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‘I Know My Roots Are Indian But My Thinking Is Kiwi’: Hybridization, Identity and ‘Indians’ in New Zealand.

Abstract

This article explores identity amongst the South Asian diaspora in New Zealand. Using data from qualitative interviews with South Asian New Zealanders it argues that analyses of hybridity need to consider different varieties of hybridisation in relation to ethnicity, religion, language and national identity. South Asian identities may be hybridized with ‘Kiwi’ identity variously represented as values, idealised citizenship and a White Western lifestyle. The data analysed in the paper demonstrate the independence and salience of religious as distinct from ethnic identities in the South Asian diaspora in New Zealand. Hybridization results in part from a conscious strategy on the part of parents who encourage children to identify with their ethnic origins, language, nation and religion.

Key words: diaspora, hybridity, identity, Indian, New Zealand

Introduction

With recent waves of migration from Asia, New Zealand has become another example of ethnic super-diversity superseding the long recognised bicultural division between the indigenous Maori and Pakeha (White European settlers) rooted in the Treaty of Waitangi (Spoonley, 2015). With this arises a need to consider the development of new diasporas in New Zealand and the hybridised ethnic identities that have emerged. In this paper I examine the development of South Asian, or as they are often termed ‘Indian’ identities in New Zealand. Previous work on South Asians in New Zealand has focused

upon longer established Indian communities of Gujarati descent (e.g. Fuchs et. al., 2010; Gilbertson, 2010; 2012; Williams, 2010), whilst the research reported here includes more recent migrants from other regions of India, Fijian Indians and from Pakistan. Furthermore, previous studies have considered these issues in New Zealand through the rather narrow lens of ethnic categories such as 'Indian-ness' as opposed to 'white New Zealander' (Gilbertson, 2010: 125-9) or 'ethnic diasporic identities' (Fuchs, et. al., 2010: 105), whilst the present work highlights the significance of language and religion as sources of identity. In addition previous studies of Indians in New Zealand have conceptualised identity as a question of personal choice where: 'a person must choose what constitutes their culture' (Williams, 2010: 122) to '…construct a personalised ethnic identity and lifestyle…' (Gilbertson, 2010: 135) albeit within constraints (Gilbertson, 2012: 167). Rather than choosing, what is suggested by the evidence below is a variety of ways of synthesising hybrid identities, and the significance of parental strategies of enabling or encouraging this process. In recent years there has been a reaction against the positive views of diaspora and hybridity of earlier decades in favour of recognising the continuance and intensification of racism (e.g. Kalra et. al., 2005). However, this should not mean that we should dispense with the concepts and analytical agendas of diaspora and hybridity, especially as diasporas continue to grow and develop in their complexity in new locations, and that the issues addressed by analyses of diaspora and hybridisation continue to be relevant.

Recent studies of South Asian diasporic identities have tended to focus on particular sub-groups, e.g. young Muslims (e.g. Franceschelli, and O'Brien, 2015) who are often pre-defined as problematic for wider society. Such approaches overlook the role of parents in pursuing hybridisation strategies in relation to raising their children.

Previous studies have also tended to focus rather narrowly on ethnicity, overlooking the role of language (Harris, 2006). In contrast, what is apparent from the evidence presented below is that for at least some South Asians in New Zealand the reproduction of community languages is central to the reproduction of a hybridised identity, and that parents have a central role in this.

The process of diaspora formation entails complex and multiple forms of identity politics which play across a number of sites within the public sphere of a nation (Cohen, 1997) as well as the private spheres of family and community (Hall, 2002). In this context identities are in an apparent constant state of flux (Brah, 1996: 195), or, as Bhabha describes, them: '…continually, contingently, 'opening out', remaking the boundaries…' (1994: 219). Respondents' reflections on identity take on new meanings and deeper levels of significance in relation not only to their family, but also how they come to know themselves through experiences of solidarity, context and contradictions as they move across different social fields (Hall, 2002; Harris, 2006).

Following a critical discussion of the theoretical debates and the methodology of the study, the empirical section of the paper firstly examines how South Asians in New Zealand negotiate their sense of ethnic identity in relation to Kiwi identity. The significance of language is then examined as communities seek to reproduce language as a source of distinct but hybridised identity in a majority English speaking nation. The paper then goes on to examine hybridisation as a parenting strategy, where the parents actively attempt to reproduce their ethnic identities in their children in the context of a sometimes hostile wider New Zealand society. Religious identity is then considered noting its increasing salience for some South Asian diaspora communities relative to

ethnic identity recognising that this was often the preferred strategy of hybridisation by many interviewees.

