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Kinship, whiteness and the politics of belonging among white British migrants and Pākehā in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Abstract

In this article, we examine how white British migrants in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Pākehā New Zealanders understand the nature of their relationship to each other. We present findings from two qualitative studies conducted in Auckland, one with British migrants and the other with Pākehā. Drawing on Nash's (2005, 452) argument that kinship is a selective process of performing the "relations that matter," we demonstrate convergences and divergences in how British migrants and Pākehā conceive of relatedness between the two groups. While there is some overlap in naturalising a common ancestry, British migrants tended to have a greater expectation and experience of sameness whilst Pākehā were more likely to distance themselves from the British, highlighting cultural differences and an idiosyncratic Pākehā identity. Our unique comparative analysis of these discourses of relatedness brings together feminist understandings of kinship with critical scholarship on whiteness and settler colonialism to examine the functions such imaginaries of sameness and difference play in the context of negotiating dominant identities in contemporary settler societies. We argue that the way in which relatedness and kinship were mobilized reflected a desire to rightfully belong in place.

Key Words

whiteness, settler colonialism, Aotearoa/New Zealand, cultures of relatedness, British, Pākehā

Introduction

An overwhelming preponderance of British migrants in New Zealand's flows until the 1980s produced, to use McKinnon's (1996) recently coined phrase, a nation formed largely of 'kin-migrants'. Relations between immigrant and native born may not be strictly kin-like in anthropological terms, and, as with all family relations, not necessarily harmonious, but 'the British' clearly were, and, to a lesser extent, remain, an 'intimate other' within the New Zealand nation-state (Pearson 2000, 98).

In 2017, the incumbent British Prime Minister Theresa May claimed that the United Kingdom and the United States shared "a relationship based on the bonds of history, of family, of kinship" in a joint press

conference with newly inaugurated US President Donald Trump. These appeals to kinship across the "Anglosphere"[1] have become a relatively minor but persistent theme during the United Kingdom's preparation to leave the European Union (e.g., Johnson 2013; Forsyth 2013; Tice 2017). The Leave campaign's promises to reinforce ties with 'kith and kin' were notably focused on the 'Old Commonwealth' states, specifically the white settler states of Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand and Canada. This exemplifies a selective performance of kinship, which as Namusoke (2016) argues, relies on whiteness as a key marker of commonality, alongside a broader sociocultural sense of common ancestry.

As a settler colonial and immigrant society, Aotearoa/New Zealand has undergone its own reconfigurations of settler and national identities. Whilst it traditionally maintained exceptionally close ties to Britain – not least through the kin-migration Pearson (2000) refers to above – over the past decades, the country has shifted its geo-political ties towards the Asia-Pacific region it is located in. In part, this reorientation finds expression in migration trends, which show that while the UK remains an important source country of immigrants, Asian nations, such as China, India and the Philippines increasingly overtake the UK (Statistics New Zealand 2013). As a result, the extent to which the British remain an "intimate other" (see Pearson above) may have begun to wane. They are perhaps best described as 'middling migrants,' relatively affluent and occupying a cultural in-between space "neither completely foreign nor entirely familiar" in their host society (Pearson 2014, 504; Skey 2018). In addition, since the 1970s, decolonising movements and the politics of biculturalism (Author 2 2019) have forced Pākehā, the settler majority group of New Zealanders of European descent[2], to reconsider their place and identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This was a fraught project involving the adoption of a progressive politicised identity in relation to Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi for some Pākehā (Pearson and Sissons 1997) but also a "politics of rejection" (Spoonley 2005, 108) in response to social transformations that exceed symbolic elements of biculturalism and challenge historically accumulated Pākehā privileges (Hill & Bönisch-Brednich 2009; Sibley & Liu 2004).

These shifts indicate that national and majoritarian identities are flexible and amenable to change in response to socio-political transformations. Drawing on data from two qualitative studies, this article explores how white British migrants in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Pākehā understand the nature of their relationship to each other. Framed by critical theories of whiteness and settler colonialism, we examine "how ideas of ancestry, inheritance, origins, lineage and descent are reproduced, reworked, displaced and spatialized in accounts of connection and disconnection" (Nash 2005, 260). In *Ethnicity*, Fenton (2010, 12) concludes that while 'race', ethnicity and nationality are conceptually distinct, they share a 'core' of common imaginaries of descent, ancestry, shared culture, and a "repeating theme of

'people coming from the same stock'". Crucially, this sense of shared ancestry is not innate. "People or places do not just possess cultures of shared ancestry," as Fenton (2010, 3) argues, "*they elaborate these into the idea of a community founded upon these attributes*" (emphasis in original).

This elaboration is thus an active process and we analyse narratives of 'kinship' to further a nuanced understanding of how notions of 'race', nation and culture are mobilized as part of a politics of belonging within the settler state. We ask how 'cultures of shared ancestry' are negotiated through the selective maintenance of kinship among the Pākehā majority population and white British ''middling migrants'' (Skey 2018) in Aotearoa/New Zealand. We show that white British migrants and Pākehā deploy kinship differently but that both processes of claiming and distancing from kinship serve a similar purpose of asserting belonging in the settler polity. With this analysis, we aim to contribute to a deeper understanding of the "complex and politically differentiated mobilizations" that underpin imaginaries of kinship (Nash 2005, 459).

