# The Persistence and Creation
# of Internal Borders

India in Aotearoa New Zealand

A more cautious view is that stereotypes, whether specially directed at Chinese and Indians, or more generally at Asians, still persist within contemporary New Zealand […] These may not be the insulting caricatures of the earlier Hindoo or Chinaman, but continued resistance remains in some quarters to New Zealand's localized Asian identity.[1]

People might have their own very different and complex ideas about nation and nationalism, about language and religion, about 'identity' and cultural meanings or symbols, and about their personal relationships to all these categories. This is what public discourse and certain kinds of diaspora studies overlook or sideline, and what a new kind of scholarship is attempting to retrieve or recuperate.[2]
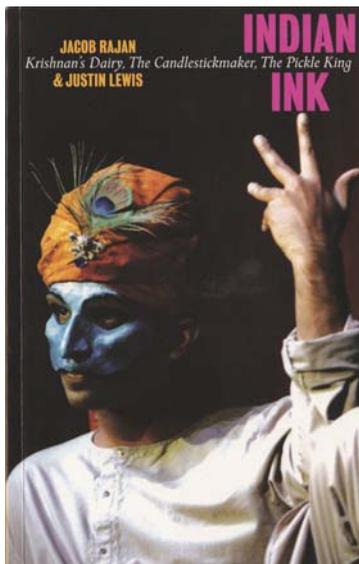
THESE TWO QUOTATIONS CHOSEN from recently published studies on Indians and Asians in Aotearoa New Zealand point at two major issues that

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1   Manying Ip and Jacqueline Leckie, "'Chinamen' and 'Hindoos': Beyond stereotypes to Kiwi Asians", eds. Paola Voci & Jacqueline Leckie, *Localizing Asia in Aotearoa*, Wellington: Dunmore Publishing 2011, 159–186, here 183

2   Martin Fuchs, Antje Linkenbach, Aditya Malik, "What does it mean to be Indian? A View from Christchurch", ed. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *India in New Zealand: Local Identities, Global Relations*, Dunedin: Otago University Press 2010, 81–106; here 105

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I want to address in this paper though I will concentrate on the latter. These are the perception of immigrants as the 'other' of a nation's understanding of its own culture, and the immigrant people's self-perception of their identity — as individuals and as members of a community. Both are not necessarily grounded in the "race relations paradigm" discussed by Stuart Hall or Homi Bhabha[3] but in ethnic, geographic, religious, linguistic, gender and generational relations, as will be demonstrated in the course of this paper. At the same time, to speak of 'vanishing borders' in spite of the noticeably increased mobility of Indians in the 'Age of Globalism', appears misleading because a strong tendency prevails of maintaining if not drawing 'internal' border lines between and among Indian settlers in New Zealand. Following a brief historically oriented introduction meant to point out when and how perceptions of one's group identity have evolved over a period of nearly a century of migration and settlement, my paper will focus on the present situation — and on self-perceptions — of Indian settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand. That is, I am less concerned with the critical discourse on migration as addressed by, among others, Robert Cohen (1997), Douglas S. Massey et al (1998), Stephen Castles and Mark Miller (1998) or Adrian Favell (2007)[4] than with the nature of a specific diaspora as a discursive, empirical and aesthetic figure.

India in New Zealand: Local Identities, Global Relations, a collection of a dozen essays edited by Sekhar Bandhopadhyay, contains a wide-ranging bibliography,[5] which however includes references to merely three books, a small number of essays and a few unpublished papers as well as B.A. and M.A. theses written before the mid-1990s on Indians in New Zealand. They are either of an introductory nature or pay attention to single ethnic or religious groups, for example Gujaratis, Punjabis and Muslims, or to regional Indian settlements, e.g. in Christchurch and the Waikato. More comprehensive and analytical investigations started only towards the end of the 20th century. One of the reasons for this scant attention is of

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3   Adrian Favell, "Rebooting Migration Theory: Interdisciplinarity, Globality, and Post-disciplinarity in Migration Studies", eds. Caroline Brettell et James Hollifield, *Migration theory: talking across disciplines*, London: Routledge 2007, 259-278; here 265. See also Homi Bhabha, "Culture's in Between", eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage 1996, 53–60

4   Robert Cohen, ed. *Theories of Migration*, Edward Elgan: Cheltenham 1996; Douglas S. Massey et al., *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998; Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, *The Age of Migration*. London: Macmillan 1998. Adrian Favell, see note 3