Hybridization and the Construction of Identity

Ethnicity carries with it notions of language, culture, religion, nationality, and a shared heritage, but such fixed notions of ethnicity have been widely criticized (Fenton, 1999; Fuchs et. al., 2010; Gilbertson, 2010; Modood, 2005; Song, 2003). Ethnicity has been recognized as a political symbol that does not just exclude, but also serves as a mode of identity, a symbol of belonging and political mobilization (Werbner, 1990; Song, 2003). Furthermore, the notion of ethnicity as heritage or tradition has come under considerable criticism (Fenton, 1999; Hall, 1992; Modood, 2005; Song, 2003), yet the idea of ethnicity as heritage or traditional culture still carries considerable sway amongst ordinary people when they speak of their own or others' ethnicity (Fuchs et. al., 2010, Gilbertson, 2010; Williams, 2010).

Hybridity has come to mean a variety of things, but deals directly with identities and cultural exchange examined as a process (Bolatagici, 2004). Hybridity represents not just co-existence but emergent and ever changing new forms of identity (Harris, 2006). Migration and the formation of diaspora has led to identity having a fluid quality (Bhabha, 1994; Brah, 1996), in which identities are constantly reproduced anew (Hall, 1992). However, the rise in the significance of religious identities problematizes the focus of those analyses of hybridization on ethnic, 'racialized' and national identities.

Hall's (1992) analysis of identity lays down a framework to examine how individuals construct their identities. New Zealand contains similar issues but within a different cultural and political context from that within which Hall developed his ideas.

In particular the long-standing Pakeha/Maori conflict is significant in New Zealand (Spoonley, 2015). In addition, Ballard's (1994) concept of 'cultural navigation' explains how for those with hybridized identities code switching and cultural navigation becomes part of everyday social action for them. His account of cultural navigation suggests that although boundaries between both the hybridized arenas are crossed this does not lead to an erosion of those boundaries. His analysis also shows how these excluded groups can be persuaded that their cultural heritage is inferior, leaving them disempowered and subordinated in relation to the dominant culture. Gilroy (2000) also criticizes some accounts of hybridization suggesting there is no such thing as an equal valorization of different cultures that can be simply mixed, but the process of mixing reflects differential relations of power.

The legacies of colonialism and migration have disrupted definitions of identity and belonging; the essentialist view of identity as being something fixed related solely to biological sources has little place in postcolonial discourse. More simplistic analyses of hybridity present immigrants arriving in a new social context and selecting aspects of that to mix with their 'home' culture' to construct a hybrid culture (Kalra et. al., 2005: 71). However, this distinct binary between the ethnic culture and wider dominant culture positions the individual in conflict between the two (Williams, 2010), yet this perspective has been widely criticised both generally (Kalra, et. al., 2005) and in the context of Indians in New Zealand (Fuchs et. al., 2010; Gilbertson, 2010; 2012).

New Zealand South Asian identities are shaped by beliefs about heritage and the diasporic conditions in which they are living. It is therefore a moment of cultural exchange where elements of two cultures fuse to create new hybridized New Zealand South Asian spaces. This hybridization can also be described as a form of resistance

(Mercer, 1994) where dominant ideas of assimilation, which seem prevalent in New Zealand (Bell, 2009; 2010; Lyons et. al., 2011) are challenged. Instead, hybridized identities encourage people to retain a sense of their culture, tradition and history, whilst maintaining a Kiwi identity.

Alongside the emergence of analyses of hybridization emerged a recognition of the increasing salience of religious identities in South Asian diasporas (Ahmed and Donnon, 1994; Samad, 1992; Werbner, 2000). The separation of an idealized notion of Islam and Sikhism from lived religion, perceived to be corrupted through conflation with traditional customs (Modood et. al., 1984) reflects a wider process where religion has risen in importance as a distinct aspect of identity in South Asian Diasporas (Ahmed and Donnon, 1994; Samad, 1992; Werbner, 2000). There has also been a tendency more generally for ethnicity and religion to become dissociated from one another amongst many different diaspora communities globally (Kivisto, 2014). For example, Islam as a global religion offers an important mode of being for young Pakistanis in Britain within the context of their identities as British citizens. (Ahmed and Donnon, 1994). Undergoing education within the diaspora enables them to access modernist interpretations of the religions which are written in English (Samad, 1992). Such tendencies are to be found more widely amongst diaspora communities; referred to by Yang and Ebaugh (2001) as the return to theological foundations. These developments in religious identity pose a challenge to conceptions of hybridity framed solely in terms of ethnicity or racialized identities such those generally (Bhabha, 1994; Brah 1996; Hall, 1992; Modood et. al., 1994) or specifically in relation to South Asians in New Zealand (Fuchs et. al., 2010; Gilbertson, 2010; 2012). Whilst these may mention

religion in passing or as a component of ethnicity, the resurgence of religion as a source of identity in the South Asian diasporas to some extent post-dates their fieldwork.