In examining conceptions of kinship, we follow the argument that kinship and relatedness are performatively produced (Carsten 2000, 1; Nash 2005, 451). Carsten (2000, 1) outlines that studies of 'cultures of relatedness' should not take the "content of kinship for granted [but rather build] a picture of the implications and lived experience of relatedness in local contexts." Questioning a common reliance on biological determinism, Nash argues that kinship must be understood as "a social process through which the relations that matter are selectively performed" (Nash 2005, 452). This statement underlines two crucial elements of performing kinship that will be explored in detail in this article. First, it emphasizes that performances of kinship are socially produced and to some extent flexible, even if this flexibility is often constrained by racially exclusive understandings of national and ethnic communities. In this way, ethnic and racial identities are "neither eternally fixed and essential, nor endlessly fluid and freely self-fashioned" (Nash 2002, 49). Secondly, selectivity implies that some relations are given priority over others and that these priorities may change. As such, kinship relations can be renounced or revived in different contexts, as the examples of British political narratives of rekindling Old Commonwealth ties and processes of Pākehā identity reconfigurations illustrate.

Drawing on original empirical research, our unique comparative analysis of discourses of relatedness for white British migrants and Pākehā advances literature on white identities in settler states by drawing on feminist approaches to kinship and critical scholarship on whiteness and settler colonialism. In doing so, we hope to conceptually advance our understanding of the boundary-drawing *within* whiteness. In a global context of the rise of the far right, xenophobia and notions of ethnonational 'purity', we argue for greater critical attention to colloquial, rhetorical and instrumental uses of relatedness in the making and unmaking of sameness and difference.

The remainder of this paper is organized into three parts. First, we review relevant critical scholarship on whiteness, settler colonialism and dominant identities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. We then outline the methods our respective studies employed. In the analysis section, we examine the variable expectations of relatedness for white British migrants and Pākehā, exploring instances of imagined kinship, friction and the limits of relatedness. The article concludes with a discussion of the strategic deployment and rejection of relatedness and kinship depending on broader contexts of belonging in the settler state.

Dominant identities in the settler state: The politics of whiteness and settler colonialism

Whiteness, as with all racial categories, is a social invention that reflects specific historic and contingent power relations (Gallagher and Twine 2017, 1599). As a field of inquiry, critical whiteness scholarship aims to reveal and challenge the structures that (re-)produce white supremacy and privilege (for recent discussions see Gallagher and Twine 2017; Garner 2017). Following the formative literature on whiteness and racism from the US (e.g. Baldwin 1984; Du Bois 1920; Harris 1993; Morrison 1992), there has been increasing engagement with "the nuanced and locally specific ways in which whiteness as a form of power is deployed, performed, policed and reinvented" (Twine and Gallagher 2008, 5) in a variety of contemporary global contexts. Of particular relevance to this article is the growing body of research in the former Dominions (settler colonies) of the British Empire. This work explores questions of territory, sovereignty and the racialised 'borders' between three differently positioned groups: white settlers, Indigenous peoples and 'othered' migrants (Pearson 2001; Veracini 2010). For Pearson (2001, 153, original emphasis), "the persistent reconfiguration of this triangle is *the* quintessential feature of ethnic politics in post-settler societies" (see also Veracini 2010).

Alternatively, in this paper, we focus on the connections and boundaries between those notionally categorised as white in a settler colonial society. The ways in which ideas of Englishness, Britishness, 'Anglo-Saxonness' and whiteness were dispersed historically across 'the British World' to bolster a myth of commonality have been extensively examined (e.g., Lake and Reynolds 2008; Young 2008). Importantly, the persistence of this myth depends not on any natural legacy, but on "…real people [who] have made choices about ancestry and associated traditions" (Cochrane 1994, 2). Through a lens attentive to expressions of sameness and difference between white British migrants and Pākehā, we hope to make visible the re-working, maintenance and shifting terrains of whiteness.

Making whiteness involves processes of negotiation, admission and exclusion as, for instance, Ignatiev's (1995) work on "how the Irish became white" demonstrates. In settler societies, social constructions of racialized kinship and sameness as well as of difference were crucial to white settler identities and to

legitimating settler colonial projects. Following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, systematic and rapid settler colonization turned the colony of New Zealand into a part of "the British World", a concept that conveys "the real and imagined common origins, culture and identity" (Bridge and Fedorowich 2003, 10-11) which connected the globally dispersed sites that made up the British Empire. The mass movement of the British to the settler colonies created a diasporic Anglo-Saxon identity, "[f]ramed around the idea of racial superiority, shared roots and familiar historical narratives" (Bueltmann 2012, 133). While such an Anglo-Saxon identity was more problematic for the Irish, Scottish and Welsh, each of the UK's constituent nations were included in the process of colonization and ideas of white supremacy (Young, 2008). While settlers of these different constituencies may have retained their ethno-cultural identities (McCarthy 2011), Awatere (1984, 11) argues that colonization and the desire for land levelled ethnic differences between European groups in Aotearoa/New Zealand and "sublimated [them] to the greater racial demand for white ownership and white power." As such, a transnational racialized white identity – an "imperial diaspora" (Pearson 2001) – came into being in support of settler colonial projects (Lake and Reynolds 2008).

