He manawa whenua, e kore e mimiti
Indigenous centred knowledge-unlimited potential

Edited by Leonie Pihama, Herearoha Skipper,
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HE MIHI
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KAIKōRERO MATUA

HE MANAWA WHENUA
Dr Rangi Matamua

HE MANAWA WHENUA
Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith

INDIGENOUS SURVIVAL AND RESURGENCE IN AN AGE OF CRISIS
Professor Waziyatawin

HE MANAWA WHENUA, HE MANAWA TAKETAKE
Dayle Takitimu

HANDS BACK, HANDS FORWARD FOR INDIGENOUS EDUCATION:
THE PAST 40 YEARS AND THE NEXT
Professor Jo-Ann Archibald

NGĀ POU MĀTAURANGA MĀORI: A PERSPECTIVE OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI AND THE RELATIONSHIP TO RESEARCH
Dr Meihana Durie

THE PESA NADAYADU POENABE MADABWE (MAKING GOOD STRONG LEADERS), AN EMERGING INDIGENOUS LEADERS INSTITUTE (EILI)
Dr Debra Harry

HE MANAWA WHENUA
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TOWARDS ABORIGINAL SOVEREIGNTY
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Message from the Conference Chair

Firstly I would like extend, on behalf Te Mata Punenga o Te Kotahi, our thanks to all that gathered on the lands of Waikato-Tainui for the Inaugural Indigenous Research Conference of Te Kotahi Research Institute, ‘He Manawa Whenua’. It was an absolute honour and privilege for us to be able to host you in line with the tikanga, the traditions, of our people. The conference was inspired by a belief that Indigenous knowledge’s, sourced within our culture, language, protocols and practices are essential to our wellbeing as Indigenous Peoples. ‘He Manawa Whenua’ is a cultural understanding that provides us with an understanding of the significance of the source of our knowledge, of flowing from our lands, our mountains, our rivers, our seas. ‘He Manawa Whenua’ acknowledges our tūpuna, our ancestors, who have ensured our languages, cultures and philosophies have flowed through the generations, linking the past, present and future. It remembers those who have struggled to hold firm to our ways of being in the wake of colonial invasion on our lands. It affirms all through the generations who have contributed to the survival and revitalisation of our languages and cultures. It celebrates the beauty and power of our dreams and visions for future generations. All of these themes informed all aspects of the conference.

Secondly, I would like acknowledge the Keynote speakers who gave so generously given of their time in agreeing to provide us with inspiration, innovation, and challenges to inform our work as Indigenous researchers, and who travelled to communities around Aotearoa to share their understandings. Each of the keynote speeches are provided here in this collection. Some decided to allow a direct transcript of their speech to be included, others wrote articles that aligned to the content of their presentation. Each keynote speaker also agreed to be filmed and their video presentations appear online at https://www.youtube.com/user/tekotahiresearch/videos

An invitation for presenters to submit their work for this conference proceedings has led to the publication here of 39 articles. They all engage issues of relevance to research and to Indigenous research methodologies, methods or outcomes. As a Māori research institute that has been formed through the desires and aspirations of Te Rōpū Manukura (The Iwi representation at the University of Waikato) we are committed to Kaupapa Māori as the underpinning theoretical and methodological of all of the work we do, and as such we acknowledge that the writings here have been gifted by the authors to share with Indigenous Peoples. In doing so we hope that this proceedings will be shared far and wide with Indigenous communities and researchers to support the work we are doing to inform, support, inspire and create transformative spaces.

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR LEONIE PIHAMA
Te Atiawa, Ngāti Māhanga, Ngā Māhanga a Tairi
Conference Committee Chair
Director, Te Kotahi Research Institute
KAIKŌRERO MATUA - KEYNOTE ADDRESSES

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TE RĀKAU RANGAHAU – HE AHA TŌNA UHO?
Pānia Papa
KAIKÖRERO MATUA
Keynote Addresses

HE MANAWA WHENUA
Dr Rangi Matamua
Tūhoe
The University of Waikato

Keynote Address

Hei te tūtutu kaurewa, koutou ngā ihoiho o ngā maunga o te pō, ngā mana o ngā wai wahakaika o te ao whānui, tēnā koutou katoa. Ko Matariki tērā e ārau ana ki te tūāpae. Ko te whetū tapu o te tau e mihi atu ana ki ngā mate huahua kua hinga atu i roto i te tau, e karanga ana hoki ki a tātau te tangata ki whakakotahi ai i runga i te tika me te pono. Nō reira ko Matariki hunga nui tēnei e mihi ki a koutou katoa, nau mai, haere mai.

Ia tau ka rāhuitia tētahi wiki e te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori he whakatūpi i tō tātau reo. Ko tēnei rā tonu te ātāmatanga o te wiki o te reo Māori mō te taurua mano tekau mā toru. Ko te kaupapa kua tikapohia he whakatūpi i te reo Māori mō te tau nei ko ngā āingoa. Nō reira i toko ake te whakairo ko tōku puku ki te rangitāmiro i taku kaupapa kōrero ki te wiki o te reo Māori i te mea, nāku tonu tēnei hui i tātau, nāku tonu tēnei wānanga i whakaingoa ko te taitara ‘He Manawa Whenua’.

Akene pea kai te pātai mai e tātau, he aha te tūhonohono a te manawa whenua ki te mātāuranga o ngā iwi taketake o te aori. Ko tēnei mai e tūtū ātāmatanga o te wai o te reo Māori hei whakanui i tō tātau reo. Ko tēnei rā tonu te ātāmatanga o te wiki o te reo Māori mō te taurua mano tekau mā toru. Ko te kaupapa kua tikapohia he whakatūpi i te reo Māori mō te tau nei ko ngā āingoa. Nō reira i toko ake te whakairo ko tōku puku ki te rangitāmiro i taku kaupapa kōrero ki te wiki o te reo Māori i te mea, nāku tonu tēnei hui i tātau, nāku tonu tēnei wānanga i whakaingoa ko te taitara ‘He Manawa Whenua’.

Who are you?
You are water
Who are we?
We are water
I want to acknowledge those of you who have come from afar, from many different parts of the world, but also want to acknowledge those of you who have come from afar in Aotearoa. We welcome you all to our conference and hope that you enjoy the next 3 days.

My talk this morning I thought would be appropriate at the beginning of a conference. It’s on rhetoric, in other words, on talk. And the next 3 days is going to be full of talk. And I guess what I want to say to us is, how do we learn to live up to our talk, living up to rhetoric. And you know it’s a challenge to those of us who are researchers to keep working at what we do, because we have much to live up to, and actually it is quite hard to live up to it. And that is not just because we are imperfect human beings, but because we work and live in a very complex and sometimes an extremely imperfect culture.

The concept of rhetoric I’ve really taken from the Greek classical tradition of public talk, public discourse, and public discourse that is meant to be persuasive and purposeful. There is a reason why people get into rhetoric; it is to persuade others, to inspire others. It is a way to structure meanings, not what we mean but what we want others to take away as meaning. It is a way to inspire others, and to convince and to influence. And in that way, talk or rhetoric can actually define culture and define how society thinks, what society believes; it can transform cultural meanings. We often think about rhetoric as simply political discourse and people can be very cynical about what rhetoric is. It is simply talk, and you often hear the expression ‘oh, they’re just talking’; in other words, there is no substance to the talk.

So there is a dark side to rhetoric. Rhetoric can also be viewed as a tool or device to distort the truth, to deceive people and, in our terms in New Zealand, just to ‘bullshit’ everybody – I can’t think of a polite way to say that. Hence the expression that something said is ‘just talk’, it is meaningless. So rhetoric, in a way, is a way of persuading others, through the use of symbols; through the eliciting or provoking of responses; through appeals to people’s emotions, to their heart, to something inside them which is likely to respond, to connect with people, to connect with their values, to connect with their concerns, and to perform in ways that people feel comfortable with, and people develop a trust in the message. It is also a way to convince and to use language in a way that people are drawn into the argument and accept the logic of it.

So rhetoric really is a powerful use of public talk, and that is really what I want to move onto, is Māori public talk about research. In other words, Māori research rhetoric, or Indigenous research rhetoric. And there is some developmental elements in the way that we talk about research publically as Māori and as Indigenous. And it has necessarily been developmental, and I think it is kind of important that we hold that understanding, that where we are today, we can talk about some things now because others made it possible, and because other arguments were won decades ago. I think, in a Māori tradition, when you look back at our early scholars, post-colonisation, you do see this willingness to engage with European and Pākehā knowledge. So we did have an early phase of engagement with research and with knowledge and with belief; a profound deep belief of our ancestors that we knew our world. And I think Pou [Temara] gave an
HE MANAWA WHENUA

Professor Linda Tuhiai Smith

Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Porou

The University of Waikato

KEYNOTE ADDRESS (TRANSCRIBED)

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example earlier of King Pōtatau, we knew our world. He had knowledge, and we had a tradition of knowledge. And I think in that early phase of engagement there was genuine hopefulness that our knowledge would continue, that our grasp of our world, that our understanding of our world would continue as a way for us to continue to know our world.

We then went through a phase where our voices were muted, our understanding of our world was rocked, quite literally, by our displacement and by our wars with the coloniser, and we moved into a mode of resistance and actually a mode of deep depression that challenged our own belief systems. We then began a rather long journey of fighting back – actually that journey pretty much started as soon as the Treaty [of Waitangi] was signed – but it has been a long fight back and a long talking back.

So the use of rhetoric, political rhetoric for Māori does actually have a long tradition for us in the sort of post-colonial times. That fight back also involved the development of some critical tools, and these critical tools are essential in the way, certainly I, understand what Māori research is about. It also involves reassertion of our identity and trying to understand that identity post the disruption of colonisation. Because it was a damaged identity in some way, but it was also a resilient and resistant identity that was able to reform, and it was able to take heart, I guess from the waters beneath; that kind of source of things that have kept us going over time. It has also been an assertion of our tino rangatiratanga, our sort of determination, self-determination and an understanding of what the framework of the Treaty of Waitangi might deliver, if the Treaty was in some way honoured, by the country, the society who have imposed their government on us.

And, in this sense, I am talking about one element of the Treaty, both in Article 2 and in Article 3; and that is the right for us to have an intellectual life. The right to an intellectual life as collectives, and the right to an intellectual life as individuals. And this right to an intellectual life is also a right to an imagination, a right to create and be creative, a right to continue our hopes and aspirations. To me, those rights are also embedded in our Treaty.

I think we also went through a phase, an active phase, of connecting internationally with other Indigenous struggles, and trying to search the world for people who are like us. It is a natural human thing to do, to hope that you are not alone, and to believe that the struggles that we have are not just ours alone, that somehow a burden shared makes a burden possible to carry.

Then we went through a phase of trying to understand, deploy and mobilise our voice, the use of modern political Māori rhetoric, and being able to understand the power of that voice in a dominant world: how that voice could be used strategically; how that voice could be used strategically to upset the other; how that voice could be used strategically to lift up the hopes of Māori; how that voice could be used strategically to totally get up the nose of people in power. And it seemed to me a really important phase. And out of that phase came what was Māori Language Day, and what became Māori Language Week. That was the phase of political direct action of the 1970s.

Then we moved into a space of claiming theory and method. In other words claiming the 'tools' of research and refashioning them in our own image. Refashioning those tools as our tools. And reconnecting those tools actually to our past, to understand that we had research-active ancestors who managed to navigate the greatest body of water on earth, and to do that purposefully. They didn’t accidentally wash up here, it was not two men in a boat or even three men in a boat, because if there were three men in a boat, obviously the women were already here. These were
purposive voyages across the Pacific by people who understood not only their world, but the world beyond planet earth, the world beyond the ocean that we now know as the Pacific. They knew many things, they had deep insight into what they lived in, and that was a universe.

So, that claiming of theory and method in the world of research has been really important, and to take the path of research back to our story and to find that *aka matua* [primary vine] of our knowledge, to reconnect our endeavours today with that tradition and not the tradition of the western academy.

So I think we then began a phase of confidence in the use of our own cultural frameworks, and the development, particularly in the 1980s of a number of frameworks; John Rangihau had a framework, Rose Pere had a framework, ways to reintegrate our Māori values as conceptual frameworks for making sense of the world, and enabling us to generate more appropriate interpretations of what was happening to us. It enabled us to define new spaces and to claim spaces that were once ours, to reclaim those spaces and, more recently, to be able to engage with others again but more on our own terms.

I think we have had a desire in Māori research to produce knowledge and to produce research that is useful to our people, that contributes to our development and advancement as Māori, and that leads to new insights that inspire us to voyage purposefully into the future. I say that with real care, because at one level producing useful knowledge, or what is called ‘utilitarian knowledge, is not just about practical knowledge – because to me producing knowledge that helps us think in a new way about an old problem is useful; to produce knowledge that makes us pause and redefine the way we understand something is useful. So I don’t make a distinction necessarily between theoretical knowledge or creative knowledge or practical knowledge. I think if it moves us, if it inspires us, if it causes us to stop and think, then it has been useful.

These steps are not about an intellectual abstraction but actually they are about general political struggles that have been fought in the elite western institutions of knowledge and simultaneously in the minds of our own people. I think that is what makes much of our struggle really challenging. It’s bad enough trying to change an institution, I’ve spent my entire career trying to do that; I give myself 3 out of 10. But when at the same time you are trying to convince your own communities, your own tribes that education is important, that knowledge is important, that academic discipline is important, that research is important, that theory is important, that method is important, that logic is really important, that being rational and ethical is really, really important – and that’s just with our own people – I give myself 1 out of 10.

So the challenge is to use rhetoric, in other words, to use public talk, really for two separate audiences. That is our challenge. How do we ‘speak’, if you like, to the academy, how do we speak to power, how do we speak to ourselves, how do we speak to our own communities, and how do we convince them that we are actually useful.

How does rhetoric then inspire change? I think one of the things I have learnt is the importance of being able to see beyond a horizon. To me that is a world I have lived in, an imaginative world, and it is easy to be dismissed – ‘oh you’re just dreaming’, ‘oh that’s just a fantasy’, or ‘that will never happen’. Our story is: well, actually it can happen if you dream it; it can happen if you imagine it; and it will never happen if you do not. Our imaginations are important, our ability to be creative is important, and we have to imagine our identity all the time on a daily basis, and we have to imagine that identity as a positive one, as one we are proud of. And many of you who I know, who I see spend your day to day work, your day to day life lifting up the imaginations of
our people, giving them hope and making them see that inside them is this huge, worthwhile, valuable human being, that that is your work on the ground. It is also important to see ourselves as actors in our space, as actors in our world, not as victims, not as passive recipients of other people’s distorted views of us.

It has also been important to apply principles of being sovereign. It’s one thing to talk about being self-determining; it’s an entirely different thing to act as if you are, to begin to take action, to behave as if you are self-determining. And I think that is where you get into this kind of difference around rhetoric and substance. You can talk as if you are self-determining but act in ways that you are not.

I think another challenge for us has been to move between the sort of individual and collective aspirations, to move between trying to improve yourself and trying to improve your own family, but having these vast responsibilities for improving the collective and for up-lifting the collective and for doing service to the collective. The responsibility of a Māori and an Indigenous individual is not to be an individual; their responsibility is to change and contribute to the collective.

So I think some of the things that researchers have done really well is developing a range of new models that help us think about ourselves in different ways. And perhaps in some fields, such as Education and Health which are the two fields I know well, it is developing new models for educating ourselves, for delivering services to ourselves, and for giving us examples for understanding actually how transformation works. We can all talk about change, but those of you who work in communities know that change is really hard. It is really hard. Firstly, how do you change mind-sets? How do you give hope, where there has been no hope? How do you provide different models for being, for just living? How do you change people’s economic circumstances? How do you change deep intergenerational impoverishment and the effects of disadvantage? So those of you that work at the community level will know that you change one thing here and other things unfold; you change one thing over here and something else unfolds. So it’s understanding this kind of unfolding element of change and how generational it is. It’s not simply about creating a new initiative, it’s being able to see down the line to 3 iterations of that initiative, through 3 generations of that initiative. Kōhanga Reo is a really good example of a movement that inspired Māori; it inspired Māori to create Kōhanga Reo or language nests in their homes, in their garages, at the local marae, in their church. It inspired them to do that with no money. It has inspired them to do that with no speakers of Māori language. When Kōhanga Reo started in 1982, in those early 1980s, it inspired people to do things beyond what they thought they were capable of doing alone. Now if you talk to people about Kōhanga Reo, my question is, does it still inspire? And that is what is difficult about change: how do you inspire intergenerationally? How do you keep the inspiration going over time? It’s easy to see a new initiative or an idea settle, it gets implemented, it gets regulated, it has rules, it starts to create its own bureaucracy, it trains its own people, and I am not just talking about Kōhanga. I am talking about any initiative that gets embedded, so that it starts to become something, and that something has to be fed, and that feeding of something starts to consume resources, and then the feeding of it takes over its imagination, its imaginative potential. And it’s trying to understand what that means for us over time.