Within the debates around hybridity, some work captures the role of language and in which people within the diaspora negotiate to make sense of their own identity within different cultural practices (Harris, 2006; Modood et. al., 1994; Samad, 1999). The significance of language for these debates in relation to this study is further underscored by the notion of New Zealand identity as English speaking, and as something into which migrants are expected to assimilate, despite the official recognition of Te Reo Maori (Lyons et. al., 2011). Differences between the older and younger generation emerge in the role of language, this becomes a marker of difference largely due to the process of schooling which result in different worldviews as well as a different mode of thinking of the younger generation. While the older generation speak in Urdu, Gujarati, Punjabi or other South Asian languages, the younger generation consume and produce media primarily in the English language (Harris, 2006; Samad, 1996). The younger generation use South Asian languages but they are considerably less proficient in these languages than in English. This linguistic gap is reinforced by the fact that the majority of those born or raised in New Zealand can read and write primarily and in some cases only in English and consequently within the diaspora, linguistic identification with the mother tongue is weakened.

Within debates about hybridization much is often made of this being a process 'from below' through the cultural creativity of younger generations within the diaspora, with their parents typically presented as attempting to preserve an imaginary ethnic culture from their 'homeland' (Harris, 2006). However, Modood (2005: 22) has suggested that ethnicity might in part be conceptualized as a strategy responding to a

group's circumstances which might result in a different kind of group consciousness. Here I wish to extend this idea to make sense of how many of my interviewees spoke of themselves as parents or their own parents pursuing a strategy 'hybridization' in relation to their children. They self-consciously seek to maintain a sense of continued ethnic identity for their children, but one that is explicitly merged with a Kiwi identity. This I believe provides new insights in the processes by which hybridized identities more generally develop and emerge.

The South Asian Diaspora in New Zealand

New Zealand is a settler society where the traditional ethnic divide was between Pakeha (the White European settlers from the UK in the nineteenth century) and the indigenous Maori (Spoonley, 2015), and thus differs markedly from other societies where the paradigm of hybridized identities first developed. New Zealand also differs from other settler societies such as Canada and Australia by having developed a bicultural political system (Spoonley, 2015). For the South Asian communities in New Zealand there a further complexity as the first wave of diaspora formation occurred in the 1930s, whilst a new one is currently in the process of formation since the 1980s (Leckie, 2007). The earlier waves of migration were both directly to New Zealand and via Fiji through a system of indentured labour (Leckie, 2007). In the Census of 2013 over 143,000 described their ethnic group as Indian, over 10,000 as Fijian Indian, over 9000 as Sri Lankan and over 3,000 as Pakistani, out of a total population of over 4.2 million. The recent wave of migrants is illustrated by over 67,000 giving their birthplace as India, over 2,800 Pakistan, and over 9,000 Sri Lanka. India is currently the fourth largest source of migrants to New Zealand, and the numbers identifying as 'Indian'

increased by 58 per cent between 2001 and 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The South Asian diaspora is thus diverse in its national origins, times of arrival in New Zealand as well as religious affiliation.

The neo-liberal migration policy of successive New Zealand governments since the 1980s (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014; Kurian and Munshi, 2006; Simon-Kumar, 2015), has led to a rapid growth in the migration of educated labour from South Asian countries. After 1999, the new Labour government introduced the selection of skilled migrants. The effect on migration from India was immediately apparent with arrivals increasing from 1869 in 1999 to 6860 in 2002 (http://www.stats.govt.nz/infoshare/). In 2003, the introduction of applications to an Expression of Interest pool from which applicants were selected to apply for permanent residence enabled the targeting of prospective residents with scarce skills (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014, 2014). In 2009 India was the top ranked source country for EOIs for the first time (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014). In 2009 the recent waves of migrants from South Asia are predominantly in managerial, professional and technical employment (53 per cent) (calculated from Migrants' Current Occupation by Wave and Occupation in Previous Country) (http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE4). However, they are amongst lowest paid migrants and they live predominantly in rented accommodation as over 51 per cent of them do so compared to just over 32 per cent of those from all nationalities (http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/Migration/LISNZ_HOTPWave3-2009.aspx).