As in other British settler colonies (McGregor 2006), white ethnic Britishness was the basis "for the construction of majority identity" (Pearson 2008, 51) and emerging conceptions of nationhood in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Accordingly, immigration legislation encouraged kin migration from the British Isles whilst excluding those deemed aliens. For instance, between 1881 and 1920, Aotearoa/New Zealand introduced thirty-five acts to discourage migration from Asian countries while British migrants were actively recruited via assisted passage schemes, which ran intermittently until 1974. However, it was not until the 1987 Immigration Act that British immigrants "became non New Zealanders in any 'real' sense" (Pearson 2000, 98), making it the last ex-British country in the Pacific Rim to remove national origin and kinship preferences in immigration policy (Ward and Lin 2005, 156).

While Britishness was the basis for nationhood, as nation-building progressed and Aotearoa/New Zealand acquired increasing independence, British arrivals were no longer co-nationals but migrants. Research concerning 'white migrations' (Lundström 2014) examines the protean yet durable local inflections of racial privilege as migrants travel routes shaped by empire, globalized capitalism and the desire for 'the good life'. Race and whiteness operate through constructions of migration categories themselves. Migrants from the Global North racialised as white tend to be discursively placed as expats rather than migrants (Kunz 2016). With specific reference to migration from the metropolis to settler colonial sites, on the one hand, British arrivals to the 'Old' Commonwealth have been conceptualised as lifestyle migrants (Hammerton 2011, 2017; Pearson 2014).[3] On the other hand, Veracini (2012) suggests that 'co-ethnics' who join an already established settler colonial project are endowed with entitlements

which mean that, structurally, they are not 'migrants' at all. White British migrants are largely able to avoid the othering and ethnic penalties that migrants of colour are likely to experience and shared ethno-racial and other socio-cultural attributes with the majority culture ease the process of migration (e.g., Schech and Haggis 2004; Stratton 2000; Watson et al. 2011).

However, the assumption that British migrants seamlessly assimilate into the majority culture has also been criticized (see Hammerton 2011; Hammerton and Thompson 2005; Pearson 2014; Wills and Darian-Smith 2003). For instance, Wills and Darian-Smith (2003, 70) are suspicious of a notion of shared ethnic identity when considering the situation of British migrants in Australia, quoting Appiah (1994, 156) to argue that such an approach "presupposes conceptions of collective identity that are remarkably unsubtle in their understandings of the processes by which identities, both individual and collective, develop". Following Pearson's (2000) earlier framing of British migrants as an "intimate other," he has more recently argued that English migrants are neither "a separate ethnic community" (Pearson 2013, 97) nor have they dissolved into the Pākehā population. For Pearson, "both incoming and local born persons of English/British ancestry are still in the process of renegotiating what it means nationally to belong to their societies of origin and destination" (2014, 518).

As Pearson's last quote indicates, identity constructions of white British migrants must also be read against the shifting socio-political contexts of the host society and shifts in Pākehā identities. Since the 1970s, the Indigenous rights movement, incremental changes in immigration, as well as a distancing from the UK when it joined the European Economic Community in 1973 led to a shakeup of previous understandings of the white settler nation. These developments heightened a sense of "ontological anxiety" (Bell 2004, 57) for Pākehā and led to a process of re-configuring Pākehāness and imaginaries of the nation more broadly. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the 1980s and 1990s were a time of intensive academic debate about the potential of becoming and "being Pākehā" (King 1985, 1991) which was seen as a process of re-working settler identities in relation to Indigenous Māori as a Treaty partner as part of a politics of decolonisation. As Nairn and McCreanor (1997, 28) noted at the time, this project of transforming settler imaginaries involved "a major discursive struggle over how we understand and enact ourselves in relation to race, culture and justice." By the end of the 1990s, it was widely accepted that Pākehā responses and attitudes varied widely and Spoonley (1997, 38) conceded that even though Māori identity politics had initiated a re-thinking of national identity and settler responsibility, "the term Pakeha, and its politics, reflect a degree of ambiguity and while some variants might be sympathetic to biculturalism and the Treaty of Waitangi, there are nevertheless those that are vociferously opposed to such politics."

Within these negotiations of settler identity, a temporal logic that places colonization in the past has been a central element. A new postcolonial narrative proclaims that "colonisation was 'something bad' that happened a long time ago, that indigenous people of the past suffered, but that present-day people of European descent were not directly part of this process and therefore should not be blamed" (Kirkwood, Liu, & Wetherell 2005, 495). Across various settler states, settler colonial studies scholars have highlighted a settler desire for innocence and redemption that is underpinned by rhetoric of a break with the past that intertwines with claims to be Indigenous (Garbutt 2011; Mackey 1998; Rohrer 2016). Such claims are often presented as an outcome of a post-colonial re-articulation of identities.

The remainder of this paper examines contemporary processes of renegotiating dominant identities as evident in the different mobilizations of kinship and relatedness by white British migrants and Pākehā.