5   Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *op.cit.*, 255–269

a quantitative nature. Although dating back to 1809 and 1814 when a few Indian sailors jumped ship, respectively in the Bay of Islands and Otago Harbour, the first half dozen 'legal' Indian immigrants arrived in 1881. Forty years later, their population counted no more than 671, which increased fourfold to 2 452 by 1951. Yet another thirty years later 15 810 Indians lived in the country. In contrast and according to the 2006 census,[6] the last quarter of the 20th century showed an increase by 660 per cent to a total of 104 582 people of Indian descent. Making up more than two percent of the New Zealand population, Indians had finally become a visible minority[7] and, perhaps not unexpectedly, now the object of a series of investigations and analyses from various research angles. Jacqueline Leckie's pioneering *Indian Settlers: The Story of a New Zealand South Asian Community* (2007) offers a comprehensive history of Indian migration and settlement over more than a century in a book that combines historical documentation from archival resources with narratives by and interviews with a large number of individuals, complemented by reproduced photographs, many of which were contributed by her interviewees. As the most knowledgeable scholar in the field, Leckie also co-edited with Paola Voci a volume of essays entitled *Localizing Asia in Aotearoa* (2011). Focusing on "micro or local histories and cultural spaces", these essays, as the editors claim, are intended to contribute to "understand diversity not just via an examination of cultural belongings that are defined by macro-national entities"[8]: a pertinent reference towards a methodological negotiation that sets out to interrogate conceptions of cultural community on the one hand and identity on the other. As it becomes immediately obvious, this shift from the macro to the micro level of immigrant/diasporan studies is basically grounded in the increasingly multi-ethnic character of New Zealand in the 21st century, and more specifically in Indians constituting a large and heterogeneous group.[9]

As Sekhar Bandyopadhyay remarks in his "Introduction" to *India in New Zealand: Local Identities, Global Relations* (2010): 'Kiwi-Indians' do not only constitute the southernmost group in the Indian global diaspora,[10] but this group's internal cultural diversity includes intergenerational differentiation

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6   Arvind Zodgekar, "Indian Presence: A Demographic Profile", ed. Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *op.cit.*, 65–78; here 66

7   Jacqueline Leckie, *Indian Settlers: The Story of a New Zealand South Asian Community.* Dunedin: Otago University Press 2007, 177

8   Paola Voci & Jacqueline Leckie, "Introduction: Beyond nations and ethnicities: Localizing Asia in New Zealand", eds. Paola Voci & Jacqueline Leckie, *op.cit.*, 7–23; here 9

9   Leckie, *op.cit.*, 2007, 177–178

10 Bandyopadhyay, "Introduction", *op.cit.*, 7–20; here 8

as well as different linguistic, religious and cultural backgrounds since Indians "come from, practically all the regions of India and from previous destinations of Indian migration"[11]: a statement substantiated by figures of the 2006 New Zealand census. The number of Fiji-born Indians increased from less than one thousand in 1981 to near 20 000 in 2001, a change mainly due to the exodus of the descendants of the Girmitiyas, former indentured Indian labourers, from their home for more than a century[12] after the 1987 and 2000 military coups on the islands. Belonging mainly to business and professional groups, Fiji-Indians moreover added to the social tapestry of New Zealand Indians whose large majority till the 1990s had been made up of petty traders. Leckie equalized the Indian diaspora in the 20th century with retailing, with Pukekohe, a small town south of Auckland, forming the centre of the Indian settlement.[13] Janet McAllister has added that by the mid-1990s eighty-five per cent of Auckland's dairies were owned by Indians.[14]

The diversity of the social set-up of immigrants from Fiji has since been complemented by members of a newly emerging middle class from India that has arrived over the last two to three decades. By 2001 the percentage of Indian retailers had decreased to twenty-four while the number in white-collar occupations had increased to forty-four per cent;[15] and whereas in 1991 only about fourteen per cent of the male Indian population had a university qualification, this figure had more than doubled by 2001 to 29,4 per cent. Indeed, "the Indian community [if one can really employ this term any longer] today is no longer a socially homogeneous group."[16]

Concomitant with these social changes, to which political changes were also instrumental, like the election victory of the Labour Party in 1984 and the passing of the 1987 Immigration Act, the selection of migrants was facilitated according to their professional qualifications and the economic requirements in New Zealand.[17] The religious and linguistic diversity increased while the gender map came to differ radically from the one of the past. The majority of Indians remained Hindu, but the share of Christians and Muslims began to rise. Side by side to the languages of Hindi, Gujarati and Punjabi, still spoken by more than fifty per cent of the