The significance of religious identity is illustrated by the growth of Hinduism in New Zealand, it now being the second-largest religion after Christianity. Hindus first settled in New Zealand in the 19th century with the arrival of Indian soldiers from the Punjab and Gujarat (Leckie, 2007). Similarly the first Sikhs arrived in the 1880s (Singh, 2010) and according to 2013 census, there are now over 19,000 living in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The Muslim community in New Zealand is more complex as it is comprised of numerous linguistic and national sub-groups. According to Statistics New Zealand in the 2013 census over 45,000 declared themselves as Muslims.

Methodology

The research examined the dynamics of identity for New Zealand South Asians. The analysis draws upon 64 in-depth semi structured interviews with people of Indian and Pakistani ethnicity that were conducted in Auckland in 2009 – 10 and from Hindu (46 per cent), Muslim (14 per cent) and Sikh (40 per cent) religions. Auckland is known for having a multicultural population, and immigration into New Zealand is concentrated in Auckland for labour market reasons and due to other members of their community residing there (Friesen et. al., 2005; Johnston et. al., 2008). The interviews addressed many of the issues that had arisen in discussions around these particular communities: migration; growing up in New Zealand; issues around identity; practices of religion; impact of war on terror; gender; the role of citizenship; living in New Zealand; marriage; leadership of south Asian communities; country of origin; experience of racial discrimination; and employment.

Men (52 per cent of interviewees) and women (48 per cent) aged 16-35 (45 per cent) and 36 and over (55 per cent) were identified as target groups for interviewing. The younger group was defined to ensure the sample included those who were likely to be New Zealand born, whilst the older group would more likely to have migrated as adults and subsequently taken up New Zealand citizenship. Thus we might expect different perspectives from the different age groups. Existing community and professional networks in Auckland facilitated sample recruitment, and community groups and community centres were approached, starting with the Indian Cultural Centre for both young and older people, religious institutions and council organizations. The sample was deliberately generated from a diverse range of organizations, as this would ensure it was not dominated by specific groups of individuals, often with similar experiences, who were not normally in the public eye or who were not necessarily politically active members of the community. Further contacts were also made informally by the use of snowballing techniques.

Interviews were carried out by the British Pakistani Muslim author, and then transcribed and if necessary translated. The interviewer's identity proved to be an advantage in interviews locating her both within but also outside the communities; hence interviewees explained in detail many issues specific to the New Zealand context. The transcripts were anonymised with the use of pseudonyms, and analysed thematically. Quotations were selected on the basis of their relevance for the overall analytical argument.

Hybridization in Action – Ethnic Identities

What emerges in the analysis in this section are several varieties of hybridization with respect to both New Zealand or Kiwi identity and what ethnicity means. People imagine themselves to be hybridizing with Kiwi values, idealized notions of Kiwi citizenship (Simon-Kumar, 2015) or a Kiwi version of a 'Western' life-style. All of these renditions of Kiwi identity are infused with whiteness that is to varying degrees unacknowledged, and which ignores the indigenous Maori population. Ethnicity is frequently presented in the interviews as a 'heritage' to be preserved in an alien environment through the strategy of hybridization. This strategy is pursued in a variety of ways including the private performance of ethnicity in terms of food, cultural practices and language alongside the public affirmation of varieties of Kiwi identity. Thus, the myths of cultural integration and ethnicity as an enduring tradition and unchanging heritage persist at the level of popular discourse and identity claims.

The dominant governmental and popular perspective is that being a Kiwi or New Zealander was necessarily a white identity of British origin (Kukutai and Didham, 2013; McKinnon, 1996). However, with the increasing levels of migration from the Pacific Islands and more recently Asia this has been called into question (Kulutai and Didham, 2013). White New Zealander identity is thus normative in the society despite having usurped the indigenous Maori (Spoonley, 2015), and it is this 'imagined' white English speaking dominant community that 'possesses' the nation into which other migrants are expected to fit (Bell, 2009; 2010; Lyons et. al., 2011).

The interviewees expressed their identification with New Zealand by the ways in which they articulated their ethnic and religious culture within what they believed was the broader New Zealand culture. There were similar sentiments expressed between those who were New Zealand born and those who had migrated to New Zealand below

the age of five. Both expressed strong identity claims as Kiwis. According to Surrinder Singh (under 35) who migrated under the age of five from India to New Zealand, being a 'Kiwi' is a feeling that entails an affirmation of what he believes to be New Zealand values. For him being Indian and Kiwi expresses and essential cultural compatibility:

> I call myself a Kiwi, a Kiwi who feels like a New Zealander, Somebody who supports New Zealand values, and traits...anyone looks at my face they will think I'm just a brown face from Indian heritage it's when I open my mouth when people realise I'm from new Zealand.