Research methods

This paper is based on dialogue between the two authors, who first met in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand in 2013. One of us was conducting an ethnographic study with first-generation British migrants, the other a biographical interview study with New Zealand born and raised Pākehā. Both studies examined processes of identity construction. Both studies were conducted in Auckland, the gateway city of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the largest Polynesian city in the world and the fourth most ethnically diverse city in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (International Organisation for Migration 2015, 39). The first study this paper draws on explored British migrants' sense of national belonging, migration stories, personal geographies and reflections on Auckland's ethnic and cultural landscape. Between May 2013 and April 2014 in-depth interviews were conducted with 46 participants. Participants were recruited via posters in transit and commercial hubs, posts on specialist online forums for British migrants and potential participants encountered in the researcher's everyday life and wider social network. This initial group was expanded via snowball sampling. The project invited 'British migrants' to reflect on their migration story. Twenty-five participants from the original group of participants, chosen to best reflect heterogeneity across nationality, gender, age, profession, neighbourhood and length of residence, also participated in an ongoing series of creative and ethnographic research methods, including go-along interviews, photo-elicitation and participant observation. Nationals from each of Britain's constituent nations were invited to take part, but, reflecting their predominance amongst British migrants, the majority were English. Forty-three of the participants were white, and 3 Persons of Colour[4], 27 were women and 19 men, and they ranged in age from those in their early 20s to their late 80s. The majority were aged between 35 and 60. All

participants had New Zealand permanent residency or citizenship, as opposed to a working-holiday or tourist visa, for instance. Forty-three had arrived at least one year previously, the median length of stay was 12 years, and the longest time since arrival 56 years[5]. Participants largely held professional occupations and occupied a socio-economic position of relative affluence.

The second study this paper draws on examined Pākehā identity constructions and social imaginaries of Pākehā relations to Indigenous and migrant populations in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In order to elicit people's personal experiences and memories rather than merely opinions, participants were invited to narrate their life stories in individual biographical interviews. Between August 2011 and February 2012, a total of 38 people who had been born and raised in Aotearoa/New Zealand and were living in Auckland were interviewed. Due to the contestations around naming the majority group, the call for participants invited "New Zealanders of European descent who identify as Pākehā, European New Zealander, New Zealander or other''[6] in order to be as inclusive as possible. Participants, of whom 23 were female and 15 male, ranged in age from 20 to 71 years old, although the sample was dominated by middle-aged and older participants. Most participants, 26 out of the 38, were tertiary-educated.

The first author's research project included questions about British participants' sense of belonging in Aotearoa/New Zealand and their relations with Pākehā were frequently commented on. Not every white British participant framed their understanding of Pākehā through notions of 'relatedness' but a significant majority did and it was often framed as common sense and prefaced with phrases such as 'obviously'. Due to the narrative design of the second study, the second author did not ask any specific questions about connections or disconnections with the British, but participants reflected on these in the course of recounting their biographies. In terms of our approach to analysis, we each read through our respective transcripts and field notes seeking accounts of how British migrants and Pākehā understand the nature of their relationship to each other. We then discussed key similarities, differences, potential shared themes and relevant literature. We repeated this process several times to produce the following analysis. The extracts included below were chosen to best illustrate three common themes across our participants.

Imagined kinship, home and heritage

The idea of shared ancestry with Pākehā held common currency among white British participants when recounting their understanding of the history of relations between the two countries and encounters with Pākehā. For instance, Paul (70s, England, 44 years) noted "when you do ancestry you find out a lot

of people have come from England." When asked about her sense of British historical connections with Aotearoa/New Zealand, Lucy (30s, England, 4 years) replied,

> the roots of the history of New Zealand are British roots, um, so that's quite cool and that does make you feel like as a British person coming here you actually do have a connection with New Zealand even though you'd never been here or you haven't been brought up here. I think that's-you come here and you're reading all about British people. Everything that started here, other than the Māori, was British so, you know, all the towns and the cities were all built by British people, so I do think it gives you a connection and a reason to be here.

Lucy's celebratory account was unusual, and for a majority, British history in the area was framed more problematically in relation to colonization; however, it illustrates how imaginaries of shared British roots could be leveraged to feel more 'at home' as a migrant (Halvorsrud 2019). The following statement from Martin (50s, England, 3 years) further demonstrates how for those who give notions of relatedness and shared kinship with Pākehā credence, it provided a sense of connection to ''wider circles of ethnic and national belonging'' (Ahmed *et al*. 2003, 9). When asked if he ever considered the historical connections between Aotearoa/New Zealand and the UK, he said,

> Obviously you've got to take into consideration most of the white people are here because of Captain Cook … I mean the Kiwis[7] always refer to, um, England as being the old country or, 'cos, you know, like any- not every Kiwi, but a lot of Kiwis you get talking to they go back a few generations they were Poms[8] as well, you know. So the country's always had that close relationship- I mean I suppose that's why it's so easy- one of the reasons why it's so easy to come here, you know, 'cos you just, sort of, I think they're generally quite accepting anyway, but especially accepting of Poms, you know. They just sort of- you know they always want to-um, who was I talking to recently? A customer at work. He said ''oh where'd you come from?'' I said where. He said, ''ah, my grandparents came from Cardiff''… ''we went over last year, oh yeah we had about six weeks in the UK'', and started rattling off all the cities he went to.