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11 Ibid, 11
12 Leckie, *op.cit.*, 2007, 173
13 Bandyopadhyay, *op. cit.*, 53, 55. See also Natasha Hayl, "A Long Diaspora: Indian Settlement", ed. Bandyopadhyay, *op.cit.*, 45–64.
14 Janet McAllister, "Passages from India", *Metro* (November 2002), 68–73; here 70
15 Leckie, *op.cit.*, 2010, 58
16 Zodgekar, *op.cit.*, 70
17 Leckie, *op.cit.*, 2007, 172

Indian population, other Indian languages have made their appearance on the linguistic map, as has 'English Only', spoken by three out of ten Indians, while ninety per cent attest to also speaking the language.

Finally to be mentioned is the increasing role of women with tertiary qualifications.[18] Considering that till the mid-20th century it was mainly males who had migrated — whose arrival had been favoured over women's — the gender imbalance began gradually to shift. Initially, women had mainly remained attached to their families,[19] while figures relating to the time span between 1996 and 2006 bear evidence not only of an increased number of educationally qualified Indian women in New Zealand but also of their faster percentile growth rate in higher education in comparison with European New Zealand women.[20]

I would like to draw several conclusions from my brief survey of these carefully researched statistical figures on Indians in New Zealand — people severally referred to as hyphenated New Zealand-Indians, Indo-New Zealanders, Kiwi-Indians, Indo-Fijians or Fiji-born Indians. (The number of Indian migrants from Africa, the US, Europe, Canada, or even Australia is still too small to have earned them another hyphenated real and discursive existence). First, the historical, social, linguistic, generational, educational, gender and religious diversity as well as the differing geographical/national backgrounds of Indians in New Zealand necessitates reflections on the understanding of the terms 'diaspora' and 'community' since Indian people in New Zealand are closely linked with these variables[21] in locally defined contexts and experiences. The recognition of such specifically coloured meanings of the 'Indian' community and diaspora will avoid generalizations that strain or even distort their lived reality. Second and intimately connected, is the question of cultural identity, a many-layered term that is to be approached both, from the subjective or psychological perspective of an individual's self-perception as a private being, and as someone perceived by others in his/her role as a public person within his/her experiences of meeting /confronting culturally diverse 'worlds'.

As I have mentioned already, these issues have been addressed over the last decade in essays and in interviews conducted by historians, sociologists, anthropologists, educationists as well as by scholars of cultural, media and community studies — not to forget, also by artists living or residing in New Zealand. I shall briefly summarize the main points they have arrived at

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18 Zodgekar, *op.cit.*, 73; Leckie, *op.cit.*, 2007, 172
19 Leckie, *op.cit.*, 2007, 109–123
20 Zodgekar, *op.cit.*, 73
21 Voci/Leckie, *op.cit.*, 9

before turning to several — and as yet very few — literary representations of Indian migrants in Mallika Krishnamurthy's novel *Six Yards of Silk* (2005) and the theatre plays written and performed by Jacob Rajan and Justin Lewis.

Jacqueline Leckie calls the Indian settlement "a long diaspora" and wonders whether the term diaspora is at all "applicable to the complex waves of Indian settlement and re-settlement"[22] — a development which I have already referred to. And she appears receptive to Carmen Voigt-Graf's distinction between diaspora and transcultural community, the former characterized solely as a migrant community with "sentimental and symbolic ties to the ancestral homeland", while the latter also includes its material and real links to the homeland.[23] These modifications are backed up by other scholars who prefer to distinguish "between 'labour', 'trade', 'cultural' and 'imperial'" as well as 'victim' diasporas, because the notion in the present discourse, they argue, has assumed a form of essentialism and has become the "carrier of ideas and cultural continuity *across* national boundaries … [evoking] images of a transnational bond."[24]