It is notable that he uses 'racialized' references here – referring to himself as brown – implying that an 'authentic' New Zealander would be racialized as White similar to the findings of Gilbertson (2010: 129). Surrinder also uses the popular reference to ethnicity as 'roots' suggestive of ethnicity as an unchanging heritage. In a similar way Rajwinder Kaur (aged under 35) whose father migrated to New Zealand and brought her from India when she was aged three, spoke of her 'Indian roots'. However, she sees her Indian 'roots' as subordinate to her Kiwi identity, which one might describe as her 'spontaneous' identity:

> I don't really think of myself as Indian, I think of myself as Kiwi... I am mostly tend to think of myself as a Kiwi. I know my roots are Indian but my thinking is Kiwi and my upbringing is Kiwi.

Here we see again the 'heritage' conceptualization of ethnicity, but within the framework of 'being Kiwi' in the sense of interacting with other New Zealanders. Whilst those respondents who were born or brought up in New Zealand had a particular attachment to being Kiwi, ethnicity was seen as important part of identity. Rather than

choosing between them as suggested by some (Gilbertson, 2010; Williams, 2010). According to Zafar Ali (aged under 35) who is a New Zealand born Pakistani, this was again imagined largely in terms of a 'heritage' of distinctive cultural values, but also in terms of friendship networks and regular travel to Pakistan;

> I would identify myself as both Kiwi and Pakistani, I am Pakistani due to my parents' heritage. Cultural values that I have and my parents who come from Pakistan, a lot of family friends are from Pakistan, I travel to Pakistan.

They celebrated their ethnic, cultural and religious differences. For these respondents ethnicity was something performed, reproduced and maintained in the private space of the home in contrast to their narratives of and apparently 'ethnicity-free' public sphere of work and interaction with others. According to Anjali Patel (aged under 35) who is Fiji Indian Hindu who migrated to New Zealand at the age of 1, her knowledge of 'Kiwi culture' is important to her, and she sees no conflict between being a Kiwi and being Indian highlighting the idea of hybridity as a synthesis (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1992).

> I am Kiwi, I love New Zealand, I love living here and I like the life style here and I grew up her and I know the culture and I get on with people here all these different people, so it's definitely good. My Hindu and Indian identity go together so I would say both are important.

People make sense of their identities in relation to cultural practices and knowledge but in the essence of constant movement and adjustment within society. Interviewees also spoke of how they 'navigated' (Ballard, 1994) between what they perceived as two cultures, with different rules requiring them to be different people who

behaved in different ways according to the context. Surrinder Singh (under 35) for example used the metaphor of being an 'international manager' to express this:

> We are international managers, we manage our lives the moment we walk out of that door we are completely different people, everybody knows the rules, you live in two completely different worlds most of the time and we have learnt to adapt and make the best of both worlds…

For my respondents they were able to accommodate the universalism of citizenship claims with the particularism of their ethnic identities. They talked about their navigation between what they presented as two cultures; according to Tej Kaur born in New Zealand (aged under 35), she learnt this skill of actively assimilating from her parents.

> My parents knew that in order to survive they had to mix; mum spoke English and learnt how to drive. They got on with people here. They assimilated as much as they learnt from the goray (whites) the goray learnt from us.

However, such 'assimilation' was combined with becoming cultural navigators, as she describes how they can 'fit in' in both New Zealand and India. For Tej growing up in an environment such as this made it easier for her to navigate between the different cultures: 'Anyone of my family and anyone who else who has grown up in New Zealand can go to India and fit into that culture and we fit into this culture as well.'

Contrary to some rather generalized and abstract discussions of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994; Gilroy, 2000; Hall, 1992; Kalra et. al., 2005) this evidence shows how there are varieties of hybridization with what are perceived to be New Zealand values, idealized notions of citizenship and a Westernized New Zealand lifestyle. Whilst they may overlap empirically, they remain analytically distinct. This contrasts with previous

studies of South Asians in New Zealand, principally Gujaratis, which emphasised conflict between new Zealand and Indian identity (Williams, 2010) or having to choose between them (Fuchs, 2010; Gilbertson, 2010). Although previous studies in New Zealand (Gilbertson, 2010; 2012) have highlighted the agency of younger people in the process of hybridization, my interviews revealed the significance of parental strategies as well as the following section demonstrates.