An especially accepting reception for British migrants can be disputed (Pearson, 2014), but the articulation of a historical and ancestral link which is part of the reason it is "so easy to come here" for Martin, and provides "a connection and a reason to be here" for Lucy, illustrate the enhanced sense of belonging linked with a common-sense understanding of shared ancestry among white British participants. Drawing such connections reflects the complicated entanglements of colonization, migration and nation in settler states (see Byrnes 2009) and how the legacies of empire continue to shape people's "geographic imaginaries of where the Anglophone white body is in and out of place" (Andrucki 2013). If "colonial ideas of racial difference are continuously re-worked rather than simply inherited" (Lester 2012, 5), these extracts show how colonial ideas of racial *sameness* are reproduced too.

Several Britons recounted encounters with Pākehā which revealed a "lived experience of relatedness" (Carsten 2000, 1). Claudia's story, for instance, further illustrates the normalcy of the idea of shared ancestry with Pākehā, and the way it was associated with enhanced acceptance. When asked how people reacted to her as a Scottish person, she replied,

> Usually fine. A lot of people like the Scottish and want to tell me about which Scottish ancestry they have. My physiotherapist's ancestors are from near where my parents lived. It's nice to share that. Other people I've met either they themselves were born there, or their parents were from there, or their grandparents (30s, Scotland, 3 years).

In her research on popular genealogy for those with Irish heritage, Nash (2003) has expanded upon research into which connections between people matter, to consider which connections to *places* matter as well. The previous two excerpts, if not universal at least unremarkable in conversations with white British migrants, reflect the way in which an imagined shared ancestral 'home' in the UK, as well as ancestral 'relatedness', could evoke a sense of connection with Pākehā.

Expectations and experiences of kinship with the British were much more limited on the part of Pākehā. Most acknowledged the seemingly natural shared ancestry highlighted by British migrants above, especially when talking about whether they referred to themselves as 'New Zealand European.' As Gene (70s) explained,

> If it says European [on the census form] I'll tick that. I come from European stock. I can't help that. That's my whakapapa,[9] as they call it, is European. I come from England, Australia into New Zealand.

However, this did not result in a sense of cultural sameness or kinship. Pearson (2002, 1007) has noted that the decreasing significance of British links, connected with nationalist Pākehā movements, has coincided with a burgeoning interest in genealogy. This, he suggests, shows that "identification with a Pākehā and/or New Zealand national identity may rework rather than reject a British ancestral heritage." This research, however, suggests that participants, even those with an interest in genealogy, minimized the importance of national ancestral heritage. As Gene's "I can't help that" comment indicates, shared ancestry was acknowledged somewhat begrudgingly.

A sense of distance also transpired in discussions of the UK (or England) as 'home'. Overwhelmingly, this notion was considered archaic with little import for the current generation. For instance, in recalling her 1950s' childhood, Lynn (60s) said:

> I can remember people used to say they were going home, which I thought meant Oamaru or Timaru.[10] It actually meant going to England which totally amazed me because our family didn't have anything to do with England. We have been here for several generations. So, I always felt

[like] a New Zealander. I didn't ever feel like a Pom or a- I suppose a wee bit Scottish, but nothing else. So, that, I thought, was weird. People don't say that anymore. They don't say we're going home, meaning England.

Other participants' accounts bolstered the perception that the trope of England as home is tied to an "older generation" and many were puzzled by their parents' or grand-parents' attachment to England. Elaine (60s), whose family has lived in Aotearoa/New Zealand for several generations, was bemused when she recalled that her "mum always called England home even though she never left the country." Even more perplexed was Steven (40s), who referred to the idea of "going home to England" as a "syndrome"; for him, England was merely one "interesting historical place" amongst many others and without further significance for his identity.

Such past attachments to Britain are, however, not surprising given the prominence Britain retained in Aotearoa/New Zealand's popular and political imaginary well into the second half of the 20th century. As Lynn herself further recalled,

When I was in the fourth form, our teacher got us to read Dan Davin's short stories. For the very first time in my life I read about New Zealand, you know about sort of brown hills, because he was from Invercargill, things that I could relate to. That was really revolutionary. And I then read as much as I could. I was very keen on Janet Frame, so I read a hell of a lot about New Zealand then. But up to that point it was all sort of set in England.

Despite shifts in national identity since then, spending some time in the UK as part of an 'OE' (overseas experience) remains an almost quintessential part of Pākehā life, suggesting a concurrent distancing from Britishness as identity-constituting and continuity of interest in exploring ancestral roots (Barnes 2012). The OE often includes a search for ancestors in the UK. For some participants, such experiences of tracing ancestral ties catalyzed a sense of connection but most of them did not feel the degree of familiarity they had been expecting. Whilst some, like Laura (20s), stated that they did not expect "too much of a culture shock […] because, you know, New Zealand was a British colony and colonized by British people," living in the UK sometimes brought differences and the limits of relatedness to light and brought into clearer focus what made them New Zealanders. Claire (40s), for instance, said that living in London, she "realize[d] that I was different from English people." Some identified ways of doing things as the main difference but the majority referred to differences in lifestyle that reflect the New Zealand environment, such as "bush and sea and open skies" (Renee, 40s) and "being able to eat feijoas from your own backyard" (Laura, 20s). Others referred to the presence of Indigenous culture as formative for a unique New Zealand identity, reflecting the processes of re-negotiating Pākehā identities described earlier. Renee, for instance, continued: "it's different because we've got that whole Māori influence and having been here for several generations in New Zealand, our language, our accent."