I would say ditto for research, that what we have got to understand is the iterations of Indigenous research over time, because as some of you younger ones get involved in research you’re in a new world, you have an identity as a researcher that others before you have helped create. And the critical questions is: what do you take with you from that past, and how do you add value to it through your own work?
Let me move then to: how do we live up to our rhetoric. Really I think the rules are easy, they are actually spelled out to us from our past, and they are so simple that we take them for granted:

Stand in your own world, or ground ourselves in our world; Know our past; Honour our ancestors.

You know, actually, sometimes we have to forgive some of them, because you may think, ‘oh god, what did you do that for?’ or ‘why didn’t you do more?’ We have to understand their time, and not judge them by our time. But we also have to honour their resistance, and we have to honour the legacy that they gave us. We have to value the treasures of our ancestors. And those treasures are not just the material treasures – actually they didn’t leave any, most of their material treasures were stolen – but we can go abstract, we can go conceptual, we can go into the value space, to value the treasures of our ancestors; to value the alternative ways of knowing that they left us in our language; to value the concepts of knowledge that they left us; to value the maps for finding ourselves again and again that they left us; to exercise generosity, to understand the power of sharing as much as the power of defending what’s yours; to enter new spaces with caution, to understand what it means to venture into the unknown; to have courage when you are up against it; to know what it means to act rather than to give in; and to know which battles are worth fighting.

And I know that I am talking in a general kind of way. But to me all of this is important in research. What I am talking about is equally important in research, that as researchers we have to be grounded in our Indigenous world. Sometimes I listen to research and I am thinking, ‘oh, that’s different’. I’m usually impressed, it is like ‘wow, I hadn’t thought about that one, that’s really flash’. But then something in my stomach starts to go ping, ping, ping, and what usually does it for me is when I try to apply the idea to my own community, my own tribe. And it makes me smile, because I think, ‘yeah right, that ain’t going to work’, or ‘it’s not like that at home’.

So, being able to speak from an authentic position as an Indigenous researcher, to understand what that means. I mean it’s kind of coded in an international Indigenous world, there is this coding, because you are not meant to ask, ‘are you Indigenous?’ Well, this has been true for decades, you never ask, ‘are you Indigenous?’, when you ask that you’re desperate. It’s a coded language, which usually starts, ‘oh, so where are you from and how did you get here?’ And, really, it is a network of other people you trust who introduce people into your network, that’s normally how it works. Everyone here in this room, the Indigenous ones, we know how they got here, so we know that they are Indigenous. And for us that is really important, that they come in a trusted way through the door, and that they settle and understand the protocols at work.

So that kind of idea of being really confident you yourself, about speaking in another Indigenous world is important. How do you make that transition into another space? Also, as a researcher, how do you honour those who have come before? Some people do it because they name all the fathers generally of the discipline, but in Indigenous research there are lots of mothers. And bringing that past down not just from the recent past but actually from our own traditions of knowledge, being able to go that far back and bring it down into our work. How do we value their contributions, but also move those contributions forward? How do we exercise generosity? I actually think that is important. It’s becoming more important as I sit on a number of key committees. We can be mean to each other, and we can be mean about each other and use confidentiality to mask that. I think it is really important to be generous, not to be mean and mean spirited. I see meanness in the way researchers assess each other, using blindness as an excuse.
You know, I read a lot of proposals that are imperfect, but I think of my first proposal. It was really imperfect, but someone was generous and saw hope in it. Probably my fourth proposal was also really imperfect, and even the proposal I wrote recently was full of imperfections. As referees and assessors we have to see the goodness in it, and then give feedback that allows that goodness to shine.

I have a particular beef about meanness. I don’t want us to be mean, I don’t want us to behave in mean ways to each other, and I don’t want to see our meanness on display when I am in places where I’m the only Māori in the room. It hurts. But the other thing is I don’t think we need to be mean, we just simply need to learn the protocols of feedback and develop new ones. There is another beef I have, because after this you are going to have questions and I pretty much know 90% of the Māori audience don’t know how to ask questions. So I have a new protocol, it’s not called questions, it’s called ‘mihi’. If you do not have a question you can stand up and give your mihi, and inside it will be a question. So do not feel obliged to ask those direct questions that we find hard to ask. And do not feel obliged to give a kauhau as well, as some of our European counterparts can do, where they want to do their own speech because they did not like your one. Do what we know in our own practice and culture, and start from there and develop our own protocols.

And then just finally as a researcher, I guess I am getting old when I start to become less secular in my beliefs, and begin to think that those other worlds are really important, to understand how to move between them. I always knew as a teacher that one of the powers that a teacher or educator has is to mess with people’s minds. It is a very tapu power. But also as a researcher you have the power to mess with people’s minds. And as someone who is good in the art of rhetoric you have the power to mess with people’s minds. Treat that power with humility and understand that power used wrongly hurts. So it is not enough to intend to be good; it is really important to try and practice the art of being good in public talk.
The title of this presentation is ‘Indigenous Survival and Resurgence in An Age of Crisis.’ But before we can speak of survival and resurgence, we have to spend some time flailing in the muck. We have to take honest stock of what is happening to our beloved Mother Earth. We have to contemplate the experiences of not just our Indigenous human relatives, but all of our non-human relatives as well.

Two hundred species will go extinct today. During the course of this conference 600 species that once populated our Earth Mother will die as the last of their kind, because their habitats are choked with toxins or simply are no more, because their food sources have also disappeared, or because the climate is changing so fast they are unable to adapt in time to save themselves. As many as 70,000 species will go extinct this year, ranging from the smallest microbes to the largest mammals. We have a planet that is out of whack and all life is in danger.

Do you know how many species can go extinct in your ecosystem before the entire ecosystem collapses? 10? 100? 1,000? 100,000? That’s the problem, nobody really knows. Scientists used to think that there would be a gradual degradation of ecosystems at a relatively steady pace until an ecosystem collapsed. Now they realise that there is not a steady decline. Instead, as an ecosystem weathers various assaults, there is an omega point, or tipping point, and once that point is breached, the collapse can happen immediately. And, no one knows precisely where that tipping point might be for any given system. We could wake up one day and find that our ecosystem no longer supports life.

Coral reefs today are being destroyed more rapidly than rainforests. And every second, an acre and half of rainforest is gone. In the Arctic, glaciers the size of Manhattan are melting into the sea.

Kuna people off the coast of Panama are already losing their island homes from rising sea levels, while Inuit in the Arctic are already losing their means of subsistence from loss of sea ice and the melting of permafrost. The elders among the Indigenous peoples of Ecuador are saying they no longer know when to plant, because rain no longer comes when expected. Sami people of Finland, Norway and Sweden are facing a crisis with reindeer, their primary food source, because lichen, the reindeer’s vital food source, is disappearing with increasingly mild winters. Indigenous populations around the world are experiencing an increase in diseases with rising temperatures, worsening drought and desertification of lands, often with accompanying dust storms and wildfires, as well as flooding, erosion of coasts and riverbanks, longer-living and
invasive insects that can destroy native plants and animals, stronger and more severe weather patterns and disasters, and changes to the seasonal patterns of birds, animals, plants, & flowers.\(^5\)

All of these are the consequence of the rapacious appetite of industrial civilization. For Indigenous Peoples around the globe, this appetite was fed through the colonial machine.

Now in the 21\(^{st}\) century, we all face what some experts are calling the ‘perfect storm of ecological and social problems.’\(^6\) Climate chaos and ecological destruction are compounded by population growth and the depletion of resources such as fossil-fuels, water, and topsoil. Although Indigenous Peoples were not the ones to create these crises, our populations are often the first ones to recognize the dangerous threats to our homelands and to experience the detrimental effects of the ways of the colonizers. Sometimes it is difficult for us to recognize the destruction to our homelands. Sometimes the destruction occurs slowly over time and we do not recognize it. Sometimes if we don’t live close to the land, we can miss the signs. Sometimes we only see the external beauty of the lands and waters and it’s easy to miss how they’ve been harmed. And, even when we are aware of what is happening in our homelands, we may not be aware of what is happening in other people’s homelands, or we may not consider the ways in which we contribute to or are complicit in the destruction of someone’s Indigenous homeland. Whose homelands are destroyed for the rare earth minerals in our cell phones and computers? Whose waters are toxified so that we can have access to abundant fossil fuels? How many animals and plants have been sacrificed to support the lifestyles from which many of us here continue to benefit in spite of our status as colonized populations?

I ask these questions and make these points not from some position of self-righteousness (I am here rolling in the muck, as well), but from a place of critical self-reflection. If nothing else, my research into climate chaos has fostered a desire to unravel the ways that colonization continues to bind our minds. Most of us here are now also caught up in a lifestyle that has us contributing to the destruction. Furthermore, many of us have embraced notions of progress, we have embraced a belief in the permanency of empire and nation-states, and we have embraced an assumption about the inevitability of technological advancement and growth.

Buying into the myths of settler society is a consequence of colonization, but it is colonization with a twist. That twist is its combination with the relentless exploitation of fossil fuels that has allowed industrial civilization to temporarily flourish. Because of the success we have witnessed in terms of technology especially, many of us can no longer envision anything else. Many of us can no longer imagine a future without the fossil-fuel based technologies upon which we have become dependent. For most of our ancestors, it was just the opposite.

One of the famous leaders among our Western relatives, the Hunkpapa Lakota leader Tatanka Iyotanka (Sitting Bull), perceived white people forcing us into their culture and ways as an injustice. He said, “White men like to dig in the ground for their food. My people prefer to hunt buffalo as their fathers did. White men like to stay in one place. My people want to move their teepees here and there to different hunting grounds. The life of white men is slavery. They are prisoners in towns or farms. The life my people want is freedom. I have seen nothing that a white

\(^5\) Ibid., accessed June 29, 2013.
man has, houses or railways or clothing or food that is as good as the right to move in the open country, and live in our own fashion.\textsuperscript{7}

Not so today. Few Indigenous people today talk of relinquishing the comforts and luxuries of the modern world, even when the way of life of industrial civilization is harming the earth. I rarely hear critiques of industrial civilization, or our participation in it, nor do I hear a call to abandon the material aspects of colonizing culture. Somehow we have come to believe that we can have it all – a fossil-fuel based life and values based on kinship with all of creation. We can buy into the paradigm of unlimited economic growth and we can lament the commodification of our homelands. We can maintain industrial civilization and we can live close to the land. Evo Morales said “We have a stark choice between capitalism and survival ... either capitalism lives or Mother Earth lives.” The same could be said about industrial civilization and survival: either industrial civilization lives or Mother Earth lives. We cannot have it all. That is our inconvenient truth. As Indigenous Peoples, it is essential that we do not forget to measure the costs to our kin.

Prior to colonization and industrial civilization, Indigenous ways of life allowed our ancestors to live on the same landbase for thousands of years without destroying it. For most of us in this room, how long do you think we could continue to participate in this modern, high-tech lifestyle without destroying not just our homeland, but the whole planet – especially if we are doing it with the other 7 billion people on the planet? Does anyone in this room think this way of life can survive thousands of years? By all indications, this way of life will not exist another century and the longer it lasts, the more dire the consequences for the rest of creation.

James Hansen, the NASA scientist who brought global warming to the attention of the world when he testified before the US Congress in the 1980s, wrote in 2009: “Only in the past few years did the science crystallise, revealing the urgency. Our planet is in peril. If we do not change course, we'll hand our children a situation that is out of their control. One ecological collapse will lead to another, in amplifying feedbacks.”\textsuperscript{8}

As I have written elsewhere, “even if we continue along the current trajectory as long as the fossil fuels hold out, our survival is still in jeopardy. In fact, the future survival of all life on the planet is in jeopardy. Access to cheap fossil fuels has afforded the unsustainable burgeoning of the population of the planet, unprecedented human-caused C\textsubscript{02} emissions, and the likelihood of increasing political violence. Disruptive climate change will lead to extreme weather events, humanitarian crises, and violence over remaining resources. We have what Christian Parenti has labeled a “catastrophic convergence,” which means not only that several disasters (political,
economic, and environmental) happen simultaneously, but that these problems also compound and amplify one another.”9

Marian King Hubbert who coined the term “peak oil,” plotted oil production on a 10,000-year chart, demonstrating that industrial civilization’s use of oil is “a unique event in human history, a unique event in biological history. It is non-repetitive, a blip in the span of time.” Of course, C02 emissions are directly linked to the fossil-fuel age, as is the exponential growth in human population. And, as Michael Ruppert has pointed out, there is a 96% correlation between greenhouse gas emissions and economic growth.10 He goes on to state:

“For further, the oil that remains on the declining side of Hubbert’s peak will be harder and more energy-intensive to extract, if it can be extracted at all. At some point, if the remaining oil requires more energy to extract than is returned, ongoing drilling will be pointless to pursue. Most of the easily accessible and best quality oil has been pumped already and most remaining oil reserves require deeper drilling in more difficult locations, or advanced processing (as in the Alberta tar sands, for example). To compound the situation, oil resources will be running out at the same time that world demand is expanding.”11

Much of what we attribute to the modern world is dependent on the temporary state of fossil fuel extraction. That era is ending and the effects of this (relatively) brief bonanza of extraction may be permanent and last for centuries or thousands of years.

**Dangerous Levels of Greenhouse Gas Concentrations**

New Zealand Climate Change Centre (NZCCC), in explaining the scientific basis behind the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1992 agreed that in order to prevent “dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system,” we must stabilize atmospheric greenhouse gas (GHG) concentrations. The question is, at what point are GHG concentrations dangerous? In a 2010 meeting in Cancun, Mexico, countries who had ratified the UNFCCC agreed that global warming could not rise above 2 degrees C. Scientific assessments have shown that “if we are to limit global warming to 2°C, we need a globally coordinated programme to reduce our net GHG emissions to near-zero during the 21st century.”12

And, what does ‘dangerous anthropogenic interference’ mean? What exactly is meant by ‘dangerous’ is not specifically defined by the UNFCCC.13

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11 Ibid., 20.
Impacts of Climate Change in Aotearoa

In Aotearoa you are likely to see “an increase in temperature of over 1°C by 2050 and of over 2°C (compared with 1990 levels) by the end of the century. There are likely to be fewer frost days in winter and more hot days in summer.” One of the greatest impacts of climate change is likely to be on water resources, with higher rainfall in the west and less in the north and east. Climate change is expected to cause more frequent extreme weather events such as droughts and floods. Like the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Bill McKibben, founder of 350.org, agrees with the 2 degree Celsius threshold. He built his organization around the number 350, which some leading scientists say is the safe upper limit for carbon dioxide – measured in ‘Parts Per Million’ in our atmosphere. He also believes that this is what we need to control the rise in temperature and to stay below a 2 degrees Celsius increase. And, as he recently pointed out in his article ‘Global Warming’s Terrifying New Math’ in Rolling Stone magazine, 565 Gigatons is the amount of CO2 we can put in the atmosphere to keep from raising 2 degrees Celsius and 2,795 Gigatons is the amount of the world’s carbon (coal, oil, gas) reserves (worth $27 trillion). This, he tells us, represents what ‘we’ (industrial civilization) are planning to burn. That is five times higher than the upper limit of 2 degrees Celsius. While fossil fuels are a finite resource that will not allow industrial civilization to continue much longer, the burning of the remaining carbon resources will kill us. About this George Monbiot wrote:

There is enough oil in the ground to deep-fry the lot of us, and no obvious means to prevail upon governments and industry to leave it in the ground. Twenty years of efforts to prevent climate breakdown through moral persuasion have failed... The world’s most powerful nation is again becoming an oil state, and if the political transformation of its northern neighbor is anything to go by, the results will not be pretty.