Parental strategies of hybridization

The relationship between ethnicity and Kiwi identity was most self-evidently addressed when the respondents talked about their children or their parents. Kiran Uptain (under 35) is an Indian born New Zealander, she is Hindu and her parents migrated to New Zealand when she was five. She identified differences between her siblings and her children to her own sense of identity. Whilst her memory of India is central to her identity, she asserts that it is different for her children:

> If you asked my children they would say they were New Zealanders but with me it's more complicated, because I was born in India I still have a feeling for India. I feel Indian … I am a New Zealander Indian.

She notes the differences between herself and her brother who was born in New Zealand; 'My brother does not have much feeling for India as he was born in NZ.' People are thus acutely aware of how birthplace and memory produce cultural differentiation and innovative identities. Kiran goes onto discuss the upbringing she has given her children, which has attempted to consciously reproduce what they perceive to be Indian 'culture and heritage'. She has consciously developed a hybridising parental strategy that attempts to preserve her own culture in a culturally different environment:

‘Our children have grown up as Kiwi children; in the home we have focused on Indian heritage and culture, we have brought up our children so they have the best of both worlds’.

Tej was born in New Zealand and talks about her children’s concept of identity, and her own hybridizing parental strategy in a similar way. Again, the theme of ‘born Kiwi, but brought up Indian’ is prominent. Also significant is the fact that ethnicity is something reproduced and performed, through parenting, in the ‘private sphere’ of the home, rather than in public:

> They would say they were Kiwi because they were born here but they have been brought up as Indian. My kids have learnt a great appreciation of being Indian and they’ve been able to compare where as we had nothing to compare with.

Some of the comments aired by the interviewees depict similar generational differences between parents who had come to New Zealand from their original countries and their New Zealand-born children. The interview data illustrates the cultural gaps between a generation of parents who see their children as Indian on one hand and teach them culturally about their ethnicity, but at the same time, their children see themselves as New Zealanders, and therefore assume that they have access to education and jobs. Hybridized identities therefore emphasize the idea of a ‘third space’ (Bhabha, 1994) which is inclusive of their experiences - they are not one or the other between which they are forced to choose (Gilbertson, 2012: Williams, 2010) but a fusion of both. According to Kiran Uptain (aged under 35) this is a direct of result of parenting strategies:

> Our children who are growing up now had more advantages than we ever had. It's so much different, my generation of parents our children have grown up as Kiwis, we have brought them up to have the best of both worlds, and they have been exposed to religion and culture.

For individuals like Kiran Uptain brought up in New Zealand but marrying transnationally has had a huge impact on their children growing up with more of an Indian awareness. Kiran married Aakesh Dev (aged under 35) from India who was reluctant to migrate initially but feels very differently being in New Zealand, as they are able to practice their Indian ethnicity at home. Aakesh argued that he feels more 'Indian' than his wife:

> I am a Kiwi, but I am a pure Indian! I am Indian every part of me is Indian, we live in the Indian way of life, we eat Indian food, we think Indian way, we watch Indian programmes and we listen to Indian music that what makes us Indian. I have a balance between both and have the best of both worlds so we are balanced.

This has created a different dynamic in the upbringing of the children as one parent is from India has meant their home life having more Indian culture and has meant the children practiced their Indian culture far more. This was a typical reaction for those who had migrated from India. For parents this was important; Diya Patel (aged under 35) a Hindu migrated from Fiji when she was just under ten and has one son and talked about the importance of her Indian culture at home in relation to how she has raised her children. In this instance this extends beyond the 'private sphere' to taking advantage of voluntary community language schools: 'I do everything Indian. We chose to hold onto our Indian values, and we have chosen to call ourselves Indian and we take our children

to Gujarati school and we observe all of the festivals of the India and the Hindu culture and we eat Indian food and do things Indian.' Religious identities and practices are intimately intertwined with ethnic minority language use (Harris, 2006:133-6).

In order to build on their efforts to maintain Indian culture within the home, there are also initiatives from the parents to send their children to language classes which also entail a cultural education (Gilbertson, 2010: 124). Rajwinder (under 35) sends her children to a Punjabi class 'Culture is very important to us, we know our culture but our kids don't, it's important that we teach them so our kids don't feel out of place'. Even for those children who went found this beneficial, according to Anjali Patel (aged under 35) who was brought to New Zealand from Fiji by her parents at the age of 1: 'I went to the Shimma mission where we learn about Hinduism and defining what defines a Hindu etc. and I have learnt all of that and it made me all proud of who I am and it give me confidence to go out and do things'. Language learning and language use were, as others have suggested (Harris: 2006: 133-6) inter-twined.