Field work or micro studies conducted in New Zealand thus illustrate how problematic the term diaspora is when examined at the micro level or 'from the inside'. In contrast, to the Indian historian Sekhar Bandyopadhyay Pakeha-New Zealand attitudes to the country's Indian population appear to be determined by an essentializing definition of diaspora. Having been ruled — and continue to be ruled — by the country's global or imperial connections (to the erstwhile Western, imperial 'motherland'), these attitudes are shaped, he says, largely though not exclusively "by a postcolonial public discourse on underdevelopment and backwardness that owed its origins to imperial stereotypes […] of India."[25] As a piece of documentary evidence Bandyopadhyay quotes the headline of an issue of the *The New Zealand Herald* proclaiming, "They are hungry but they have the bomb", and he also relates to responses of interviewees who complained that professional qualifications from abroad are not recognized, nor had Bandyopadhaya's informants ever been promoted in New Zealand.[26] Concluding, that over a period of more than eighty years the situation for many Indian migrants does not appear to have changed significantly (168),[27]

22 Leckie, *op.cit.*, 2010, 61

23 Ibid., 47

24 Fuchs/Linkenbach/Malik, *op.cit.*, 82

25 Bandyopadhyay, *op.cit.*, 169; Bandyopadhaya, "In the Shadow of the Empire: India-New Zealand Relations since 1947", Bandyopadhyay, *op.cit.*, 167–185

26 Ibid., 168

27 "Stereotypes […] still persist within contemporary New Zealand [… and] continued resistance

he blames Pakeha New Zealanders for still being unable to understand "middle India."[28] Which is to say that they simply fail to take note of and grasp the scale of global social and economic changes as also those in the field of education that have occurred in India over at least the last two decades. In many quarters in New Zealand there exists an unwillingness, Bandyopadhyay feels, to revise the outdated postcolonial discussion on underdevelopment and backwardness.

The insights presented here and gained from studying Indian diasporan and community structures in New Zealand are, of course, based on a large number of individual case studies centring on the issue of Indian people constructing their selves and of grappling with an understanding of their cultural identities. As has been pointed out, defining oneself in New Zealand occurs much less at a national or ethnic level — although this also happens, of course — than in local contexts with multiple cultural surroundings and social, religious, generational, gender and educational variables. Bandyopadhyay comes to the conclusion that "Indianness" in New Zealand means different things to different people within the community, and that identities are negotiated by individuals on an everyday basis.[29] This is to say that we come across a wide range of self-perceptions marked at one end by collapsing one's individual cultural identity with tradition-guided agencies which, for example, insist on caste-marriage, strict loyalty to the regional-linguistic-cultural world of one's family and its background, and accordingly on the feeling of belonging to a specific socio-cultural network: a network often in the guise of a regional-ethnic (Auckland Marathi Association) or merely ethnic association (Sikh Society). However, researchers have more frequently come across the experience of an in-between position of identity construction; for example, the belief that one's efforts in having made New Zealand your home had enriched one's life and enabled you to enjoy "a double identity";[30] or, in more problematic terms, relating one's self to two worlds that were inextricably intertwined and perhaps even uncertain.[31] Interlocked with such sentiments is the conviction of many interviewees and respondents,

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remains in some quarters to New Zealand's localized Asian identity", Ip/Leckie, *op.cit.*, 183. The term Asian, incidentally, points at the authors' essay on "Chinamen" and "Hindoos"; see Bandyopadhaya, *op.cit.*, 168

28   Ibid., 185

29   Ibid., 12

30   Fuchs et al., *op.cit.*, 99

31   Amanda Gilbertson, "Choosing Indian and Kiwi Identities: The Ethnic Options of New Zealand-born Gujaratis", Bandyopadhyay, *op.cit.*, 123–140; here 137, 133

of their own agency, of looking at their own attitudes, decisions and actions as determined by an autonomous and choosing self[32] — which turns them, as several scholars have said, into "accomplished artists of *bricolage* […] of skilfully handling and putting together diverse fragments of culture:"[33] And this is done in a pragmatic rather than a programmatic manner.[34] Accordingly, negotiating one's position in a community is discerned as an on-going process which precludes an ultimate definition of an individual's cultural identity.

Observing these processes over a period of time has, besides, given reason to assume that the more often it is noticeable that personal agency is insisted on and executed the more we have reason to speak of people shifting from perceiving themselves in collective and communal terms to identifying themselves in individual terms. National, ethnic and other supra-individual notions of identity are losing ground by shifting towards individual self-portraits,[35] and perhaps even to seeing oneself as global citizen — as one respondent put it: "'I am proud of India, India has developed so much, but it is no longer a place where I can live. I belong neither to India nor to New Zealand — I am in between, I am a global citizen'".[36] Whether they are guided by "certain basic universalist ideas, derived from religion […] or secular humanist ideas", as Martin Fuchs and his colleagues suggest,[37] remains to be explored further — apart from the neglect of material considerations of an economic nature which certainly also play a role in defining oneself as a global citizen.