Furthermore, not everyone agrees that 2 degrees Celsius provides a safe upper limit, or that achieving that today is even possible. As Canadian analyst Cory Morningstar pointed out in 2013:

>This 350.org statement above is incredibly dangerous and misleading as it implies two things: 1) that we can continue to burn more fossil fuels for some time; 2) that only when we exceed 2°C do we risk catastrophe for life on Earth; and fails to mention a third: the fact that we are already committed to a minimum temperature increase of 2.4°C (Ramanathan and Feng), even if we stop burning all fossil fuels today.

Today we are already close to one degree over pre-industrial levels of CO2 and we are already experiencing dangerous climate change. Since the 1970s, the world’s biodiversity has declined

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17 George Monbiot, “We were wrong on peak oil. There is enough to fry us all,” The Guardian, July 2, 2012, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jul/02/peak-oil-we-we-wrong, accessed October 18, 2013.
by 30 percent while humans continue to outstrip the earth’s resources by 50 percent.19 We have increased drought and fires, desertification or dust-bowlification, bleaching coral reefs, sea level rising, arctic ice and permafrost melting, and a worsening water crisis. In 2012, one of the world’s leading experts on the Arctic predicted that we could see the final collapse of summer sea ice within four years;20 A recent report just estimated that climate change kills 1,000 children a day contributing to a total of 400,000 human deaths each year21 (in addition to the tens of thousands of other species that go extinct each year). It is disrupting the lives of millions more: “Over 30 million people were displaced by climate-related extreme weather events in 2012, and it is increasingly likely millions more will be displaced in the near future.”22

A 2 degree Celsius scenario is worse. Some analysts predict that 2 degrees Celsius would push us past many of the earth’s tipping points, lead to large scale disintegration of the Greenland and West Antarctic ice sheets (and perhaps all the ice-sheets on the planet), an eventual sea-level rise of 70 meters, the extinction of 15-40% of plant and animal species, ocean acidification at increasingly dangerous levels, significant tundra loss, increasing methane release, and widespread drought and desertification.23

As climate researchers have noted, within this century Māori will face increased water stress as droughts increase and there is more demand for water in hot dry summers. This was apparent in 2013 as Māori farmers faced an extraordinary dry spell in rural communities on the North Island.24 Higher temperatures and lower rainfall are expected to reduce soil moisture as well as groundwater supplies. New plant and animal pests are likely to emerge facilitating the spread of pathogens and diseases. With increasing human populations there will also be increasing habitat loss. Coastal populations will face sea-level rise, surging storms, high tides and more frequent coastal inundation, as well as erosion of coastal infrastructure such as roads, homes, and services. Food-gathering places and sacred sites may also be jeopardized.25 In light of this, we all must ask, shouldn’t we consider a two degree Celsius maximum ‘dangerous’?

The liberal wing of the green movement largely fails to address the core issues driving climate change, in that it will not fundamentally challenge the exploiting systems and institutions. Rather than focusing on taking whatever action is necessary to stop CO2 emissions, most of the conversations in governmental, corporate, and even nonprofit organizations only will advocate...
solutions that will allow industrial civilization to continue and that support continued economic growth. On a finite planet, this is suicide. Continuing her critique of 350.org, Cory Morningstar poignantly discusses what the ‘climate wealth’ agenda is missing. She says:

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\text{What it will not include is: the urgent necessity to destroy the expanding military empire, to transition from/dismantle our current economic system, to address the industrialized livestock industry, to massively scale back and conserve, to employ tactics of self-defense by any means necessary, nor anything else that is imperative to address if we are to mitigate full-out omnicide. In a nutshell, the agenda will not include anything that would actually pose any meaningful threat to the system.}
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And, in the 21st century, we face a multitude of related crises.

Maude Barlow and Tony Clarke in Blue Gold wrote:

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31 \text{ countries in the world are currently facing water stress and scarcity. Over one billion people have no access to clean drinking water and almost three billion have no access to sanitation services. By the year 2025, the world will contain 2.6 billion more people than it holds today, but as many as two-thirds of those people will be living in conditions of serious water shortage, and one-third will be living with absolute water scarcity. Demand for water will exceed availability by 56 percent.}\n\]

In March 2013, The Times in Shanghai reported that 28,000 rivers have disappeared from China’s state maps. Officials have blamed climate change which they say has caused waterways to vanish. Environmentalists have attributed the loss to ill-conceived development and severe over-exploitation. Big dams, industrial toxification, and depletion of water sources have all likely contributed to loss of rivers.

Climate blogger, Joseph Romm, has written that “Drought is the most pressing problem caused by climate change. It receives too little attention.” He points out that he realized the term ‘desertification’ is not an accurate one to use to describe effects of drought, deluge precipitation that causes runoff rather than drought alleviation, and earlier snowmelt with less water stored on mountain-tops for the summer dry season. Many deserts are biologically diverse and that is not what is happening in the United States. Thus, he now uses the more appropriate term of ‘dust-bowlification’ to describe the process that will have a devastating impact on food security.

Historically, humans adapted to dust-bowlification with abandonment, Romm says: “The very word ‘desert’ comes from the Latin desertum for ‘an abandoned place.’” What lands of the future will become uninhabitable because of lack of water and fertile lands?

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Drought, along with flooding and wildfires, are increasing problems throughout the world. In July 2012, lack of rain was the leading cause of grid collapse in India. How are the two connected? The farmers there, especially in Northern India, rely on the monsoon rains to water their crops: “Less rain means that farmers need to pump more water from deep boreholes, using highly subsidized electricity.” At the same time, “less monsoon rain also causes water levels to drop and hydropower production to slow.”

My homeland of Mni Sota Makoce last year reported water shortages. The outrageousness of this becomes apparent in light of the Dakota ancient name for our homeland: Land Where the Waters Reflect the Skies. This was a reference to the abundance of fresh water with over 15,000 lakes and 6,000 rivers and streams.

So, what is the solution? Vandana Shiva, in Soil Not Oil, outlines two steps we must take in this context if human beings and the planet are to survive:

- Power down energy and resource consumption (fossil-fuel free future)
- Power up creative, productive human energy and collective democratic energy to make the necessary transition (that brings people back into the sustenance economy, helping people and planet)

This is a perfectly logical solution to our current crises – if rising CO2 emissions are the problem, the reasonable answer is a fossil-fuel free future. But this is not the solution that people in power want to hear, let alone follow, and Shiva knows this. She further points out:

*The eco-imperialist response to the climate crisis is to grab the remaining resources of the planet, close the remaining spaces of freedom, and use the worst form of militarized violence to exterminate people’s rights and people themselves when they get in the way of an insatiable economy’s resource appropriation, driven by the insatiable greed of corporations.*

Indigenous scholar Daniel Wildcat refers to this as ‘a culture of self-termination,’ by which he means that “we are killing ourselves by ending the lives of many of our other-than-human relatives on which our own lives depend.”

Despite this terribly bleak portrayal, I still have a sense of hope. We have spent enough time in the muck now and I want to close with some comments about survival and resurgence. While a future of climate chaos is frightening, if there are any populations in the world with the capacity to survive, it will be Indigenous Peoples. The destructive force of more than five centuries of colonization is waning, if only because the colonizers are running out of resources to exploit. Empires fall, especially in the face of shortages of resources, and always because they are inherently unsustainable over the long term. This vulnerability in the armor of empire, will provide unprecedented opportunities for reclamation and rebirth. Our gift, as Indigenous

34 Ibid., 45.
societies that have lasted thousands of years, is that we have the capacity to act in the interests of the long-term and the broad-view.

Within our grasp is the dream of decolonization. When I speak of decolonization today, I speak of the elements of resistance and resurgence. In the race for the last grab of the world’s remaining resources, we will need to ramp up our resistance in defense of our homelands, and we will need to effectively work to ensure that the costs of industrial civilization are not exported to Indigenous homelands elsewhere. In other words, we need to divest ourselves from our involvement in and complicity with an exploitative society and we need to defend our lands like our lives depended upon it, because they do. At every step, we need to ensure that the cost of destroying our homelands will be too high for governments and corporations to pay. If we want our future generations to be born into a life that can still be sustained by our Mother Earth, we must fight now.

Decades ago, Vine Deloria, Jr. wrote in *God Is Red*: “The future of humankind lies waiting for those who will come to understand their lives and take up their responsibilities to all living things. Who will listen to the trees, the animals and birds, the voices of the places of the land?”36 In the past, it was our ancestors who were committed to listening to our non-human relatives because they worked diligently to maintain respectful relations with creation and because they believed in an ethic of balance. I think we still maintain the values of our ancestors, but few of us practice a sustainable way of life that allows us to live those values. It seems to me that Deloria’s call, and the wisdom of Indigenous teachings around the world, support a vision of decolonization that includes both resistance and resurgence. If we listen to the cries of our animal and plant relatives, if we feel the anguish in the spirit of toxic waters, they will prompt us to act. Today, we have the opportunity to fulfill that role again, and the lives of our future generations may depend on our capacity to pick up that mantle. We need to be better listeners. But us attempting to return to a way of life respectful of creation will not stop global warming. It will not stop the corporate exploitation of our homelands.

Lastly, decolonization as resurgence is a mechanism for us to live our values and worldview in a more meaningful way. More than any time in our history, today it is absolutely clear that everything that we were taught about the superiority of the colonizer’s way was a lie. We know it’s a lie, because it has proven itself unsustainable –so dramatically unsustainable that within a few short centuries, the colonizers are destroying the life that we all need to survive. For centuries, our cultures were diminished by colonizing society because we did not hold the same beliefs regarding the exploitation of the environment, about a hierarchy of creation, about progress. As Indigenous peoples, do we aspire to join, uphold, and participate in the culture of the colonizers that is destroying the world, or do we choose to fight for and to re-create ways if being consistent with our teachings and values? In the context of global crises, what will you do?

HE MANAWA WHENUA, HE MANAWA TAKETAKE
DAYLE TAKITIMU
Te Whānau-a-Apanui

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

This paper explores the right to self-determination, and the inter-relationship between that right and the territorial and environmental integrity of indigenous lands. It examines how indigenous peoples' ability to protect the environmental integrity of their territories is being compromised by the entrenched legal fictions upon which the international legal system is based.

International law can be frustrating for an indigenous scholar. It is one thing to employ black and white words to describe the history (and present circumstances) of our peoples. The catastrophic impacts of colonisation, and the price our peoples unwillingly paid to fulfil the greed of others. Layer upon layer the inequity is described – some authors unpackaging the historical calamity, others exploring modern day ‘solutions’ to indigenous ‘issues’. Some, possibly to increase reader interest, use sharp, cutting words – slicing right through decades of discourse with a carefully crafted sentence or two. Others, uncomfortable with the reality they’ve just encountered, err on the side of linguistic caution – they cushion the blow for those uninitiated in indigenous rights, tease out complex details and hedge their bets with legal and political euphemisms. Maybe murder and genocide won’t sound so harsh if people can just learn to call it ‘colonisation’.

The problem for the indigenous scholar is that this is not the totality of our truth. And, given the generations of subjugation our peoples have had to endure, we need not apologise for finding legal research in international indigenous rights, as a collection of work, challenging. Sure, there’s the odd glimmer of light, the odd academic who has taken the time, worked it out, and says it how it is. But they are few and far between.

By and large international law treats indigenous people, our peoples, as a problem that needs to be solved. But with one careful caveat – the solution must be within the existing framework. It might require some amendments, some revisions, some tweaking here and there. Every now and again there is someone with the audacity to suggest something ‘bold’ like a new declaration of some sort, or who advocates for a new treaty or a new institution that might be the panacea we, the global collective, are all waiting for.

But this is why it’s challenging, to those of us that are indigenous, and live indigenous lifeways everyday – the international legal framework is flawed at its core. It is based on fiction created decades ago by colonising states to further their exclusive agenda. It simply can not be tinkered with to accommodate indigenous rights. Certainly not in a meaningful way. Sure, if you want to add a little bit of indigenous flavour here and there, a bit of cultural diversity, a bit of political correctness – that you can do within the system – no problem. But is that the recognition of indigenous rights? Is that what the authentic recognition of self determination requires? No. Self determination requires you to get beyond the rhetoric and into the truth of the matter. Self determination requires you to challenge the core of the international law framework. Unpackage the fictions. Anything short of that is tokenism, and simply amounts to further colonisation on a macro level.

The true recognition of self determination, in regards to indigenous peoples, requires the international community to admit the Doctrine of Discovery is a fiction. A lie. A fairytale. And a
So, built on racist, fictional foundations, the indigenous scholar asks, how can this system ever be just? How can it be tailored to ‘accommodate’ our rights and interests, novel as they are, when its very existence was designed to deny them? Therein lies the problem, not just for indigenous academics, those of us stuck trudging through papers talking about how to solve our problems for us, but for our peoples, and for the entire global community. It exposes a truth no one really wants to know about – that the international legal system, as it is currently constructed, is without moral and legal credibility.

Can indigenous self determination ever be exercised at international law if international law won’t accept those basic truths?

And then the political reality kicks in. Those truths are never going to be accepted (or acceptable) if they fundamentally challenge the power base upon which states exist. Well, at least not by consent, or with the help of a very large military. Does that make it right? No. But it does challenge us to think about how to move forward if that acceptance is never likely to occur. It sounds like a defeatist attitude, but it need not necessarily be.

At present we are faced with some stark choices – continue to try to get the international community to accept the underlying ‘truth’ as our history records it, and therefore ask them to accept that the foundations of the system are flawed, and need to be deconstructed. Or, we can take that right of self-determination out for a spin, and exercise it.

I would argue there are compelling reasons to do so. Environmentally, we just don’t have the time to spend another three decades trying to move the morality of the international community (and to be clear, this time we would not be asking them for a mere declaration, we’d be asking them to relinquish the very flawed underpinnings of their system). No, right now, in 2013, we are already in a state of global environmental crisis. Indigenous territories are already under siege by transnational corporations and colonial governments seeking to exploit natural resources at all costs. At all costs. Even at the cost of our survival. We simply do not have the time to engage two more generations in international diplomacy.

Hence the naming of this paper – ‘He Manawa Whenua, He Manawa Taketake’ – to reflect the fact that an indigenous pulse murmurs within the pulse of the land. We are intrinsically connected, and whilst legal regimes may vary in their acceptance of our existence, the land does not. The current state of indigenous rights at international law, whilst filled with hope and optimism, fall disappointingly short of anything tangible. Even the most hopeful must concede that. In 2013 the

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2 For an articulation of this the Do The Math video by Bob McKibben is recommended. It can be accessed at www.350.org
rights of indigenous peoples, particularly the right to self-determination, are symbolic but not yet fully realisable. The actualisation of those recognised rights looms illusive, and, for those involved in advocacy for indigenous peoples, leaves one with the feeling that all we have at present is the shadow of our rights to live beneath. The substance is still yet to materialise. The inevitable conclusion? We must manifest it. This generation. Us.

Quite simply the challenge to actualise indigenous rights is upon us. Indigenous people throughout the world are seeking to enforce their right to self-determination, and hold the international community accountable for the rights they have recognised – the parasitical and destructive invasion of our territories by extractive industries is compelling it; the race for extreme oil is compelling it; climate change is compelling it. The planet, our mother, in crisis, is compelling it.

Much of the drive to do so is seeded in the present realities we experience as indigenous peoples, and while any academic will caution against the use of generalisations it is heartbreakingly true that indigenous peoples, worldwide, are in a bad state. Our wellbeing is under threat. Our populations fill all the wrong statistics: in justice, education, socio-economics, health, housing. Environmentally we are under immense and unprecedented pressure.

It’s a doom and gloom story we’d desperately like to remedy, but struggle to do so. Many of us know how we’ve got here, and some have ideas about how we might emancipate ourselves from this, and work towards a better tomorrow, but that is going to depend on our ability to challenge the root cause of our predicament and build pathways out of it. The status quo is unacceptable; it leaves 400 million indigenous people impotent, mute and invisible in the face of global climate change that will impact on us more than anyone else. Manifestly unfair, untenable and immoral.