Parents who were often recent migrants seemed more likely seek to 'preserve' and reproduce the myth of an ethnic purity through ensuring that their children understand and identify with their parents' ethnic origins and religion and the use of the their parents' language. Although the younger generation experience language loss, parents encourage their children their parents' language within the home environment as found elsewhere (Harris, 2006). The linguistic result of this situation is a 'hybrid language' the switching between the languages or what Ballard (1994) calls 'navigating'. The second and subsequent generations within communities show a fluency in switching between the indigenous tongue of their parents and that of the adopted 'English' within New Zealand. The degree of switching and mixing is highly

differentiated. Words from the indigenous language are transplanted within everyday narratives, however, this becomes the norm if the listener is someone who understands the words, within an environment of say an English speaking audience, and the individual would usually stick to pure English as opposed to mixing. According to Aynadas Sagar:

> Even in conversation I find myself switching the languages so at school I will speak English and if we are at home and we have guests it is in Gujarat we speak.

Furthermore, young people use South Asian languages as symbols of ethnic solidarity (Harris, 2006: 101-14; Khan, 1982 quoted in Samad, 1996). The home environment is central to this maintenance of the perceived traditions of South Asian culture. The pressure to talk in the mother tongue within the home was reinforced by this generation as they spoke of their parents ensuring that they maintained this culture within the home. According to Tej Kaur (aged under 35), who talks about growing up in New Zealand and learning Punjabi: 'We maintained our vocabulary within the home, we spoke to our parents in Punjabi within the home, and we were brought up in an Indian way'.

Whilst these findings with respect to language use reinforce those of previous work (e.g. Harris, 2006), what is distinctive about this research is the way in which it has highlighted the role of parental agency and strategy as distinct from that of young people which has the focus of previous work (e.g. Harris, 2006). A key finding here is how parents have self-consciously encouraged their children to be linguistic and cultural navigators (Ballard, 1994).

Religion and Identity

Debates concerning the relationship between ethnicity and religion have highlighted how the religious identities of diaspora groups in the West are increasingly displacing ethnicity (Jacobson, 1997; Samad, 1996), yet at the same time religion and ethnicity are becoming dissociated from one another (Breton, 2012). These arguments share the perspective that religious and ethnic identities are radically distinct from one another, with religion identities laying claim to universalism (Breton, 2012: 113; Kivisto, 2014: 79; Yang and Ebaugh, 2001) but ethnicity being particularistic. Furthermore, these developments are seen as inter-generational, and facilitated by the political and cultural circumstances of the diasporic context (Breton, 2012; Samad, 1996). In this section, the relationship between religious identity and Kiwi identity is the focus of the analysis.

According to those I interviewed Hinduism is taught in Gujarati and Sikh children are sent to Punjabi classes so they can read religious texts. Here language in intimately connected with the reproduction of religious faith and practices rather than ethnic identity. Complementing this development is the greater emphasis on religion rather than ethnicity as a source of identity among members of the younger generation, which is contrary to previous studies of South Asian diaspora communities in New Zealand which highlighted the predominance of ethnicity (Fuchs et. al., 2010; Gilbertson, 2012; Williams, 2010), and possibly reflects important social changes since the fieldwork for those studies. Religion was at the core of several people's lives. According to Ranjit Kaur (under 35): 'I would call myself a Kiwi Sikh – I was born here and I respect the land and New Zealand and what it has given me, and Sikh is my personal identity and the image I give to people when I walk in the street and as a

person that's what the world sees and that's the most important to myself'. This public religious identity contrasts with the findings of for instance Gilbertson (2010) whose respondents all felt they had an ethnic or racialized public identity. Religion was also revealed to be an aspect of identity when dealing with officialdom. For example according to Tej Kaur (aged under 35) a Sikh, 'Whenever I fill in application, I always go to other, I always put down 'New Zealand Born Indian Sikh'. Religion has thus become important as a marker for self-identification in relation to the state and employers. What is interesting in these interviewees' reflections on their religious identity is its universalism transcending the particularism of their Kiwi identity. From their perspective people of different nationalities and ethnicities could share the same religion.