Family friction

An idea of shared ancestry with Pākehā held common currency for white Britons even when they recounted Pākehā as distant, or desiring distance. When asked about what adapting to the country involved, while he later acknowledged differences, Neil (60s, England, 8 years) initially emphasised similarities, saying,

> obviously you probably relate to the Kiwis better than some other nationalities 'cos they're almost English anyway, not quite. They don't like to think they're English but they can't help it. They're from an English background whether they like it or not.

Similarly, in a broader discussion about his children's experience of education, Henry (40s, England, 17 years) told me about a survey of ethnicity at their school which similarly implied Pākehā sameness, and resistance to sameness,

> They did a survey of ethnicity at the school and 25% were Korean, 25% were South African and English were the same as being a New Zealander, and that was really odd. I was going well where are the English people? Oh they're there, they're the Pākehā. So you don't get counted as separate. The English people were not counted as separate from New Zealanders when they did that survey. So New Zealanders for all their chips on the shoulder ''we hate the English 'cos they're so arrogant'' and this that and the other, they actually don't think of us as very different because it's obviously true, we're not … where did New Zealand- white New Zealanders come from? They came from Ireland and England almost exclusively.

As Henry infers through his reference to "their chips on the shoulder", Pākehā not always enthusiastically identify with their British, or in particular English, historical and cultural connections (e.g. King 1985; Paterson 2012). Later in our conversation, Henry appeared to emphasise Pākehā ancestral connections with the UK defensively, in reaction to a perception of resentment against the English, specifically, saying,

> when people talk about the English coming and doing things to New Zealand or something, yeah, but you're the descendants of those people not me, you know. It's like they're sort of trying to be anti-English but they're the descendants of the ones they're talking about.

Here, Henry mobilized shared ancestry with Pākehā to undermine arguments which allow Pākehā to distance themselves from colonisation by attributing responsibility to the English, in this case (Paterson, 2012).

A sense of surprise or even disappointment among British participants who experienced social or cultural distance from Pākehā could reflect an expectation of commonality. In another example, Tom (30s, England, 12 years), explained why he had mainly made friends with his compatriots,

I think it's become more apparent over the years the difference between British people and New Zealanders is huge. Really, really impassable. On the surface they seem very similar, but when you dig below the surface the differences- it's literally going like that [his fingers start together then trace two lines going away from one another] ... hugely different in terms of ambitions, goals, standards, uh ... sense of humour, uh, the way they bring children up, structure. It's all so different to how people are in England.

Tom slips between British and English, a common slippage for the English (Wellings, 2002). Visible similarity, 'on the surface', is centred to explain expectations of commonality but, in this case, to frame how expectations of sameness were not met.

Interestingly, for Pākehā, it was this very expectation of sameness on the part of British migrants that led to antagonism. As Helen (40s), and other participants, noted,

It's not unusual for British wives to be complaining about various things that are not the same as they are in Britain which of course they're not. And undoubtedly some of them are not as good as they were in Britain, most definitely that's going to be the case, isn't it? Some things will be better and some things will be worse but I think it's unfortunate. I think there's a place to get together with people from your own country but I think to socialize a lot or exclusively with other people that have come from the same place as you, it's not really very healthy if you come here for something different.

Helen's assertion that "of course" things are not the same stands in stark contrast to Neil's and Henry's (above) perceptions of sameness as "obviously true." Helen portrays British migrants' expectations of sameness as wholly unfounded and expects them to acknowledge differences. Stories highlighting complaints about differences in culture and lifestyle allude to the trope of the "whinging Pom" which is deeply imbued with the historical colonial relationship between 'mother country' and the colonies. Paula (60s), for instance, concluded a very similar account of complaints she had heard from British migrants with the statement "I'm sure they think that we're just uncouth colonials."

The limits of relatedness

A sense of shared ancestral or historical connections with Pākehā could be found among the majority of white British migrants, as illustrated in the previous sections, but understandings of relatedness had their limits. In contrast to the examples in the previous section with English participants, several participants from Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland commented on Pākehā enthusiasm for, rather than distancing from, their mutual heritage. Merrick (50s, Wales, 23 years), compared some New Zealanders' enthusiasm for their Celtic heritage to born-again Christians, more zealous than the locals

(Devine 2012). Aileen (50s, Scotland, 28 years) was also unconvinced by New Zealanders who claimed a shared national identity, saying,

> … people will say 'oh I'm Scottish' - I'll go, 'you are?' Like two generations back, you know, 'my great-grandfather was Scottish,' 'oh yeah?' To me that's like [pulls a disapproving face], you know, because- hmm … to me Scottish is if you're born there.

Aileen appeared to reject a retrospective, ancestral idea of national kinship for a geographical, prospective one, premised on birth and growing up somewhere (Keily, Bechhofer and McCrone 2005). However, she later complicated this understanding, explaining that, although she was born in Scotland, her mother being from Wales made her "half Welsh". Several Welsh, Irish or Scottish participants were dismissive of what they viewed as over-the-top performances of Celtic identity among Pākehā, in a way which positioned such claims as inauthentic.