International advocacy, by indigenous peoples, over the last three or four generations has sought to create some of those new pathways. There have been dedicated people working with all their intellect and energy to advance indigenous agenda on the international stage. This has been no easy task. In fact it would be difficult to find one harder [than] ambassadors sent by their indigenous nations to the international arena to advocate for our voices to be heard, and our rights to be respected. Those ambassadors, until very recently, found the doors were firmly closed. How could the concept of indigenous rights be advanced when you were denied even the right to voice your position or announce your existence?

Still, the process of international recognition has been slow, and fraught with politics. The power players at international law were the colonising states of many indigenous nations, and so had little motivation to recognise the legal rights (or existence) of those they had a vested interest in keeping powerless.

Finally, in 2007, after a 4 decade long struggle in the international political arena, indigenous rights were recognised in the landmark United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. So this, at last, was the articulation of the rights and entitlements of indigenous peoples. These were the words, hard fought, and agreed upon by the international community as ‘the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world’.

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The Declaration contained the words indigenous activists throughout the world had advocated for, although not all of it was without compromise. Despite the political compromises necessary to get the Declaration adopted it is seen by many as a massive leap forward in indigenous recognition. As of 2007, indigenous peoples have had their right to self-determination internationally recognised. Article 3 contains the following statement

*Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.*

The Declaration also articulates the territorial rights of indigenous peoples’, the right to the protection and recognition of our cultures, political systems and governments, the protection of the environmental integrity of our traditional habitats, and the recognition of various other rights seen by the international community as necessary to ensure our survival going forward.

**Self Determination in Context – the Bridge to Protecting the Environmental Integrity of Indigenous Territories**

It may be appropriate to pause here and examine why the right to self-determination matters. Why is it that this right is viewed or advanced as fundamental? What magic does it hold? What potential does it have to emancipate indigenous populations from their current political reality and equip them with the legal panacea to deliver up greater autonomy? Why too then is autonomy, or the actualisation of self-determination, sought? What has it got to do with the environment?

This paper is based on the premise that seeking, securing and exercising self determination is important, necessary and fundamental to our existence as indigenous peoples.

Now, more than ever before, indigenous territories are under pressure. Our environments are under siege, both from governments and multinational companies focused on resources exploitation and extraction, and from climate disruption as the result of irreversible global warming.

There has been much criticism of the stance the international legal community has taken to addressing environmental issues and climate change. In the face of growing evidence of the catastrophic effects of climate change the political response has been slow, beleaguered by politics and exacerbated by an unhealthy addiction to fossil fuels and unsustainable practices. Despite the urgent need to act, and act decisively and effectively, global politics has failed to really address climate change in any meaningful way. Protocols, conventions, and treaties have all absorbed copious amounts of time, energy and resource, but have resulted in very little real change environmentally. Global emissions of greenhouse gases responsible for heating the Earth’s atmosphere at an unsustainable rate, continue to rise and rise despite all the talking.

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5 For a fuller explanation of the compromises made on the text the paper of the Teton Sioux, in opposition to the final draft, is informative. See www.souixnationtreatycouncil.org

6 It needs to be noted that the right was not created in 2007, it was simply articulated and affirmed. The Declaration does not create any rights, it describes rights that are recognised as existing at the time the Declaration was adopted.
The complicating paradox is this: climate change politicians recognize the need to reduce the dangerous anthropogenic carbon footprint in order to mitigate climate change; but do not want to compromise lifestyle, industry or development. Charlton refers to this dichotomy between economic development and environmental responsibility as nonsensical. In his compelling essay *Man-Made World: Choosing Between Progress and Planet* he concludes:

*The truth is: there is no choice between progress and planet. If we focus on one, we will destroy both. The only way out of our predicament is to reconcile economic development and environmental sustainability.*

The continued marginalization of indigenous people at international law affects our ability to fully participate in development of global initiatives to combat environmental issues and climate change. Our present day relationship with colonising governments, and the international legal system, affects how we are able to assert self government in regards to all matters, including territorial, political, social and cultural rights; it affects how we manifest our self-determination. Affecting our self-determination, to the point it is rendered inoperative, condemns indigenous peoples to helplessness in the face of environmental crisis.

### Unpacking Self-Determination

The Charter of the United Nations states that all peoples are entitled to self determination. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (both core international human rights documents) recognise that all peoples have the right to self determination and, by virtue of that right, to freely establish their political condition and provide at the same time for their economic, social and cultural development.

These statements *ought* to capture indigenous peoples. ‘All peoples’ should mean all peoples. However, in an international law structure established to protect the interests of an elite set of nation-states, indigenous peoples’ entitlement to self-determination was seen as upsetting the status quo. It was thought it would compromise the ‘territorial integrity’ of colonising states. Politically, it is not tenable to rephrase the UN Charter or those pivotal Covenants to read ‘some peoples will have the right to self determination’. It just wouldn’t give the UN the flavour or perception of fairness it desires.

So instead, in a bizarre stroke of self-serving legal fiction, colonial states denied that indigenous nations were indeed ‘peoples’. They identified that the problem was the collective term ‘peoples’,

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8 Above n2 at 65.


10 Charter of the United Nations (26 June 1945).

11 This is a common article across both Covenants.

12 Above n 12 and above n 25.
and contended that whilst genetically distinct collectives we fell short of the definition of ‘peoples’. This peculiar argument provided the rationale for denying that indigenous peoples would be entitled to the whole suite of entitlements and human rights protections other peoples were. Some sought refuge in a skewed reading of Darwin’s early theories to justify this inequity. After all, indigenous peoples could not possibly be equal to other peoples. Their tribes could not possibly possess any capacity for self government. If they were recognised as such, the foundations of the colonial world order that had been so carefully constructed would be called into question. That was simply untenable to the powers framing international law at that time. 

As a result, at international law, ‘peoples’ was taken to mean nation-states (with some discretion), but not indigenous nations. They needed to be cared for, and protected by colonising nations. In order to maintain the fictions that facilitated their illegal invasion of indigenous territories that was what was entrenched into the international legal system on conception. It is still there today. Nothing but pure racism and colonial patch protection, dressed up as law. Legal fiction, created to serve an empire building agenda. This is racism in its most institutionalised form.

We assume that when ‘the truth comes out’ it will prove that what happened was wrong and therefore the system (tribunals, the courts, the government) will set things right. We believe that history is also about justice, that understanding history will enlighten our decisions in the future. Wrong [...] In fact history is mostly about power. It is [mostly] the story of the powerful and how they become powerful, and then how they use their power to keep them in positions [of power].

Self-determination is not a destination, it is a state of being. It is measurable both in its presence and its absence. When present, we expect to see situations where peoples, as collectives, are living in harmony to achieve social, cultural, political, environmental, economic and physical wellbeing according to their distinctive worldview(s). They enjoy an environmental state of stability, purposeful growth and inter-generational development. Incremental exercise of self-determination can positively contribute towards this state of being; just as the incremental demise of the exercise of self-determination [can have a negative effect], as we have seen time and time again through colonisation’s erosion of indigenous cultures and lifeways.

The absence of self-determination is also measurable. It is demonstrable in situations where collectives are restricted from making, or are rendered unable to make, decisions; therefore symptomatic of an inability to freely determine for ourselves our position and our condition. Our ability to exercise autonomy is interfered with, as in the case of colonisation.

The measurable results from this are multi-layered and oftentimes overwhelming, ranging from land loss, disassociation with tribal land, tribal laws, tribal political structure, awkward and/or failed attempts to achieve within another (foreign and imposed) system in order to try to improve one’s position, resulting in all the socio-economic ‘lows’ we have come to relate to as indigenous peoples: low employment, low educational achievement, low standard of housing, low health statistics, low income, low compliance with ‘law enforcement’. This is the expected under-achievement of peoples forced to live in someone else’s world – and make no mistake, it is

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15 Albeit it someone else’s.
intentional, it is by design, it is not an unplanned or unintended consequence of historical actions. The colonial regimes imposed in the states now known as Canada, United States of America, Australia, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Taiwan, New Zealand and throughout the African and South American continents were designed to do this. They were designed to acquire territory and deconstruct the legal and political systems in place. They were designed to decimate entire cultures, pull them apart and wound them fatally – either by quick annihilation, or by bleeding them out slowly over generations.

Colonial conquest and the more subtle but sustained impact of the modern-day lodestar of scientific and technological progress have pushed indigenous peoples and their cultures to the brink of extinction. Nation states often adopted policies of assimilation and integration, of divide et impera, that left First Nations fundamentally uprooted, marginalized and dispossessed. 16

‘Aboriginal title’

There has been some suggestion that the Doctrine of Aboriginal Title may be able to accommodate indigenous claims to natural resources. In New Zealand, Australia and Canada aspects of aboriginal title have been applied to claims to coastal and inland waters, lakebeds and the foreshore and seabed. To be clear, an award of aboriginal title is NOT the exercise of self determination or territorial sovereignty.

Aboriginal title is a compendious expression to cover the rights over land and water enjoyed by the indigenous or established inhabitants of a country up to the time of its colonisation. On the acquisition of territory, whether by settlement, cession or annexation, the colonising power acquires a radical or underlying title which goes with sovereignty. Where the colonising power has been the United Kingdom that title vests in the Crown. But at least in absence of special circumstances displacing the principle the radical title is subject to existing native rights.17

Aboriginal title (or native title) is little more than a colonial construct. Some would see it as the ‘best tool we have’ for recognising the interests of indigenous nations. Some would say its better than nothing, and provides indigenous peoples with some participatory rights by which they can leverage their positions, right now. But aboriginal title fails some important tests: Who controls it? Who defines it? Who judges it? Who measures it? Who says how and when it can be operationalised? Who yields to it? The answer to all of those questions goes in favour of the coloniser. The coloniser who lacks consent to be there in the first place.

Aboriginal title, at least as a construct of colonial common law, is problematic because it is subject to a number of arbitrary limitations outside of the control of indigenous peoples. The title, whilst superficially being touted as deriving from aboriginal customs, is really discretionary. Colonial governments control its recognition, its implementation, the ‘nature and extent’ of it, and ultimately, its extinguishment when they tire of it, find it inconvenient, or deem it ‘in the public

17 Te Runanganui o Te Ika Whenua Inc Soc v Attorney General 1994 NZLR 20 (CA)
interest’. This Clayton’s ‘title’ can be unilaterally extinguished without indigenous consent, and, although not politically very palatable, it can also be extinguished without compensation.\footnote{As in the case of the foreshore and seabed in New Zealand pursuant to the Foreshore and Seabed Act (2004), later repealed and replaced with the Marine and Coastal Area (Takutaimoana) Act (2010).}

\textit{Māori title rights to the waters of rivers and lakes also remain because they have not been extinguished by the common law or legislation.}\footnote{Mark Schroder “On The Crest of a Wave - Indigenous Title and Claims to the Water Resource” NZ Journal of Environmental Law}

‘Fiduciary duty’

Likewise, the idea that the Crown owes indigenous peoples a fiduciary duty to protect them and their territories is also inherently racist. It is based on theory that presents indigenous peoples as needing to be looked after by someone else, more powerful and more capable. It supposes that indigenous peoples lack capacity to govern themselves, or to administer their lands and territories. It relegates sovereign peoples as wards of the State, and patronisingly disempowers them.

The concept was borne of Las Casas’ original theories regarding indigenous peoples, when Spain was looking for legal theory to underpin the expansion of its empire. Indigenous peoples were inconvenient, occupying lands that the new colonisers (Spain, France, England) would prefer to acquire cleanly, by discovery. Las Casas built on Vitoria’s arguments that indigenous peoples occupying land could not, or should not, be forcibly dealt with, and that their consent to settlement and sovereignty was required. The presence of indigenous peoples frustrated the application terra nullius doctrine (although not in Australia) and therefore some legal process was needed to deal with their existence.

It suited the political agenda of the day that indigenous peoples were somehow able to be considered sub human, and not automatically entitled to the rights articulated in the United Nations Charter, and the International Covenants. This has continued through from those historic times, because those times formed the foundation of modern nation-states. Indeed, in many jurisdictions indigenous peoples, despite being the first and founding people of the nation-state, are afforded less rights and recognition than corporations. Really, treated like animals. This has been, over generations, the conscious wearing down of a peoples.

\textit{We are at liberty at any time and place to do our best to extirpate them as any other animals of wild and ferocious nature. Their lives and land are forfeit.}\footnote{Quoted in Ranginui Walker Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End (Penguin, Auckland, 1990) at 116.}

The effect of this on the psyche of a peoples is immense. It is little wonder indigenous peoples fare so poorly in socio-economic statistics in every jurisdiction in which they exist. What typically follows in response is a ‘blame the victim’ mentality where indigenous peoples are encouraged to ‘just get over it’, and ‘leave the past in the past’. State provided and funded social services report spending, and the general population gets incensed at how much is being spent on ‘the aboriginal problem’. Some jurisdictions even go to the extent of apologizing in public ceremonies – creating an illusion that an afternoon in the sun where politicians say ‘sorry’ (or in some cases refuse to...
say sorry but sort of mean words to that general effect) will wipe the slate clean, and give the colonizer the air of respectability.

In New Zealand via the Treaty settlements process, a negotiated ‘settlement’ which effectively consensually extinguishes Treaty rights, the Crown have expedited the process so much that indigenous peoples can now pick the preferred Crown apology from a template list.

But still, none of that changes the reality. History can be dressed up or down, but none of that changes two simple things: (1) indigenous peoples have a legal and sacred interconnection with their natural territories that they are entitled to maintain; and (2) that without indigenous consent the imposition of colonial law and policy over them and their territories is not legal. It would, in fact, if conducted anywhere else in the world today, be considered an act of war, active occupation and genocide.

The United Nations, in adopting the Declaration, affirmed that:

\[ \text{All doctrines, policies and practices based on or advocating superiority of peoples or individuals on the basis of national origin, or racial, religious, ethnic or cultural differences are racist, scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust.} \]

Colonial law, then, that purports to manage natural resources without the consent of indigenous peoples is seriously flawed. Indigenous peoples have a legitimate right to exercise their self determination. This is important in a world where the environment is in crisis, largely due to human activity or ‘anthropogenic’ contributors.

The Declaration then goes on to state that:

\[ \text{Indigenous peoples have the right to self determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Indigenous peoples, exercising their right to self determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means of financing their autonomous functions.} \]

Recognition of a right is one thing, and it has been a landmark development in human rights. Honourable implementation of that right is another challenge altogether, and in water and natural resources law we start to see how ineffective a right to self determination can be rendered if it is subject to colonial discretion.

It is acknowledged that international environmental law is already extremely complex, and that indigenous rights and entitlements present further layers of complexity. However, the fact that complexity is inevitable is not reason enough to ignore or diminish indigenous rights and entitlements, or the proper participation of indigenous peoples in decision making about natural resources. These are issues that need to be examined and grappled with, and, it is argued here, resolved in such a way that honours and respects the sacred relationship between indigenous peoples and their territories.

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22 Ibid. at Article 3 which states, in full: “Indigenous peoples have the right to self determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.”
The right to self-determination, when exercised by an indigenous peoples as a collective, should be able to protect the environmental integrity of indigenous territory. At a local level, for the indigenous peoples concerned, that would be hugely beneficial, enabling proper legal recognition of indigenous decision making, enabling full, meaningful participation, enabling the implementation of the ‘free, prior and informed consent’ standard. At a global level, given the distribution of indigenous nations throughout the world, that could be remarkable in terms of its capacity to protect pockets of the environment. Granted, the environment doesn’t operate in distinct pockets; but it would be a start, and a shift in the right direction, if a successive series of indigenous nations were able to proactively determine the permitted (and prohibited) activities within their territories.

An alternative, and one that is in train already, is to move away from international law and towards global law. It would require parties to park up the ‘who is right and who is wrong’ debate in regards to colonisation, and the questionable foundations of the international legal framework. That could be done in a way that preserves each other’s positions, and doesn’t require capitulation by one party or the other. It could be as simple as agreeing that other issues require our urgent attention – right now. The environment could be no better candidate for that, and in fact may play out to be the grand unifying issue across humanity.