Let me now turn first to the novel *Six Yards of Silk* and then to the plays, so I may analyse the creative treatment of Indian diaspora and cultural identity in New Zealand against the findings of the foregoing studies. Thirty-five year old Sharmila, married to the Pakeha New Zealander Keith and mother of three little boys, had emigrated from South India with her parents and younger brother Ramesh when she was still a child. Deeply disturbed after the sudden disappearance of her brother — who, as it turns out, had drowned himself –, she begins to distance herself from her family and her everyday life, becomes more and more depressed and retreats into the world of her childhood and adolescence which she had closely

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32 Ibid., 139
33 Fuchs et al. *op.cit.*, 101
34 Gilbertson, *op.cit.*, 138
35 Gurjet Singh and Verpal Singh, "Changing identities among Kiwi Sikhs: Local, individual or world citizenship?", Voci/Leckie, *op.cit.*, 204–217; here 215
36 Fuchs et al., *op.cit.*, 98
37 Ibid., 103

shared with Ramesh. Both had often rebelled against their more tradition-oriented parents' many strictures from which the boy had suffered more than his sister. His absence now means the loss of Sharmila's mainstay which her family obviously cannot immediately replace. The psychological struggle she faces undergoes a cultural turn of events with her aunt's visit from South India. Meant to help and support her with her daily chores, Meenama, her mother's sister, who is deeply rooted in her Indian heritage, reawakens her niece's memories of her childhood and relatives, of the family's Kerala home and its local surroundings with their colours, smells, sounds and bright light, the heat and monsoon rains, the food, clothes and stories — and the traumatic event of her little sister's death by lightning. The past that had receded over the years — exemplified by Sharmila's total neglect of "the gods", the bronze idols in the cabinet on a shelf — gradually gains the upper hand in her mind and causes her to literally shut the present out by spending more and more time in her bedroom. Her cultural identity attained while growing up and having her own family in New Zealand is seriously challenged now with the world of her parents and aunt reasserting itself paradoxically through Sharmila's simultaneous experience of loss and reunion.

By contrast, her brother, very conscious of the culture conflict he found himself in as an adolescent and a young man, becomes increasingly ill suffering from psychosis as the reader learns from Ramesh's thoughts and outbursts conveyed through indirect free speech in untitled chapters strewn through the novel. Both, his parents' traditional ideas of living like a young Indian male forced onto him and the obstacles he had faced during his school days and in the labour market, in other words, the clash between the two worlds Ramesh had grown up in, proves insoluble and finally destroys him.

The issue then of cultural identity in Krishnamurthy's fictional rendering of two young Indian migrants is treated from a gender-differing perspective. Sharmila finally manages to cope pragmatically with the pull of tradition without denying it but Ramesh succumbs to the conflicting pulls of his Indian parents and Pakeha New Zealand's prejudices against migrants. Apart from the cultural side of the siblings' predicament we should not overlook its basically psychological fabric. Both characters are portrayed as highly sensitive and individualized human beings who minutely register 'the world's' demands and attitudes, their own feelings and individual responses and ascribe them existential importance — a configuration of fictional characters to which the writer's own personal make-up and biographical background may have contributed significantly.

General conclusions as to Indian migrants' living in India and the issue of cultural identity thus must not be drawn from merely one literary text. Still, *Six Yards of Silk* certainly reflects the reality and highlights salient points of migrants' predicaments.

Looking at the novel's literary-aesthetic achievement, the Ramesh chapters impress because the single narrative point of view shapes and controls a cohesiveness of content and form, of Ramesh's talking about his sensory hallucinations, the vanishing borders between the internal and external world and the sustained mood of strain and tone of presentation. The 'sari chapters', on the other hand, entitled with references to the garment's parts and ways of dressing in it and wearing it, are less cohesive, at times surprising the reader with unexpected and unwarranted shifts of perspective from present to past and back and from one character to the next (95-106, 108-116, 132-137). Here it seems that Krishnamurthy has not yet found a way of fully integrating the different time levels and character studies into a narrative that unfolds as densely as Ramesh's story.