For the photo-elicitation aspect of the project, Maggie (50s, England, 33 years) took a photograph during the Tall Ships event, in which ships race from Sydney, Australia to Auckland Harbour, and commented,

> Oh wow, oh Tall Ships came past! When the Tall Ships came past, do you know, I thought about the waka, the canoe, the Māori canoe that first came from the Pacific, from Polynesia down to here. That's how their ancestors got there, and I thought that's how *my* ancestors from Britain came in, on tall, um, square ships.

Maggie's talk of her 'ancestors' arriving in Aotearoa/New Zealand resonates with the sense of "people coming from the same stock" explored above. This extract illustrates a common-sense performance of relatedness and kinship. However, when later reflecting on her trip back to the UK, she made a separation between her ancestors in the UK and her felt connection with Aotearoa/New Zealand,

> I just realized in a nutshell my- I just reflected on it every now and then that my roots go very, very deep in Britain like ancestors back, back, back, back it just felt that that's that and they're very shallow here so that's very different. So that's my roots, but this is my home.

Maggie switched between a common sense understanding of early British arrivals to Aotearoa/New Zealand as her ancestors to a reflection on her lack of ancestral roots having emigrated from the UK. Awareness of British antecedents in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the connections this made possible in encounters with Pākehā were not given the same 'weight', following Janet Carsten (2000), as kinship more narrowly conceived as immediate familial ancestry.

For the Pākehā interviewed in this study, the limits of relatedness by far outweighed any expectations of sameness. Whilst shared ancestry was naturalized, its significance has weakened over time. Mark (40s) expressed this shift clearly:

> I think our national identity has changed hugely from 20 years ago where it was largely seen, yeah 30/40 years ago, where it was largely seen as Britain was home and you know we're little Britain and then there's those Māori people as well but they're generally alright as long as you give them some beer and they go racing and they'll be alright. You know, that kind of idea was probably far more prominent than today where we recognise that our future really is with Asia, it's not with Europe anymore.

This shift from Europe, or more narrowly Britain, as the predominant source of identity to the Asia-Pacific region as one that is much closer to home was also stressed by Olivia, who described Europe and Britain as "the other side of the world and it's across a massive cultural divide and it's not got anything to do with my place, my time and my place, which is here." Space and temporality were important elements of identity constructions and many participants drew attention to the passing of generations that had resulted in an idiosyncratic Pākehā identity.

Temporality also played a crucial role in depictions of Britishness as a reminder of a monocultural and racist past. Above, Mark equated the time when Britain was thought of as home with a time when racist attitudes towards Māori prevailed. This suggests that diminishing ties with Britain corresponded with a shift in attitudes towards Indigeneity. Similarly, Andrew (20s) tethered his observation that Aotearoa/New Zealand is "becoming a lot less English" to a shift from a monocultural past to a multicultural present, in which "people have got different ties to different cultures" Illustrations of Pākehā disowning (to use Nash's terminology) the British for past unacceptable behaviour that reflects badly on contemporary Pākehā was most pronounced in statements such as Amanda's (40s) who said:

> I guess I feel part of, more part of Aotearoa, as being a, you know like not thinking about it being part of the British Commonwealth, it's more about its own, it's very own country, and not having that kind of British colony history.

Severing ties to Britishness serves here as a way of cancelling out the settler colonial past. This form of "settler amnesia" (Mikaere 2011) allows Pākehā to position themselves as different from their colonizing forebears without having to concede that settler colonialism is a contemporary phenomenon that continues to afford Pākehā privileges. As Mikaere (2011, 93-94) argues, the settler desire for innocence relies on an "obsession with looking forward" rather than back. Amanda's statement contrasts with Henry's earlier move to blame Pākehā, as the descendants of colonisers, for colonialism. While coming to opposite conclusions, both quotes illustrate the strategic use of migration and colonial histories to construct positions of innocence and transgression in relation to their ancestry.

Discussion

This paper has explored the discursive performances of kinship amongst British migrants and Pākehā. Our analysis has drawn attention to the politically differentiated mobilization of familial ties. The white British migrants discussed here largely adhered to the idea of continuing British-Pākehā ties while the Pākehā participants distanced themselves from the idea of the British as an intimate other. We argue that even though the British migrants and Pākehā who took part in our respective studies mobilized kinship differently, their constructions of sameness and difference served a similar function of legitimating belonging in the settler state. Any notion of individual and collective self-ethnicisation "needs to be seen as fluid, evolving in response to the specifics of temporal, spatial and political 'moments' and circumstances" (Wills and Darian-Smith 2003, 71). Pākehā belonging has been explicitly challenged in the past and British settler colonial invasion is at the crux of this. For the British, this history, while potentially a source of unease, is also a basis for expectations of cultural proximity, shared language and an associated sense of belonging.