Global law though will need to find space for indigenous peoples, and ought to heed the lessons that plague international law. Indigenous peoples need to be present, and there needs to be space for the manifestation of our right to self-determination. If entering into global law initiatives results in indigenous peoples being marginalised by state parties, history will repeat itself – and we, as humanity, will have missed an opportunity.

There are compelling reasons to do this, not the least of which is that indigenous peoples represent over 400 million people across the globe. Those global citizens must have a voice and representation. Where indigenous peoples have been locked out of the ‘family of nations’, the global law shift could be founded on our inclusion. That ought to be persuasive enough in its own right, but consider also that indigenous territories house over 75% of the world’s biodiversity, and that indigenous knowledge is increasingly being recognised as of value to the international community.

Indigenous worldview(s) by and large are premised on the recognition of the environment as sacred. Knowledge systems and indigenous laws have grown organically from that foundation. Instead our rights are directly connected to the rights of the natural biosphere within which we live, and are tempered accordingly. Our peoples, over many generations commencing at our creation, have developed laws regulating human behaviour and interaction with the each other and the environment. Our peoples have developed alongside that, and intrinsically connected with it, knowledge systems. These are borne from our relationship with the sacred, and the eternal knowledge housed within all other living beings. This seems mythical and magical to other people, some who can not relate or accept it – unless it is packaged up by James Cameron in a Hollywood movie with blue people on a planet called Pandora – but, regardless of how others see it, it is our worldview, and we have a legitimate right to live according to our lifeways. The Declaration affirms this over and over again.

\[\text{23} \text{ Again here the caution about over generalisation, and the notation that of course, there are exceptions to every rule.}\]
What is being accepted more and more internationally is the value of indigenous knowledge, particularly in relation to the health of the environment. There are whole work streams within international bodies committed to ‘traditional knowledge’24; how it is recognised and utilised. This makes a somewhat refreshing change from days gone by, where indigenous knowledge was considered witchcraft and folklore and of limited value. The uncomfortable irony is that, having denied indigenous peoples the dignity of recognition for so long, now that the planet is in crisis the thirst for indigenous knowledge is almost insatiable.

Global law movements are challenged with ensuring indigenous participation is honourable. We cannot be invited to the table simply because people now recognise the value of what is in our medicine bundle. Our survival is at risk, like everybody else’s, if we do not work together to find solutions to what is going on with our environment.

Indigenous peoples have generously shared our knowledge, our science, our technologies, our knowledge of the properties of flora and fauna, our spirituality and our worldview(s), even when we ourselves were under threat. I doubt that generosity of spirit will ever cease – we are children of the earth, and at its essence our knowledge is derived from that relationship. Our expectation that we are also legitimate members of the family of nations is proving difficult to realise. Our expectation is that we are included, equitably, in a refocused ‘global law’, a proposition that has both potential and promise.

Others, like Mikaere, offer hope by reminding us of the temporal nature of colonisation:

_The Crown insists that the law emanating from Parliament is supreme law and that tikanga exists at the whim of that law. This assertion of the supremacy of the coloniser’s law has become so ubiquitous that it is easy to fall into the psychological trap of accepting it as unchallengeable or, at the very least, as somehow inevitable. Yet clearly this is not the case. While our experience of colonisation has been devastating, its impact should not blind us to the fact that it has occupied a mere moment in time on the continuum of our history. When viewed in this way, it is apparent that whereas tikanga operated as an effective system of law for our ancestors (both here in Aotearoa and before that) for thousands of years, the imposition of Crown law need be nothing more than a temporary aberration from that state of affairs._25

Indigenous rights exist whether a colonial government wants to acknowledge them or not. They are not subject to, or defined by, colonial law. They are however, able to be interfered with, and interrupted by the application and imposition of colonial law. Whilst this may not be fair there seems little indigenous people can do about it, short of attempting to challenge it within a colonial law framework, which is manifestly geared against them.

The other alternative is to seek to work outside the colonising law, by taking direct action to either ignore or interrupt the actions and policies of the colonial government. This, inevitably, leads to protest and confrontation – depending on one side or the other to compromise or yield to the position of the other. This is happening more and more frequently, as indigenous peoples tire of trying (and failing) to appeal to the moral right of colonising powers.

Ultimately, what results is an unacceptable situation where indigenous peoples are, contrary to the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, forced to yield, lest they incur

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24 See World Intellectual Property Office (WIPO) repository of documents at www.wipo.org

25 Mikaere _Colonising Myths Māori Realities: He Rukuruku Whakaaro_
the wrath of their colonisers. This is forced assimilation, and the imposition of law and policy against the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous populations. That assimilation is often, tacitly or explicitly, backed by threats of forced removal, military action or punitive financial, social and identity politics. It sounds ominous. It sounds dramatic. But it is the reality for indigenous peoples, worldwide, at present.

What this paper hopes to present is an alternative to the stand off legal and political situation that is occurring. Whether colonial governments, within their jurisdictions and as a collective at international law, will ever entertain an alternative to the racist doctrines their systems of law are based on is hard to tell. Oft quoted are the passages that no civilisation in history has ever willingly ceded power. Asking colonial governments to do so, to step away from their fictions and have the courage to find another way, is optimistic. It is, however, necessary, if humanity is to find a way forward that truly respects the rights and interests of all members of the family of nations. On the other hand indigenous people are completely entitled to legitimately pursue the full measure of our rights and interests. I am suggesting that the reconciliation of these two views is likely to take time we do not have. Our planet has a different timetable, and it is not negotiating. It is demanding humanity work together, right now. We drastically need to change how we, the indigenous and non-indigenous world, interact with each other, and with our planet. International environmental law, because of its importance to the sustainability of humanity and the planet, may well need to be the catalyst for those changes.
HANDS BACK, HANDS FORWARD FOR INDIGENOUS EDUCATION- THE PAST 40 YEARS AND THE NEXT

PROFESSOR JO-ANN ARCHIBALD

Q’um Q’um Xiiem of Sto:lo and Xaxli’p

KEYNOTE ADDRESS (TRANSCRIBED)

Thank you for that wonderful welcome. My Indigenous name means “strong clear water.” I am from the Sto:lo people and Sto:lo means river. We are very much connected to the resources and life ways of the river systems in the Sto:lo area.

I acknowledge the Waikato land and people who have welcomed me here so warmly. I thank the organisers of the He Manawa Whenua Indigenous Research Conference for your wonderful hospitality. I feel very comforted in this land because it reminds me of my home territory where the mountains embrace us, the rivers flow, and they give us good teachings and good thoughts for what we will do in the future.

I want to start this presentation with a teaching that comes from one of our Musqueam Elders, Tsimilano Vince Stogan, and it’s about Hands Back, Hands Forward. This is an important teaching because it reminds us about responsibility, intergenerational learning, working together and keeping our Indigenous values and knowledges strong. So I ask you to be a bit participatory first thing in the morning. When Tsimilano gathered us together to do important work, he often had us positioned in a circle; he said that, when we are together it is important that we are standing side by side as a symbol of cooperation. He said it is important that we reach back to get the help from the ancestors. We put our left palm upwards, to symbolize asking for help. I ask you to participate with me and put your left palm upwards. Then he said this is the way that we reach back to get the help from those who have walked before us, and we get their knowledge and their teachings and we put it into our everyday life; we walk this talk. Then we have the responsibility to pass these teachings and these knowledges onto others. We put our right palm downwards to symbolize giving help to others. Put your right palm downwards and join hands with the person next to you. If there’s no one there, imagine that someone is there. Give a little welcome to each other this morning.

So Hands Back, Hands Forward is a way that connects us to our past, the present and what will be our future and it’s a good guide for a lot of the work that we do. The University of British Columbia sits on the traditional and unceded territory of the Musqueam First Nation. Musqueam means people of the River Grass, and you see in this slide there’s the Thunderbird, which is our symbol for the most powerful supernatural being. The Thunderbird challenges us to be the best that we can be. You can see that there is a human face within the Thunderbird, which reminds us about the intimate relationship we have between education, people and our Indigeneity.

I will talk about what the teaching of Hands Back and Hands Forward has meant to me in relation to my teaching career over the past 40 years. I began my teaching career as a Primary School teacher in 1972. I want to also think about what the next 40 years will be like. Maybe Coyote the Trickster will come in through a story to help us think about the future.

I want to start with where we are, so I am going to tell some life experience and some traditional stories in this presentation. For the past 32 years, I have been at the University of British Columbia, Faculty of Education, which is a very Western oriented University. We have been
claiming and reclaiming some Indigenous programmatic space within this University for just over 40 years. We have some academic foundations that have provided us a good space upon which to build. I will highlight what we have done in our Indigenous undergraduate and graduate education programmes and share what has helped us make those programmes the best that they can be. I’ll also share some of the challenges that we have experienced.

We have developed various research infrastructures for conducting community-based Indigenous research that emphasizes an Indigenous Knowledge approach. We have 10 Indigenous tenured Faculty of Education members. My position as Associate Dean for Indigenous Education enables me be at decision-making tables so that Indigenous education is not left out. We are experiencing lots of excitement and energy, where diverse groups are working together for Indigenous education. During the 2012-13 academic year, our Faculty of Education focused on a theme of “The Year of Indigenous Education” in which 32 Indigenous education events were held, various educational resources and a professorship were established.

So that’s a brief overview of what the UBC Faculty of Education has now. Forty years ago we started the first Indigenous teacher education programme at the University of British Columbia and in British Columbia. We call it the Native Indian Teacher Education Program – NITEP. In the 1970s, the term “Indian” was commonly used. So the few Indian educators in the province at that time period are shown here on the left hand photo. They believed that an Indian oriented teacher education programme was needed. What wasn’t needed was to try and put Indian people into the existing programmes, which was viewed as a form of assimilation. They wanted a programme that reflected Indigenous culture and values, and that was community-based.

So these Indigenous leaders selected Raven as a symbol and logo for this programme. I will share a very short story about Raven and NITEP. Often, in our NorthWest Coast cultures, Raven is the trickster character that can change shape and form and often gets into trouble because that trickster might forget about the good teachings. But once in a while trickster can do good things. So people were living in the world of darkness and Raven saw this. Raven took pity on those people. He had heard that somewhere there was something called the Sun that would bring light and a better life to the people. So Raven took a journey and through various means captured the Sun, brought the Sun back to the people living in darkness so that they could have a better life.

The early innovators of NITEP felt that the Sun was like education, that through education Indigenous children and all children could have a better life through good quality education. So that story has been our vision and our goal throughout our programme.

NITEP is a community based programme where we have regional field centres in British Columbia. We build on Indigenous knowledge and culture through 10 courses that we offer. We are in control of who teaches the courses and how they are taught. The students also learn other forms of knowledge to help them be good teachers. We are a family cohort based programme. We build on the notion of an extended family that cares for one another, challenges one another, and supports each other. We have a coordinator for each regional centre or cohort who teaches, advises, and provides that one-on-one support because we believe that people are so important and we do what ever we can to help the students succeed through their Bachelor of Education Programme.

I am going to share a 2013 video which represents how we feel about NITEP (Video Excerpts):

The Native Indian Teacher Education Programme which we call NITEP began in 1974 in response to the issue of having so few Aboriginal teachers in the province of British
We ensure that graduate students can develop an Indigenous knowledge methodology that draw on what we have learnt through NITEP, such as using a cohort based family structure. We have moved into areas of graduate studies where we have various courses and programmes Indigenous cultures and contexts. improve education and to learn what they can through various research methods that reflect their Indigenous teachers are now entering Masters and Doctoral programmes, looking for ways to enhance their teaching and students experience.

In our various programmes we now talk about and use intergenerational learning. It exemplifies the Hands Back, Hands Forward teaching. We learn from those who have gone before us and we pass our knowledge to the next generation. We also have Elders and cultural knowledge holders mentoring our students. We ensure that our programme is holistic, that as we learn different forms of knowledges, we also address our spiritual, emotional, and physical parts of ourselves. For the physical realm, we think about our past, current, and future actions.

One important action that many Indigenous graduate students carry out is community-based research. They have a ‘community heart’ and they undertake research that is important to and beneficial to their community. This next video shows Dr. Kathy Michel, one of our Indigenous graduates who was in an Indigenous educational leadership cohort. She has been involved in Indigenous language immersion for many years (Video Excerpt):
Kathy Michel is one of the founders of Chief Atham School. The Chief Atham Immersion School is in Chase, British Columbia. In her current site-based doctoral research she is constructing a Secwepemc model of education based on her 20 years of work with the school. The commitment to creating a self-sustaining healthy Secwepemc community is leading the ever deepening questions for all involved.

How do we build a Secwepemc education programme that understands where our compromise exists, but also retains what we are as Secwepemc people? Our culture and our language is very intellectual, it’s very academic, and children learn just as well in gathering roots and making baskets, checking the weather signs, as they do studying it in a book. If our language is truthful then the truth of who we are and why we are here and why we exist comes through that as well.

These children that come from immersion know who they are, they know where their strengths lie and know what their past is all about, they know their language, and so they are all prepared to introduce themselves to this outside world, but they are already formed when they do that. So they are making judgements and they are making decisions for their life time, that are based in a Secwepemc world, and those ones, that’s what’s going to keep them healthy. I really don’t see that we could move forward as Secwepemc, as Aboriginal Indigenous people of the universe, without us connecting to the real education.

I believe that graduate studies is an area of strength and emerging success in Indigenous education. The scholarship of Indigenous doctoral graduates such as Dr. Kathy Michel is innovative and addresses key priorities of Indigenous communities. They are starting to develop examples of Indigenous methodologies as well. I am hopeful for the future with these emerging Indigenous scholars. However, we must acknowledge the work of early Indigenous educators and scholars who created space and pathways in mainstream educational systems, especially in academe for the current and future generation of Indigenous scholars. Their resistance to assimilation made a significant difference 40 years ago.

In 1972, a Canadian national policy called Indian Control of Indian Education was developed by Indigenous groups in response to a proposed 1969 White Paper by the federal government that was one more attempt to assimilate Indigenous people into Canadian society by withdrawing rights that Indigenous people had at that time.

The Indian Control of Indian Education Policy was based on two principles of local control and parental involvement. It also advocated for strategies where Indigenous culture, language, and values were to be an integral part of education. The need for more Indigenous teachers as well as more culturally senstive non-Indigenous teachers was emphasized. Over the past 40 years some progress has been made about the principles and strategies of the Indian Control of Indian Education. But there is still much to be done to ensure that Indigenous learners experience good quality education.

In this reflective presentation I want to share 4 lessons that I have learned from my 40 years plus of educational work, which will continue to guide me. These lessons relate to engaging Indigenous community and leadership; embedding Indigenous values and Indigenous Knowledge in education and research; being vigilant about systemic change; and building and sustaining alliances and networks. Indigenous community self-determination, engagement, and well-being remain important goals. We also need courageous Indigenous leadership at all levels of education. We benefitted from courageous Indigenous leadership that developed the Indian Control of
Indian Education Policy, and Indigenous programmes such as NITEP. Maintaining a good quality and relevant Indigenous Teacher Education Programme within a Western University for 40 years is quite an accomplishment. The exciting education and research innovations of Indigenous graduate students and scholars have created a small but growing corpus of scholarship that will help others interested in Indigenous Knowledge.

Our future needs courageous Indigenous leadership that resists new forms of assimilation and helps us persist in this complex world in which we live. Our Indigenous values and Indigenous Knowledge can provide a strong foundational framework in which we can place our specific First Nations Indigenous Cultures for educational purposes. Over the years, we have become stronger in building upon Indigenous Knowledge and values so that Indigenous Knowledge guides policy, pedagogy and methodology in some Indigenous teacher education and graduate programmes. However, we must continue to work at systemic change to ensure that our Indigenous Knowledges are addressed in respectful, responsible, and relevant ways within educational systems that are not of our own making. The majority of Indigenous children in Canada attend public schools where much needs to be done to make them welcoming, inclusive, safe, and relevant for Indigenous learners. In addition to courageous Indigenous leadership, alliances and networks with various groups and communities are needed. Changing Western academic institutions requires constant vigilance so that we don’t slip back to assimilationist approaches, and we know that racism in various forms is still prevalent. Systemic change also requires the support and advocacy of allies and networks. Indigenous educational systems are not immune to assimilation. However, they have created some powerful provincial, national and international networks and organizations to address their unique concerns. Slow and steady progress has been made to improve Indigenous education in British Columbia and Canada, but the fact remains that it needs to be much better. We now need to challenge ourselves to develop transformative approaches based on successful programs and strategies, and to imagine new innovations which will make even more significant improvements. Maybe Coyote the Indigenous trickster can play a part to help us re-imagine possibilities for the next 40 years.

