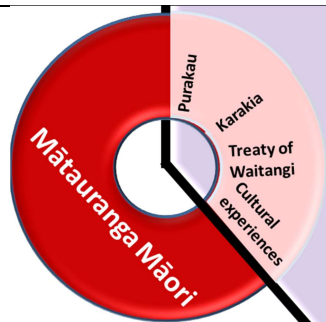
Gather up a list of favourite family recipes for South African classics, for example, melktert, malva pudding, koeksusters, bobotie, chakalaka, braai, biltong, potjiekos

What are your favourite memories in connection with food?

What are your memories of family dinners?

What is your favourite braai story?

### **Mātauranga Māori**



This section explores the stories the family has developed in relation to the indigenous culture.

### **Pūrākau**

What is your family's favourite pūrākau?

How is the way your family relates to pūrākau different to the way that Māori relate to their stories?

What pūrākau are relevant to the place you live in New Zealand?

What is your memory of the first time you heard a Māori story?

### **Karakia**

Where were you doing when you heard karakia for the first time?

How did the karakia make you feel?

What karakia do you use?

What is your memory of learning karakia?

### **Te Tiriti o Waitangi**

Where did you first learn about Te Tiriti o Waitangi?

What does Te Tiriti o Waitangi mean to you as an immigrant family, and how does this viewpoint differ from its meaning to Māori?

How do you discuss issues relating to Te Tiriti o Waitangi in your family

What does your family do on Waitangi Day/

### **Cultural experiences**

What is your memory of your first Māori cultural experience?

How do enjoy Māori food such as hāngi and rēwena bread?

What Māori tikanga have you adopted in your family?

How is Te Reo used in your family?

### **New Zealand knowledge**

This section outlines family stories of connections made in New Zealand.



### **Immigration Story**

Relate your immigration story – why did you come to New Zealand and what happened when you arrived

What are your family's goals and aspirations for living in New Zealand?

What were the easiest and the hardest part of your settlement process?

### **Firsts**

How did you feel on your first day at work, schools or shops?

What do you remember about moving into a house in New Zealand for the first time?

When was the first time you felt at home in New Zealand?

What emotions did you feel when you stepped off the aeroplane (or boat) for the first time?

### **Experiences**

What experiences in New Zealand hold a special place in your memory?

How has living on an island affected your family stories?

What are your memories of people you have met through the activities you have done?

What affect have these new activities and experiences had on the way you view life?

### **Places**

What places hold physical or spiritual connections for your family?

What stories relating to place have you developed since moving to New Zealand?

Where have your travels in New Zealand taken you?

What are your memories of the places you experienced kiwiana or kiwi icons?