The demonstrated disparities in imagining kinship reflect the different positions of British migrants and Pākehā vis-a-vis the settler state. For both groups, ideas of familial ties are inflected with conceptions of space and time. Whether placing an emphasis on ancestral connections with Pākehā and in the process connecting to wider categories of belonging or asserting the British ancestry of Pākehā in a defensive response to perceived antipathy, for white British participants in this study, mobilizations of relatedness and kinship reflected a desire to rightfully belong in place. Following the argument that the past is brought into the present not through passive inheritance and naturalized legacies but "the active performance of routine, rhythm and repetition" (Lester 2012, 1), the assertion of notions of kinship and family across the Anglosphere by UK politicians and cultural commentators seen at the start of this paper, and the understandings among white British participants that Pākehā 'come from the same stock' speak to the political, social and affective afterlife of empire. Notions of shared ancestry marked the iterative, active reworking of the past in the present. By critically examining how these are maintained, reworked and rejected we can better challenge popular notions of a passive, innate legacy and naturalised inheritance.

Crucially, these stories of relatedness were not reciprocated by Pākehā. For them, this very idea of sameness and continuity is problematic because it is a reminder of the settler colonial past and their own place in this history. Even though it has been argued that Pākehā construct their identities "in relation to two primary others, the peoples of the metropolitan homelands of their ancestors and the indigenous peoples of their national homeland" (Bell 2009, 147), we have demonstrated that the metropolitan homelands are now of little import as a reference point for Pākehā identities. Indeed, Britain is not much more than a country halfway across the globe. More than that, Pākehā actively

distanced themselves from an association with the British as kin, bar a reluctant sense of inevitable common ancestry. This at least partial disavowal of kinship has been shown to reflect a settler desire for redemption and innocence, an absolution for the violence of settler colonialism.

Importantly, renouncing or downplaying kinship evokes a 'temporal logic' according to which racism and settler colonialism are things of the past. Pākehā participants constructed identities in ways that highlighted discontinuities, transformations, and shifts in dispositions. Depicting racism and/or colonialism as historical artefacts is a discursive strategy that allows settlers, as well as majorities more broadly, to recuperate normativity and privilege (Strakosch & Macoun, 2012) because the argument that racism and settler colonialism have now been sufficiently addressed can be used to justify opposition to continued Indigenous demands for redress. Geared towards re-claiming the belonging that was threatened by decolonization movements, this discourse sits within wider hegemonic narratives of postcolonialism and post-racism which allows Pākehā to re-invent themselves as innocent while settler colonial structures continue to protect their privileged position and curtail the rights of indigenous peoples (Mikaere, 2004).

This analysis of discursive performances of relatedness and kinship amongst white British migrants and Pākehā provides insights into processes of boundary-making within whiteness. Unearthing the motivations that underlie the flexible and selective use of kinship allowed us to conceptualise the shifting terrain of whiteness in the settler colonial context and contributes further nuance to our understanding of ethnic politics specific to the settler colonial context. Tracing constructions of sameness and difference between the dominant settler majority and white British migrants also usefully complements critical research on constructions of white identities vis-à-vis non-white others. At a time of a resurgence of white supremacy that relies on both constructions of transnational racial kinship and processes of othering People of Colour, multiple perspectives that help to illuminate the assumptions that reproduce or challenge racial or nationalist ideologies are required.

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[1] The Anglosphere can be defined as 'a non-institutional grouping of English-speaking states with a core comprised of the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand' (Wellings, 2016, p. 371). The Anglosphere is a racialized category associated with whiteness.

[2] In this article, and the study it draws on, Pākehā are conceptualised as "New Zealanders of a European background, whose cultural values and behaviour have been primarily formed from the experiences of being a member of the dominant group of New Zealand" (Spoonley, 1993: 57). This definition emphasises a shared structural location and history as the dominant majority in Aotearoa/New Zealand while also taking into account shared ethno-racial characteristics, which are part and parcel of domination. Today, the term 'Pākehā' sometimes also refers to all non-Māori including non-white immigrants in Aotearoa/New Zealand, or, alternatively, white

people in general (see Bell, 2004: 4, n3). There were no Pākehā respondents who claimed non-British European or South African ancestry. We are aware in using definitions which emphasise ancestry we are performing a particular kind of community ourselves (Fenton 2010).

[3] Hammerton's (2011; 2017) participants include British migrants who are white and Persons of Colour.

[4] Discourses of relatedness with Pākehā were not present in any of the research encounters with the latter group. While wary of excluding People of Color when writing about British migrants and thus reinforcing notions of Britishness as white, due to the focus on dominant identities, this paper focuses on the experience of white British participants.

[5] While the influence of Britishness has increasingly diminished for Pākehā New Zealanders, for the British migrants in this study there were no clear differences between earlier and more recent cohorts in terms of who was more likely to grant significance to notions of relatedness with the majority culture. The second author found that all participants distanced themselves from the 'New Zealand European' label, no matter whether they expressly identified as Pākehā or chose to be New Zealanders only.

[6] In New Zealand, the ethnicity question includes 'New Zealand European'. Pākehā was only used in the 1996 Census. In 2006, many New Zealand Europeans opted for the 'other' option and wrote in 'New Zealander'. Whilst white is used as a category in the British census it is not used in the New Zealand census.

[7] A colloquial term for New Zealanders, and, more specifically, often New Zealanders with European heritage.

[8] A colloquial term for migrants from the UK.

[9] Whakapapa is a Māori term denoting ancestry and lineage.

[10] Two towns on the South Island.

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