Coyote is a transformer, trickster, helper, and challenger. I want you to use your imagination for a little while during this next story that I will tell. I heard this story from Dr. Eber Hampton, a distinguished scholar of the Chickasaw Nation, who has lived in Saskatchewan for many years. He allowed me to adapt this story to name the trickster, Old Man Coyote.

One day Old Man Coyote decided that it was time to go hunting, so he got his hunting bag and put all his things in it. He took off. He was wandering around. He went through the forest. Then he went up the hills and down the valleys, up mountain sides hunting for deer, but he couldn’t find any. He had walked a long long way. Towards the end of the day, he thought that it was time to set up camp, so he found a nice clearing and made a fire. He was sitting on a log. It was starting to get dark. He put more wood on the fire. It became a nice blazing hot fire. His feet were sore from all the walking that he had done that day, so he took his moccasins from his bag. When he put them on, he noticed that there was a hole in the toe of one of the moccasins. He thought, ‘well I’ve got time to sew up that moccasin.’ He reaches into his bag for his bone needle, but he didn’t find it. He gets down on his hands and knees and crawls around the camp fire. He goes around a few times, and while he is doing that an owl is watching. The owl comes to Old Man Coyote and says, ‘I’ve been watching you going around and around this fire. I wonder what you are doing.’ Old Man Coyote tells him that he’s searching for this bone needle to sew up his moccasin. The owl says ‘I’ll give you a hand.’ So the owl makes a swoop around the camp fire and tells him that
it’s not there. He asks Old Man Coyote, ‘where were you when you last used that bone needle?’ Old Man Coyote says, ‘well I was in the northern direction.’ Then the owl says, ‘well it’s not here, maybe you left it there or somewhere else. But why do you keep going around and around this camp fire because you probably know it’s not here.’ Old Man Coyote says, ‘well you know this fire gives off such warmth and good light that it’s easy to look for the bone needle around this camp fire.’

When Dr. Hampton talked about the story, he spoke about the relationship between our motives and methods in research. That story has made me think about a few things since then because our stories will stop at a particular point in time, it may not be the nice tidy ending that we are looking for, but what it signals is that when the story stops, we need to take responsibility to make meaning from and through the story, to reflect, to question. Maybe this story will help us do those things.

When I think about the next 40 years, those lessons that I quickly described could be like the non-fossil fuel that feeds the fire; that helps us have warmth and good light. But at the same time we may need to go into the dark and look for other answers that may provide us with what may be a better life, which is really about wellbeing, about having our strong Indigenous languages and our cultures and having the resources of the land, to be in good relationship with us and for the future generations. Going out in the dark also makes me think about Raven, setting that big goal and taking a long journey to go and get the sun. So I wonder, will I or you be like the Raven, or Old Man Coyote, or perhaps your own trickster or some combination. Will we take up the challenge to leave the ‘status quo’ and find answers that have transformative power?

So, fortunately for us we have the ancestors’ teachings to guide us. We must remember to reach back to get their help, and then move forward with strength and determination to create a strong future for the current and future generations. I look forward to living and sharing these wonderful stories about the days, years and decades ahead of us, and say a special thank you to you for listening, and to the Māori hosts.
NGĀ POU MĀTAURANGA MĀORI: A PERSPECTIVE OF MĀTAURANGA MĀORI AND THE RELATIONSHIP TO RESEARCH

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KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Tuia te rangi e tū nei
Tuia te papa e takoto ake nei
Tuia te here tangata
Ki te wheiao ki te ao mārama
Tihe Mauriora!

Introduction

Recent decades of Māori advancement have been typified by the thrust for greater Māori political autonomy and higher levels of iwi-led independence. The application of culturally relevant models of health care and health promotion have given rise to substantial gains in Māori health and wellbeing. Advances in Māori educational provision across initiatives such as Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Wānanga have added a vital dimension to the national education landscape. Greater levels of access to tertiary education have also provided an effective vehicle for the realisation of whānau aspirations.

Increasing levels of Māori participation in national and global economies have begun to leverage advantages in business and entrepreneurial activity. Māori cultural innovation and creativity is flourishing in the digital age with traditional art forms being reinterpreted through a new lens and original Māori art forms emerging across new digital and internet-based platforms.

Looking ahead, Māori and indigenous societies will inevitably be influenced by a number of imminent variables including:

- Rapid changes in technology;
- Scales of world economies;
- Heightened environmental awareness;
- Advances in health and wellbeing;
- New models of educational provision;
- Increased opportunities for participation in global societies.

The role of research in each of these contexts will be vital to ensuring that Māori engagement occurs from an informed perspective in a way that is useful to whānau and demonstrably beneficial to wider collectives.

He Manawa Whenua occupies a significant space in this respect. It brings together a critical mass of Māori and indigenous researchers whom collectively, represent a broad and varied range of specialist research interests, academic expertise and Māori, indigenous and global philosophical perspectives.
He Manawa Whenua offers fresh opportunities for new discussions and discourse around the implications of research in areas relevant to Māori and indigenous advancement. At a time when society in Aotearoa is increasingly reminded of the need to provide environments conducive to a culture of creation and innovation, it is important to consider those values that continue to define what is Māori in the 21st century.

From a broader perspective, it is useful to reflect on how research might contribute to the navigation of new pathways for Māori and indigenous peoples in a constantly evolving world. What role might research play in identifying new opportunities to investigate previously unexplored pathways? In what way might research-based outcomes leverage new opportunities and distinctive benefits for whānau, both at home and abroad? And is there an opportunity to view research within a broader frame of cultural innovation and creativity?

If research is to make a significant contribution to resolving these questions as they relate to Māori interests, it is critically important to consider the role that Mātauranga Māori might play. Ngā Pou Mātauranga Māori shares some emerging perspectives of Mātauranga Māori that may be of value to Māori and indigenous researchers who are researching within a Māori cultural paradigm. It examines a range of ideas and theories relevant to Māori and indigenous research and seeks to reaffirm the view that Mātauranga Māori and Māori world views give recognition and expression to the multidimensional nature of the Māori universe.

Cultural Bias and Research

Māori have not always welcomed research as a legitimate process for ongoing development. Only recently have general researchers begun to recognise their own cultural suppositions as contributing to the topics and methods that define their research questions and the approaches selected as appropriate to seek answers to those questions. What was previously assumed to be a neutral exercise in research has been exposed to the extent that former research ethics and methods have come under close scrutiny for cultural bias and cultural harm.

Across cultures, research efforts drawn from just one cultural standpoint have all too often led to criticism from the researched communities that the information garnered, once translated, loses the cultural understandings that contextualise the knowledge transferred. Questions have arisen as to the activities of researchers who intrude across cultural paradigms to mine information with little consideration for the interests of the communities from whom knowledge is taken.

Writing from the United States, Vine Deloria Jr (1991) in discussing those who are not North American First Nation Indians but who research North American First Nation Indians, concluded that: The researcher has the luxury of studying the community as an object of science, whereas the young Indian, who knows about the nuances of tribal life, receives nothing in the way of compensation or recognition for his knowledge, and instead must continue to do jobs, often manual labour, that have considerably less prestige. If knowledge of the Indian community is so valuable, how can non-Indians receive so much compensation for their small knowledge and Indians receive so little for their extensive knowledge?1

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1 Vine de Loria (Jnr.) Commentary: Research, Redskins and Reality, American Indian Quarterly, 15 (Fall, 1991): 466.
Indigenous authors draw attention to research on rather than with indigenous peoples as another form of exploitation if it results in indigenous peoples receiving little or no benefit. Instead, in such scenarios, the outcomes go to enhance non-indigenous individuals or communities but not those whose knowledge was taken. Experiences of research of this kind created an antipathy among indigenous communities toward research-related activities. Linda Smith (1999), in her telling critique of research of this kind, states: Clearly there have been some shifts in the way non-indigenous researchers and academics have positioned themselves and their work in relation to the people for whom the research still counts. It is also clear, however, that there are powerful groups of researchers who resent indigenous people asking questions about their research and whose research paradigms constantly permit them to exploit.

Critiques of such research have been assembled over time to challenge the research status quo of the academy and to uncover the privileged position given to western research methodologies over the indigenous, and to western perceptions of the indigenous.

Collectively, the critiques were seen as talking back, as empowering the researched to see the harm inherent in research that was exploitative of indigenous knowledge and to expose these flaws to public scrutiny. In this paradigm, such exploitations are seen as being as much a form of colonisation as were the earlier appropriations of indigenous lands and peoples.

From this viewpoint, the role of research as a colonising tool is made clear. It provides a warning to non-indigenous and to indigenous researchers to be alert to the traps of engaging in research without due diligence.

Processes should be free of the exploitations of the past and ensure that researchers have the appropriate expertise to conduct and analyse the research without bringing harm to the researched or misrepresenting the data collected. Indigenous researchers have an even greater responsibility to avoid the invasive research style raids of the past on their peoples.

**Māori Research Descriptors**

A spectrum of research types were charted by Chris Cunningham in 1998. He identified four main types of research, science and technology, providing descriptors for each:

1. Research not Involving Māori
2. Research Involving Māori
3. Māori-Centred Research
4. Kaupapa Māori Research

While the first is self-descriptive, the other three types engage Māori to a greater or lesser extent. Types 3 and 4 are the more recent, and are attributable to the work of individual Māori academics in the field. These will be described further in this paper.

*Māori-Centred* research clearly places Māori at the centre, as researchers, as communities, as research participants and ultimately as beneficiaries. In first developing the notion of Māori-centred research, Mason Durie set out three main principles:

1. Whakapiki Tangata  –  *Enablement; Enhancement & Empowerment*

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2. Whakatuia – Integration
3. Mana Māori – Māori Control

These three principles coalesce in defining a research approach that:

- Identifies a focus to foster the development of Māori capability;
- Acknowledges a Māori world view about an environment where human, spiritual and natural spheres are integrated;
- Assumes Māori control over Māori research, within parameters that draw from Māori process and thought.

Kaupapa Māori research evolved as a response to the marginalisation of Māori from full participation in all aspects of social and educational life. An early advocate of Kaupapa Māori as a theory of change, Graham Smith, gave a set of principles that comprise Kaupapa Māori:

1. Tino Rangatiratanga (Self Determination)
2. Taonga Tuku Iho (Cultural Aspirations)
3. Ako Māori (Culturally Preferred Pedagogy)
4. Kia Piki Ake i Ngā Raruraru o Te Kāinga (Mediation of Socio-Economic and Home Difficulties)
5. Whānau (Extended Family Structure)
6. Kaupapa (Collective Philosophy)

Although these ideas were developed to help inform the background to Kura Kaupapa Māori and Kōhanga Reo initiatives, others continued to explore wider applications. For example, Leonie Pihama (2001) identified an additional component relevant to Kaupapa Māori Theory: Te Tiriti o Waitangi – The Principle of the Treaty of Waitangi. In 2005, a further dimension was developed by Taina Pohatu: Āta – The Principle of Growing Respectful Relationships.

Leonie Pihama discusses Kaupapa Māori further as being a useful politicising agent, giving rise to a notion of Māori politicisation:

"Kaupapa Māori theory is a politicising agent that acts as a counter-hegemonic force to promote the conscientisation of Māori people through a process of critiquing Pākehā definitions and constructions of Māori people and asserting explicitly the validation and legitimisation of Te Reo Māori and Tikanga."

The theory asserts the place of Te Reo Māori me ngā Tikanga Māori in empowering Māori to strengthen counters to negative Pākehā prescriptions of Māori and their place in the world, adding another perspective to the idea of talking back.

Kaupapa Māori also evolved into a research methodology. As cited in L.T. Smith (1996) and McLeod (2002), Kaupapa Māori Research descriptors are:

(i) Related to being Māori
(ii) Connected to Māori philosophy and principles

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(iii) About taking for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture
(iv) Being concerned with the struggle for autonomy over our own wellbeing

The term is also used by Russell Bishop (1999) to describe his approach to research. Kaupapa Māori became a catch-all phrase for a range of emerging initiatives.

Subsequent Māori Research Developments

Māori have continued to refine research frameworks and methodologies even more since the Cunningham work was published. Arohia Durie (2002) discussed a sense of commitment through the notion of Ngākau Māori research, a process that brings the researcher into view. Ngākau Māori research is seen as an extension of Māori-centred research to include the qualities of the engaged researcher as well as the characteristics of the research methodology, bringing the researcher into view as a known factor and indeed a likely deciding factor. The approach serves as a counter to a formerly prevailing premise that researchers are assumed to be neutral and therefore impartial.

Mason Durie (2005) refers to a research type he labels as interface research, or research at the interface, developed to expand on his original ideas around Māori-Centred research. In the interface model, Māori research draws from the dual bodies of knowledge, western thought and Māori thought. The basis of this was earlier outlined in a 1997 paper titled ‘Māori, Science, and Māori Development’. The interface is seen as a source of inventiveness, recognising and providing access to the world of science and technology and to the indigenous world. In his view, both Māori-centred and Kaupapa Māori research could accommodate interface research in order to utilise opportunities that a combined approach would bring.

Mātauranga Māori Research

Not included in the four types set out in the Cunningham paper, and sitting at the opposite end of the research spectrum to research not involving Māori, is Mātauranga Māori research. In contrast to Māori-Centred and Kaupapa Māori research, Mātauranga Māori research is about a methodology that draws from one indigenous body of knowledge and is ‘by, about and mostly, in Māori’, a turn of phrase taken from Wally Penetito’s work on Māori Education.

Mātauranga Māori research has features in common with other research approaches, particularly those such as narrative research and oral history; methods that have been at the heart of

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9 M.H. Durie (2005), Nga Tai Matatū Tides of Māori Endurance, Oxford University Press, Auckland, pp. 140-142.
Mātauranga Māori practice in the telling and validation of the multi-faceted nature of events and histories.

Narrative research has a recent acceptance in the academy, but in indigenous cultures, bodies of knowledge depended on the context of place and time and the accuracy and trustworthiness of knowledge transfer sources and their agents for legitimisation.

The marae provides an opportunity for knowledge to be debated, questioned and thoughtfully considered within a community domain by acknowledged experts. The wharenui was seen as another perhaps less contested and sometimes more restricted venue. This aspect of knowledge transfer helped ensure that accuracy was maintained, that a range of views could be considered and that the opportunity for consensus was created.

As whānau and individuals have become more mobile, the traditional means of transferring knowledge becomes increasingly challenging for each generation but can also create a greater flexibility around means of knowledge transfer and acceptability. The continued population growth of Māori in Australia, for example, has highlighted the growing level of importance of technology and internet-based platforms as a means of knowledge transmission.

Not all knowledge was considered appropriate for the community domain; some was shared but other aspects were held by experts for transfer to those who showed sufficient potential to be responsible recipients. For example, in writing about sharing special knowledge, John Rangihau explained: I talk to you about mauri and some people talk about tapu. Perhaps the words are interchangeable. If you apply this life force feeling to all things – inanimate and animate – and to concepts, and you give each concept a life of its own, you can see how difficult it appears for older people to be willing and available to give out information. They believe that it is a part of them, part of their own life force, and when they start shedding this they are giving away themselves. Only when they depart are they able to pass this whole thing through and give it a continuing aspect. Just as they are proud of being able to trace their genealogy backwards, in the same way that they can continue to send the mauri of certain things forward and down to their children after death. They pick and choose from their children and if they have none it is up to the person himself to pass information to one of his kinfolk . . . There is no black and white as to how to do these things.11

Restrictions remain therefore around some aspects of Mātauranga Māori. To quote John Rangihau further, there is a spirituality about the Māori world and this dynamic exerts a force on Māori things.