Within the context of New Zealand the attachment to Islam is also growing for those born in or brought up in other countries. Salma Yousaf's parents migrated to New Zealand from Fiji, she (aged under 35) was born in New Zealand, and her religious devotion has grown overtime. She has set up various oganisations for Muslims to gather and learn and five years ago began wearing the hijab; 'I pray five times a day, I fast and read Quran I try and be a good daughter and good wife in the Islamic ways, I try and instil it into these girls lives and try and make them realise it should be part of our everyday life'. The only significant issue growing up was her hijab: 'No one really knew that I was a Muslim until I started covering no one can really tell… I do get stared at now that I cover my head I used to work in a hardware shop and all these bulky men would say it was beautiful and they would be so positive about it. There are lots of girls who have started covering now'. For many religion is not just a universal source of identity, but also has to be exemplified in day to day practices. However, this did not

necessarily entail a conflict with other aspects of life in New Zealand. For example, according to Mubashir Khan (aged over 36) an Indian Muslim born in Fiji, 'Children – they are very Kiwi. When rugby, soccer or cricket take place, when Pakistan or NZ play they will back NZ and will back all blacks in rugby. They all back up NZ. That is why we call them Kiwi Muslims. They do the main principles of Islam'.

Whilst the litearture on young Muslims is a growing area of research, Sikhi is growing in terms of the younger people within the diaspora yet research on this is still scarce in comparison (Hall, 2002). Many of the Sikh respondents had taken the Amrat Shak (the ceremony of initiation into the Sikh religion) and regained a sense of relgious identification. According to Rajwinder (under 35) it is the younger children who are moving towards a more religious path; her children were the ones who took the vows of amrat 5 years before she did: 'You have to discipline yourself when you take the vows; my children took the vows 5 years before I did. It's the best thing I did. I thought the religion would affect my ability to be a Kiwi but it hasn't…'

Second and subsequent generations of Muslims and Sikhs in this study are reclaiming their religious identity and rediscovering Islam and Sikhism and this supports the claims of previous studies (Breton, 2012; Samad, 1997). For the Muslims, learning Arabic by rote allows them to read the Quran but their ability to read English fluently allows them to research the religion for themselves in the language of the web and text books. A similar situation confronts the Sikhs, their fluency in Punjabi as a language practiced within the home environment and in the Gudwara allows them to enage with Sikhi and again their simultanious fluency in English allows them access into the majority space. This diasporic awareness is reconfirming their religious roots as much as their cultural roots, and some made subtle distinctions between them. For the

Sikhs, attendance at Punjabi classes means their ability to read religious scripture is also important, parents talked about sending their children to learn how to read, talk and write in punjabi and this was invaluable when it came to learning about their religion.

Religious identities and practices are thus hybridized with a Kiwi identity in a distinct manner. Religious identities are universal in their claims seeking to transcend ethnicity and citizenship (Breton, 2012; Kivisto, 2014), whilst Kiwi identity is a particularistic national identity associated with citizenship based on birth or achieved citizenship. The interviewees perceived no conflict here, and this implies that for them at least Kiwi identity is broad and flexible enough to accommodate religious identities. As in previous studies, the younger generations in particular are those who are highlighting religious sources of identity over and above ethnicity.

Conclusion

Hybridization is at the core of the concerns of the identities of South Asian New Zealanders. This paper has shown how hybridized identities are a way of repositioning their Kiwi identity away from Eurocentric norms. Understandings of hybridized identities as points of interchange between memories and representations of heritage and diasporic conditions are useful for understanding the concerns of these groups of people and the benefits of constructing a positive hybridized identity. However, hybridity is not a straightforward concept. Using the data from a qualitative study of South Asians in New Zealand I have suggested that there are variety of hybridizations between ethnicity, nation (Kiwi) and religion. Contrary to the rather generalized conceptions of hybridity, the data reveals hybridization and navigation (Ballard, 1994) with a Kiwi identity that may be imagined in terms of values, idealized citizenship or a

White Western Kiwi lifestyle. Furthermore, it has been shown that parents often actively encourage the development of a hybridized identity amongst their children both seeking to maintain ethnic and religious affiliations whilst encouraging a strong identification with New Zealand. This again is contrary to many previous studies that have focused solely on the cultural navigation of young second or third generation migrants. Furthermore, the data demonstrates a process of hybridisation which entails a synthesis of 'new ethnicities' (Hall, 1994), rather than having to choose between identities (Williams, 2010) or 'cobbling together' (Gilbertson, 2010: 138) of identities. Finally, the paper has examined the role of religious identities, which although they may contribute to the maintenance of a sense of ethnicity (Breton, 2012) problematize those discussions of hybridization that solely focus upon ethnicity. Religious identities in a diasporic context make universalizing claims in the sense that they seek to transcend borders of ethnicity and citizenship.

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