Jacob Rajan and Justin Lewis's *Indian Ink* (2005), the trilogy of the plays *Krishnan's Dairy* (first performed in 1997), *The Candlestickmaker* (first performed in 2000), and *The Pickle King* (first performed in 2002),[38] proves to be of a very different aesthetic calibre. Though each play is centred on the interaction of a few characters the plots are of very slender proportion and besides focus on different social segments within the Indian diaspora in New Zealand. As the title suggests, Krishnan runs a dairy and he works long hours to just make a living for his small family. Echoing the hard and not always safe life of many lower middle class migrants who, as I've mentioned, continue to make up a considerable proportion of Indians in New Zealand, the play foregrounds their often confrontational existence and echoes violent attacks on them that have occurred from time to time.[39] Though meant with reference to the more recent play *Guru of Chai*, Rajan's words that "the play you are about to see was born of a real life connection,"[40] very well holds true also of *Krishnan's Dairy*.

Compared to the novel, character delineation is sparse and contents itself with roughly sketching the hard working, responsible dairy owner and, in contrast, his more traditionally anchored Indian wife who is full of stories and 'beliefs' and has a sweet tooth. This kind of attribution reveals

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38 Two more plays have been performed since: *The Dentist's Chair* (2007) and *The Chai Guru* (2010). See www.indianink.co.nz

39 Leckie, *op.cit.*, 2007, 174; Leckie, *op.cit.*, 2010, 60

40 See www.indianink.co.nz/Guru of Chai/Reviews

a very characteristic feature not only of this play: introducing humour and a light touch that counterpoints the serious portrayal of characters and events and employs the contrast between two differing cultural identities as a means of comic relief. In *The Candlestickmaker* a similar effect is brought about by the rhetoric of a retired professor of astrophysics facing his aged female servant and cook's sleight-of-hand retorts in Malayalam and broken English. This character constellation bears similarities with the outspoken and business-minded widowed matriarch running a small hotel in *The Pickle King* and the educated and demure heart surgeon who is forced to make his living as the hotel's porter. In this play Rajan and Lewis call attention to the neglect of "precious human capital" not being utilized by New Zealand employers[41] and bemoaned by the young Indian surgeon, who also mentions the case of a Sri Lankan economics lecturer exploited as a cleaner, or the Polish pharmacologist working "in functions."[42]

Altogether, the three plays take a very different course when compared with the novel. Combining the serious side of Indian migrants making a living in New Zealand with comic elements derived from contradictions in character and style, the playwrights do not shun theatre's rationale to entertain. It is furthermore enhanced by the use of theatrical forms like masks (referred to by Rajan as "Indian caricature masks"), thereby drawing on an element of Commedia dell'Arte[43] with its concomitant effects of allegory, but also of Brechtian 'alienation'. (Masks identify the various characters, but in performance are, as a rule, only worn by Rajan who thus plays different roles). Finally, music and various other devices (a duck, for example, manipulated by a puppeteer in *The Candlestickmaker*) add to the entertainment factor of plays that have succeeded in drawing huge audiences in New Zealand over nearly two decades and which have won critical acclaim in both Europe and the US: plays located at the interface of the local, the diasporan and the global and not meant just for a local Indian-New Zealand but an international audience.

Six Yards of Silk and the five plays by Rajan and Lewis indicate the beginnings of yet another literary tradition in English created by one of the more recent migrant groups in Aotearoa New Zealand. It may well contribute new patches, each necessarily bordered, to the patchwork of

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41 Zodgekar, *op.cit.*, 76

42 Rajan/Lewis, *op.cit.*, 2005, 122–123

43 Ibid., 19. "I think that Jacob and I are somehow drawn to old theatrical forms and we take great pleasure from rediscovering them in a contemporary context." www.indianink.co.nz/News/On Tour. Besides, the mask "guides the script", as Rajan put it. See Natasha Hayl, "Indian Ink Interview", *The Listener* (June 18, 2011)

the country's modern literature; an increasingly polycultural body of work to which Pacific Islanders, Chinese, European migrants and Indians have added, and because of which the perception of a 'national' literature takes on new meaning. As Jan Kemp in her eponymous poem, "We are all newcomers"[44] puts it:

> On Long Bay beach the languages
> of sky of sea of land, and of the newest
> comers speaking Samoan, Croatian,
> Hindi, Italian, Afrikaans, Arabic, Mandarin
> overheard in just one swim
> from three to seven pines and back—
> in a half hour Maori and English
> made plankton shoaling through
> the incoming whale tide of costumes and custom—

44 Jan Kemp, *Dante's Heaven*, Auckland: Puriri Press 2006, 15

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