As knowledge is committed to the written word, the context in which it originated may be lost but, importantly, also the tone of voice and the emphasis of the spoken word. Many researchers today ask permission to record the spoken word and to retain the nuances of the narratives as they unfold.

Māori are not alone in holding strong views about the sanctity of some knowledges, and procedures for passing certain knowledge on. Other indigenous oral cultures have similar concerns.

In her book on researching and writing about North American Indians, for example, Devon A. Mihesuah makes the observation that: While non-Indian historians have made careers speaking

for tribes and interpreting cultures besides the ones to which they belong, many Indians will not write about tribes other than their own, even if they have insights into those cultures. When it comes to speculating on other’s motivations and world views, many Indians are uncomfortable and simply won’t do it.  

Yet for cultures to survive, adaptation is important; even more so in times of rapid social change where each new generation, despite their heritage culture, is presented with many choices to make about preferred values and lifestyle.

In order to be relevant, research cultures too must adapt and change. Indigenous research, or Mātauranga Māori research specifically, offers a way forward for Māori in research where Māori values and processes prevail. Indigenous peoples from oral cultures have moved cautiously into the field of research and researching. Research itself has undergone significant change in methodology and in practice. The growth of small but rich qualitative studies reflects the extent of these changes as the supremacy of quantitative studies lessens.

**Change and Continuity**

For Mātauranga Māori, change is also a reality. The effects of the contact period of Māori engagement with European cultures generated change at such a pace that aspects of Mātauranga Māori either adapted or were undermined by the new regime. New world views were infiltrating Māori communities for good or for bad. Christianity was one new world view brought to Māori communities and adapted to become a new aspect of Māori community life.

Importantly at this time, the arrival of Christianity with the missionaries also brought the written word, marking the shift from being an oral culture to the use of a written form of Te Reo Māori. The new technology had flow on effects and impacts for Māori.

The written word dislocated knowledge from oral sources and ruptured the contexts of time and place. It took away the flexibility of the spoken word to be able to respect all the facets of mana and it created new experts, those with the capacity to read and write.

Diminished expert oversight to test the accuracy of knowledge transfer in this mode and to maintain control over the content and the process caused some upheaval.

It also made possible the detachment of knowledge from its cultural context, leaving misinterpretation as a distinct reality. The kawa inherent in the spoken word had then to work around the new environment.  

In earlier times, knowledge of the past and whānau and hapū knowledge was held closely by those entrusted with it. A system of tapu operated in certain instances as a form of protection, both for the body of knowledge and for those trusted recipients of it. Te Uira Manihera of Waikato entreated people to hold tapu information in the highest esteem, and provided a caution at the same time:

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Māori thought as early as the 1860’s, although charges were levelled that the ideas (both Māori and European) were assembled into a pan-Māori system of thought which nonetheless disguised borrowed elements ... and that the centralisation of Māori traditions gave the traditions a new authority.

The authority of the traditions in their collective or regional or tribal forms is not at issue here. Reference to Māori or The Māori or Māoritanga or even to Mātauranga Māori can have the effect of emphasising what is shared beyond iwi, hapū or whānau details but here it is not to imply that each aspect is identical across each iwi or hapū. It does not seek to challenge the idea that the use of the word 'Māori' can be seen as a colonial construct. Instead, a pragmatic approach to the exploration of Mātauranga Māori is taken, without intruding upon those aspects that for now, ought to remain out of the discussion.

In the context that Mātauranga Māori is used in this paper, it refers to a collective body of knowledge built by generations of Māori over time. It accepts that there are bodies of knowledge that might more accurately be described as Mātauranga ā- iwi, Mātauranga ā-hapū and Mātauranga ā-whānau, but that these are not specifically under discussion here. John Rangihau emphasised that same view in his reference to the term 'Tuhoetanga' as a more appropriate term than Māoritanga for the body of knowledge generated and passed on by members of the Tuhoe iwi. A research paradigm based around Mātauranga Māori is a step towards generating knowledge that can be explained within the bounds of its own logic.

A definition of Mātauranga was offered by Whatarangi Winiata:

A body of knowledge that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing on concepts handed from one generation to another. Accordingly, Mātauranga Māori has no beginning and is without end. It is constantly enhanced and refined. Each passing generation of Māori make their own contribution to Mātauranga Māori.

That definition provides a generative view of Mātauranga Māori, emphasising that it is much more than an archive, and allows for growth and development over time.

In accordance with this definition, for Mason Durie, research that evolves from a Mātauranga Māori basis is:

A further definition of Mātauranga Māori is provided by Te Maire Tau:19

. . . the epistemology of Māori – what it is that underpins and gives point and meaning to Māori knowledge. Whakapapa is the skeletal structure to Māori epistemology. What about language? Obviously language is the critical factor.

Mātauranga Māori is therefore a complex knowledge base built up over centuries and ultimately millennia, by close engagement with the physical, human and spiritual environment within which communities constructed their lives.

There are some aspects of Mātauranga Māori that are off limits for wide distribution, but others will grow and change as Māori society changes. Research drawn from a Mātauranga Māori base should be searched and explained applying the logic of that base.

Mātauranga Māori as a Research Paradigm

In an address titled, Te Ao Mārama – A Māori Reseach Paradigm, Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal explored the notion or theory of Mātauranga Māori, Māori knowledge and the process or processes that create Mātauranga Māori. Whakapapa is posited as a research methodology ‘capable of providing an explanation of all phenomena in Māori experience’.20 He later enlarged on these ideas by positing Te Ao Mārama as a construct of Te Kore and Te Pō, two of the forces that in Māori oral history brought the world into existence, and so beginning the whakapapa of the modern world.

While Royal sees Te Ao Mārama as the paradigm of Māori knowledge, it is possible to see Mātauranga Māori itself as a knowledge paradigm, a means of reading the world and all that happens within it. In other words, not necessarily a research paradigm but instead the wellspring from which current research may be informed and in return, some aspects may be informed by the research results. Epistemology is another term that has been applied to Mātauranga Māori in the academic sense, simply a theory of knowledge.

Mātauranga Māori is more than a theory since it shapes and nurtures Te Ao Māori. Mātauranga Māori is the knowledge base that informs the research and the body of knowledge that expands as a result of the research activity.

Māori research methodologies are part of an indigenous move worldwide to take back the research process so as to serve indigenous goals and aspirations in the first instance and to ensure that indigenous values and practices are neither mined nor undermined by the global push to exploit indigenous bodies of knowledge for non-indigenous purposes.

In the case of Aotearoa, Mātauranga Māori allows research methodologies an authentic place, and establishes a space for indigenous bodies of knowledge. There are risks involved in positioning Mātauranga Māori in the research domain at all, much less at the centre of Māori research.

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20 T.C.Royal, Te Ao Marama-A Research Paradigm, in Te Pūmanawa Hauora (ed)
methodologies. There is always the risk that the knowledge will not be accurately shared or that it will allow for another round of exploitation of Māori knowledge for non-Māori agendas. But there are others who have worked through this dilemma.

There is much to be aware of when working within the Mātauranga Māori domain. It demonstrates that Māori cognition and logic keeps ideas within their cultural context so any methodology that draws from Mātauranga Māori should recognise the authenticity of Māori cognition. The most effective ideas will be those that resonate with the logic of interconnectedness in the Māorí world. The affective or subjective domain is very much a part of Māori cognition where mind is not separated from body, or matter from spirit, or thought from feelings. Where divisions are made between objectivity and subjectivity in research work, a subsequent inability to reflect the ihi factor or spirit of vitality in Māori lives is considerably more likely.

Māori Marsden makes a critical point that has an important bearing on research drawn from Mātauranga Māori:

*The route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach.*

If for example Māori wellbeing is to be maximised as this paper surmises, then preconceived notions about objectivity and subjectivity as separate rather than interdependent concepts have to be put aside. This is despite research and research thinking in a traditionally academic sense still purporting to be objective, and *abstracted individuals* being the prototype for researchers.

Insider research, where researchers have that personal connection with the community of interest, is thought to be fraught with problems for researchers and their communities and for the results of the work. With Mātauranga Māori and Māori cognition, neutrality would be a foreign concept. Therefore differences of view should be worked through to a solution that will satisfy the community in a mana enhancing manner. Moreover, whakapapa (genealogy) acts as a central unifying force. Whakapapa affords the means to set out the levels of kinship between people and their natural and spiritual environments.

Mason Durie describes whakapapa as:

*the natural evolutionary link between generations, and the method of identifying inheritance and the relationships between people and the entities in the environment.*

Whakapapa therefore plays an important role with regard to Mātauranga Māori. It is a system that clearly defines the nature of relationships between all things. It also links closely to the value of whanaungatanga. Relationships are critical components of the way in which Mātauranga Māori is viewed. In situations where research might require observations, interviews or data collation from within a Māori community, the principle of whakapapa would be a major consideration.

Does the researcher share known whakapapa links and connections to families from that community? If so, has the researcher previously demonstrated a capacity to contribute to the community in a positive way? Does their previous work demonstrate a capacity to value

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knowledge and to apply it in a considered way that is ultimately mana and wairua enhancing for all involved?

Just as whakapapa provides a conduit for research, the institution of the marae has been a significant venue for the elaboration and transfer of Mātauranga Māori. Integral to that process has been the observance of kawa – a set of protocols that provide the context for engagement, communication, relationship building and consensus. Kawa can be seen as a set of rules for engagement, a ritual for encounters, and a mechanism for protecting participants. But at a conceptual level kawa incorporates ‘a complex set of beliefs, values and actions that mediate relationships, foster commitment and create spiritual, intellectual, and physical connections with place, persons, and purpose.’

Mātauranga Māori as a Research Paradigm

Emerging from these considerations and from the literature discussed in this paper it is possible to identify four pou, or pillars. They constitute foundations for Mātauranga Māori as a research paradigm that reunites logic, relationships, language and people. The four pou comprise:

- Pou-ā-Kawa
- Pou-ā-Whakapapa
- Pou-ā-Reo
- Pou-ā-Tangata

Pou-ā-Kawa is underpinned by tikanga Māori – the ways in which Māori world views are evident in relationships with people, with the environment, with the past and with the future. Kawa represents the outward expression of those perspectives and is manifested by the behaviour and language that colours encounters and defines a situation.

As a pillar of Mātauranga Māori research, kawa has implications for the researcher as well as others who are participating in the research; and it provides a vehicle for the two-way transfer of knowledge and information. When Māori world views are the norm, kawa becomes the medium for research inquiry, enhancing the validity and integrity of knowledge transfer. There is no uniform kawa that is applicable to all situations but the underlying assumption here is that Mātauranga Māori research will be more effective when the most relevant and appropriate kawa for a particular encounter has been agreed.

Pou-ā-Whakapapa also recognises the significance of relationships. Not only does it reflect heritage and family connections over the generations but it also links humankind with the wider physical and spiritual environments. The Ranginui-Papatuanuku narrative is an allegorical account of the origins of plants, animals, people, fish, the elements, and their common relationships to the sky and the earth.

Research that separates human endeavours from nature or from other environments overlooks an essential aspect of Mātauranga that gives emphasis to linkages and searches for commonalities as well as differences.

Pou-ā-Whakapapa also has connotations for effective engagement with groups of people. Researchers, for example, are more likely to find willing participation when a reason for participating, apart from the research, has emerged. The reason may be, for example, a whānau connection or a tribal association or a shared memory of an historical event.

Pou-ā-Reo recognises that language is a crucial aspect of any research. Like other languages, Te Reo Māori contains idioms and inferences that can be overlooked if the subtleties are not appreciated. Moreover, there are aspects of Māori world views that cannot be fully expressed except in the Māori language. In that respect Pou-ā-Reo is integral for research with Māori, either in oral communication or in written form where Te Reo Māori is the premium.

When competency within Te Reo is not evident, either for researcher or research participants, misunderstandings and misinterpretations of meaning are likely to occur. But in addition to the use of Māori words, the ways that sentences, questions and suppositions are constructed and the implications they carry, also require to be framed within a Māori world view. Language is more than words; it is also about ways of thinking, about cognitive style.

Pou-ā-Tangata carries with it an appreciation of people and their potential. An important aim of Mātauranga Māori research is that people should benefit from the research either directly or indirectly. Essentially, Mātauranga Māori research is about gains for Te Ao Māori. It is undertaken so that benefits will ultimately flow to Māori and to society generally.

Pou-ā-Tangata places people at the centre of research and expects that the researcher will similarly be concerned with the wider benefits that might accrue from the undertaking. That does not mean that there will not also be benefits to the researcher but does imply that if short or long term benefits for participants or other groups cannot be contemplated, then an ethical question will have arisen. How those benefits are experienced or defined will be an important methodological matter and should be an integral part of a research plan.

Pou-ā-Tangata gives expression to the prime reason for research – the creation of new knowledge so that people can be more enlightened – and the people most directly affected by the research should be able to realise the benefits.

The emphasis upon the importance of new knowledge acquisition is a theme central to many tribal variations of the accounts relating to the endeavours of those such as Tāne in seeking out the three baskets of knowledge as a means of enlightenment for the wider population, and similarly by Tāwhaki in the quest for ultimate insight into worldly knowledge.

Both narratives, at a broader level, speak to the way in which Māori have placed a high value upon knowledge itself and also upon safe access to knowledge sources and repositories.

The four Pou constitute four pillars upon which Mātauranga Māori research has been built. They are summarised in Figure 1.25

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25 M.K.Durie (2013), Key Note Address, ‘He Manawa Whenua Conference, Te Kotahi Research Institute, University of Waikato, Hamilton.
The four Pou not only contribute to understanding Mātauranga Māori research but also provide researchers with a basis for more effective research practice. Unlike conventional academy expectations that the researcher should sit entirely outside that which is to be researched, Mātauranga Māori research places the researcher firmly within the research field. This positioning recognises the fundamental importance of relationships. Moreover it leads to a participatory process that involves researchers and participants in a kawa where ideas can be exchanged, in a language that resonates with all.

The four pou are each reflected within the curriculum of Ngā Purapura, a Centre for Māori Wellness at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Ngā Purapura is built around a kawa (Te Kawa Oranga), linking high performance in Taha Tinana to high performance in Taha Wairua, Taha Hinengaro and Taha Whānau. Pou-ā-Whakapapa is reflected through elements of architectural design that reference Kaupapa Tuku Iho and Te Whare Tapa Whā. Pou-ā-Tangata is manifested through whānau-focussed approaches to exercise, nutrition and sport. Recognition of Te Reo Māori as the primary language of Te Wānanga o Raukawa is emphasised in all areas of engagement and activity at Ngā Purapura.

The relationship between researcher and the four Pou is shown in Figure 2.

26 M.K.Durie (2013) Key Note Address, ‘He Manawa Whenua’ Conference, Te Kotahi Research Institute, University of Waikato, Hamilton.
This paper has discussed the nature of Mātauranga Māori and the relationship and relevance to research. It has posited the notion that Mātauranga Māori is a dynamic knowledge base that recognises the multi-dimensional nature of Te Ao Māori, the Māori world. It also contends that Mātauranga Māori has the capacity to inform research by, about, for and mostly in Māori. It is built upon a bedrock of inter-generational transmission, shaped around the Māori oral tradition – waiata, karakia, kōrero pūrākau, whakapapa. These and other forms of Māori oral literature provide validation of Mātauranga Māori in a way that is appropriate and understood by those for whom this knowledge is intended.

The dynamic nature of Mātauranga Māori, however, means that it is a pool of knowledge that is continually added to and enriched by the contributions and experiences of those with informed insights, observations and understandings.

Over the past two centuries the written word has become a more accepted medium of knowledge transfer for Mātauranga Māori as well as other knowledge systems. At the same time there often remains a sense of mistrust of those who seek to research Māori and indigenous communities or knowledge without the necessary understanding of Māori approaches to knowledge creation and the associated reciprocities. Undertaking research for, about, by, and mainly in Māori, can only have integrity if the research uses a methodology that has been defined by the values which give meaning to Te Ao Māori and occurs within a context where those values are evidenced by behaviour, language and relationships.

This paper has identified four pou that are foundational to Mātauranga Māori research: Pou-ā-Kawa; Pou-ā-Whakapapa; Pou-ā-Reo; Pou-ā-Tangata. The pou not only underpin Mātauranga Māori methodologies but also provide practice guidelines for researchers.
THE PESA NADAYADU POENABE MADABWE (MAKING GOOD STRONG LEADERS), AN EMERGING INDIGENOUS LEADERS INSTITUTE (EILI)

DR DEBRA HARRY

Kooyoooe Dukaddo from Pyramid Lake- Nevada.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS (TRANSCRIBED)


I would like to acknowledge the Ancestors of this land, and extend my greetings to the Elders, colleagues, and friends. I would also like to thank the conference organizers for your warm hospitality during my visit to Aotearoa. I would also like to mention how honored I am to share time on the agenda with Moana Jackson, one of my own personal heroes.

Overview

The movement for Indigenous-centered education has been a major pillar of the international and national Indigenous rights movement. Education by Indigenous peoples, for Indigenous peoples, is a foundational strategy for decolonization. As in any pursuit of knowledge, Indigenous-centered education is based on theory, however it is theory based on our cultural ways, knowledge systems, and ancestral teachings. Through the vision of Indigenous communities and academics’ initiatives in Indigenous theory, Indigenous studies, and Indigenous-centered education an extensive body of work now exists that legitimates Indigenous language, knowledge and culture as a valid framework for educational models appropriate for Indigenous peoples (Graham Hingangaroa Smith 1997; Linda Tuhiwai Smith 1999; Ku Kahakalau 2003).

Historical experiences with the educational development of our youth in church or state-controlled educational programs caused or contributed to historical trauma. The current educational system and teaching processes have systemic flaws that do not serve the interests of Indigenous peoples and our students. It is important to understand that the institutionalized model of education is what Dr. Graham Smith calls, “education by the state. Education goals are linked with private and economic interests, and not the pursuit of new knowledge for knowledge’s sake.”1 Education by the state cannot provide learning experiences or knowledge with any deep relevance to Indigenous peoples and our realities.

Further, typical academics employ what the late Brazilian educator, Paulo Friere, calls the ‘banking system of education’, treating learners as empty vessels, and the educator is to fill these vessels with information which the learners memorize and repeat back to the teacher to demonstrate their competence. This approach denies any opportunity for learners to draw upon and use the knowledge, experience and world-views that they bring to the learning process. It is no wonder our students feel alienated and marginalized. The negative statistics reflect that alienation and marginalization, not their ability to learn. Numerous studies and extensive data reflect the negative experiences of indigenous students. The data also confirm that indigenous

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students' alienation and marginalization is often a consequence of structural bias against indigenous students, and is not a reflection of intellectual or cognitive deficiencies.

In contemporary times, these institutions do not adequately prepare Indigenous peoples to meet the unique cultural, social, educational, and governance needs of their peoples. Indigenous peoples’ ability to educate their next generations in transformative leadership is a critical component to nation-building and positive community development. Thus, an appropriate Indigenous response is to create culturally-based, Indigenous-centered leadership training opportunities for our own emerging leaders, which serves as an essential exercise of the right of self-determination.

The Pesa Nadayadu Poenabe Madabwe (Making Good Strong Leaders), an Emerging Indigenous Leaders Institute (EILI)

The Emerging Indigenous Leaders Institute, Pesa Nadayadu Poenabe Madabwe (Making Good Strong Leaders), is a program designed to cultivate the next generations of leaders who are committed to the protection and perpetuation of the rights, cultures, and lifeways of Indigenous peoples in the homelands of the Numu, Newe, and Washoe Peoples. The EILI, founded on the principle of Indigenous-centered education, creates the opportunity for young Indigenous peoples to ground themselves in their own Indigenous knowledge systems, and to utilize their cultural identities as the foundation for learning and knowing.

The EILI has created unique educational and leadership development courses, featuring Indigenous-centered content based on historical and contemporary issues, encouraging critical analysis utilizing decolonization methodologies, and fostering the creation and implementation of positive community development projects by students that address social, economic and cultural needs in transformative ways.

The project incorporates cultural knowledge development and adult language acquisition strategies to strengthen the cultural knowledge and life-ways of the students and ultimately the Great Basin Indigenous Peoples. The project utilizes intergenerational learning strategies involving elders, cultural knowledge holders, language speakers, and young people in the daily curriculum.

The program develops transformative leaders who make positive change in service to their communities based upon principles central to Indigenous leadership including respect, honor, compassion, and love for their people and land. The program encourages young Indigenous leaders to think critically about their current realities, while envisioning transformative decolonization strategies to create a future that benefits us all.

The EILI addresses the unmet need for culture-based and Indigenous-centered development by creating leadership and learning opportunities that situate students and their indigeneity at the center of their learning experience. This program brings to life the Numu (Northern Paiute) concept of ‘Poenabe’ or leader, i.e. ‘one who speaks not only for the people, but also for the land and all living things.’

This initiative is about a reclamation of who we are as Numu, and it is about transformation; that is, that we can feel our power to make positive changes in our world, and the world at large, on our own terms, free from the negative effects of colonization. This type of learning is, at its core, about freedom, the freedom to think, and to act from one’s own cultural identity and foundation.
The EILI Curriculum

The EILI curriculum consists of six (6) course modules that include an Instructor’s Manual and Student Reader. The curriculum is accredited by Salish Kootenai College and EILI students earn seven (7) college credits upon successful completion of the courses. The EILI curriculum is taught by prominent Indigenous leaders and scholars who also serve as positive role models and mentors for the students.

The six (6) EILI courses include the following:

**Indigenous Nation Building**

Through this foundational course, students examine what ‘Indigenous Nation Building’ means within the frameworks of colonization and decolonization. Students explore fundamental issues such as examining the multiple impacts colonization had, and continues to have on Indigenous peoples from an historical and contemporary context; and its devastating impacts on Indigenous Nations today from a localized context. The course engages students to conceptualize and map out their vision and plan of action that addresses what they see are the necessary steps to take in order to actualize or bring about their decolonization and nation building as it relates to personal and community development.

**Indigenous Peoples’ Rights: International and Domestic Contexts**

In this course, students examine legal constructs related to inherent rights, treaty rights, and international and domestic law and policies. Students also explore key historical developments in US federal Indian laws and policies and their impacts on Indigenous nations/communities today. The final component of this module provides students with an overview of Indigenous Peoples’ advocacy and efforts to advance Indigenous Peoples rights in United Nations fora, including the right of self-determination.

**Healthy Families and Communities**

In this course, students critically examine the impacts of colonization on the health and well being of Indigenous peoples. The course deepens their understanding of what constitutes Indigenous health and well-being from an Indigenous perspective. This course also addresses Indigenous Peoples’ connection to our lands and territories as a key aspect of wellness, based on the understanding that the health of the land will reflect on the health of the people. Students learn about the hazards of corporate controlled food systems, and the benefits of locally produced organic foods.

**Indigenous-Centered Education**

This course introduces students to the historical development of Federal Indian education policy and the creation of Indian Boarding schools and its impacts on Indigenous families and communities today. Students also explore the theme of Indigenous knowledge generation and transmission across generations from an Indigenous-centered worldview. This course also explores Indigenous theory and research methodologies. Students learn about Indigenous-centered education strategies from pre-school to higher education, including language nests, immersion schools, and charter schools. The last section consists of students collectively developing their own vision of Indigenous-centered education strategies for their own communities.
Sustainable Indigenous Families and Communities

In this course, students learn about their own histories of sustainable relationships to each other and the natural world. Students examine the impact of a lifestyle based on extractive industries, non-renewable energy dependence, and consumerism. Students also learn sustainability strategies for meeting the needs for food, energy, and housing including permaculture design, organic gardening, and seed saving. Students learn practical applications using solar technology, and reducing energy use. The last component of this course engages students in a conceptualization of their own strategies for sustainability grounded in their own cultures, traditional knowledge systems and practices.

Non-profits and Alternative Models for Community Development

This course focuses on the role of non-profit or other community-based organizations to promote cultural heritage protection, natural resource protection, education, economic development and other key community development issues. Key topics include philanthropy, distinctions between non-profit and for-profit organizations, program planning, basic requirements to start a non-profit, and an introduction to fundraising training and proposal development.

Integral to the EILI project, the program involves Indigenous scholars and leaders, elders, cultural knowledge holders, and utilizes second language acquisition strategies, to create an intergenerational and participatory learning experience for our students. Throughout every course, lesson plans address leadership development skills (i.e. public speaking, research, critical thinking, media skills, writing skills, and cohort building), personal and community wellness (i.e. physical wellness, nutrition, traditional foods, parenting skills, spiritual and emotional wellness), cultural and language revitalization (i.e. traditional knowledge, oral histories, creation stories, traditional games, sacred sites, and traditional technologies), and the use of digital technology as educational tools for students to tell their own stories. The students also produced a film project about their leadership interests. As part of their graduation ceremonies, students publically screen their digital film projects for friends, family and the community. You can see an example of a student film project about the EILI at the following link: http://www.youtube.com/edit?o=U&video_id=FajxOCLWBBo

EILI Internship and Practicum

As a direct extension of the EILI curriculum, a delegation of seven 2013 EILI students completed a one week practicum by attending and participating at the 12th Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York in May 2013. The students applied their knowledge and leadership skills by participating in the Global Indigenous Youth Caucus (GIYC) and worked diligently to develop a strong, principled statement on the upcoming United Nations plenary meeting, to be called a World Conference on Indigenous Peoples, scheduled for September 2014. Cody Harry, a member of the 2012/13 cohort and graduate of the Emerging Indigenous Leaders Institute, was selected to deliver this powerful statement on the floor of the United Nations on May 28, 2013 on the agenda item addressing the WCIP. In addition, the Global Indigenous Youth Caucus selected Cody to serve on the Global Coordinating Group (GCG) of Indigenous Peoples who are working globally to share information on matters related to the WCIP. As a result of this position, Cody joined the North American delegation of 57 Indigenous leaders who attended an Indigenous Peoples Global Preparatory Meeting in Alta, Norway on June 6-13, 2013.
The EILI students gained invaluable practical leadership experience at the United Nations. This experience has increased their confidence in their own leadership abilities and knowledge. It is important to acknowledge that the EILI students’ leadership skills and knowledge were affirmed by their peers in the Global Indigenous Youth Caucus. Many Indigenous peoples commented to the EILI Executive Director and Program Director about how knowledgeable the students were of the UN system, the issues impacting Indigenous peoples and nations at the international level, and the demonstration of their exemplary leadership skills.

Additionally, one of our students, Sara Twiss, was awarded an 8-week summer internship to participate in the prestigious Climate Change and Indigenous Communities Summer Internship Program 2013, under the direction of Dr. Daniel Wildcat at Haskell Indian Nations University in Kansas. Another student, Patrick Burtt, applied and was accepted to participate in the Collaborative Field School at Stewart Indian School, which includes free tuition for this 6-credit college course offered through UNR. The Collaborative Field School is a service learning program in which students will learn methods of archaeological excavation, as well as non-invasive methods aimed at preservation, such as recording oral histories, conducting archaeological surveys, and interpreting Global Positioning System (GPS) and remote sensing data. Finally, Autumn Harry completed an 8-week internship with Winona LaDuke at the White Earth Land Recovery Project in Minnesota.

**Concluding Remarks**

This project is built on six years of engagement in an organic process of visioning, design, and implementation of Leaders approach with three cohorts of young adults in the Great Basin region. We have witnessed the power and effectiveness of its programs in the development of young emerging leaders. However, one of our greatest lessons learned is that it is not enough to simply provide training, but we must be diligent in providing on-going support and mentorship to our students to help them actualize their visions for positive community change.

Ultimately, this project is about developing a critical analysis of the impacts of colonization, developing decolonizing strategies for our futures, and realizing our right to be self-determining peoples and nations on our own terms, consistent with who we are. In that sense, the words of the late Seneca scholar, John Mohawk, continues to serve as inspiration for our work:

*They can become ‘good subjects’ of the discourse, accepting the rules of law and morals without much question, they can be ‘bad subjects’ arguing that they have been subjected to alien rules but always revolting within the precepts of those rules, or they can be ‘non subjects’ acting and thinking around discourses far removed from and unintelligible to the West.*

The EILI poenabe will be non-subject agents of change. Our careful and deliberate investment in today’s emerging leaders is building a critical mass of knowledgeable, principled, skilled, and culturally-grounded leaders who will lead us into the future, on our own terms.

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2 Yvonne Dion-Buffalo and John C. Mohawk, Akwe:kon 9 (4): 16-21
HE MANAWA WHENUA

MOANA JACKSON

Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Porou

KEYNOTE ADDRESS (TRANSCRIBED)

Tēnā koutou.

Can I begin by saying what an honour it is for me actually to share this time with Debra [Harry], whose quiet commitment, dignity and courage I have always admired? And because Debra spoke about the work at the United Nations I would like to also take this opportunity to acknowledge Aroha [Mead] and all the work that she did, not only on the Declaration, but in various other international forums. Work which is often unrecognised and unremarked here at home, but really crucial I think to the well-being of our people.

When I was asked to speak today, I thought I would try to go somewhere totally quite different, and rather than report on research I might be doing I thought it might be more interesting to discuss the very notion of research itself. And so this morning as part of my speech preparation I did what I normally do, I went for a walk in the dark along the river. It was beautiful, it was a calm night and the river was flowing softly along its course, and I was trying to put all the jumbled thoughts in my head into some sort of order. Then I saw moving across the water an almost eerie shimmering purple light. It disappeared for a while and then it reappeared as a soft blue-lavender light, and I imagined for a moment that it might be a tohu – perhaps my Kahungunu tipuna Mahinārangi reassuring me that because I was in Tainui I would be looked after and my kōrero would be alright. Perhaps too it may have been a taniwha glistening as they do at every turn of the river. Alas when I walked a little further and saw a gap up in the trees, I realised that it was neither a taniwha nor my tipuna but the flashing neon lights on the bridge across the river.

I nevertheless took heart from the calm beauty of the river and hope that my kōrero might flow with the same certainty and comfort that the waters make their way to the sea. The first thing I wanted to say, though, is how thrilled I am to be here with you all and to see and hear the exciting, often challenging, often sad, often defiant work that you are doing. And as I have wandered and wondered around the various sessions, I have often remembered what Elsdon Best once said about our intellectual capacity and indeed our very worth. He was one of the great colonising redefiners of who we are of course, and felt able to comment about the depths and beauty of our knowledge as if it was a tiny inconsequential object that he could dissect and understand simply because he was White. In one of his works Māori Religion and Mythology he wrote: “uncivilised folk such as our Māori may not do any great amount of thinking or purposely indulge in metaphysical studies”, and yet here at this conference we are once again proving him wrong with the depth and clarity of our thinking. Indeed if his comment was ignorant and racist 100 years ago, these last two days are proof that it was also simply stupid.

But sadly the images that he created, as well as those invented by the colonisers that Ihinapeti Ramsden used to call ethnographic trappers, still dominate in many of the ideas that others have of us as a people, and sometimes unfortunately the images that some of us have of ourselves.

But I was also reminded as I wandered around the hui of something that Linda Smith said at the first Kei Tua o te Pae conference a couple of years ago. In a typically insightful discussion of Kaupapa Māori Research she noted that it is more than a paradigm and less than a paradigm,
more than a methodology and less than a methodology, it is much more fluid than that. And it’s that notion of fluidity that I’d like to talk about. Because it is that fluidity, that sense of something more and something less that I think is one of the greatest strengths of Kaupapa Māori Research because it enables us to explore and ask the questions we need to ask, and discover the answers we need to know. In the words of my grandfather, my Kahungunu koro, it helps us to ‘whaiwhakaaro’, to follow the thought.

I remember my koro with particular affection. Not just because he thought Kahungunu was the only iwi (for he was surely right in that regard), nor even because he would often wake me as a child and tell me I did not have to go to school that day because we had places to see and things to do. Rather, it is because if he was not on his way to a hui or a Land Court hearing he would often just take me for a walk across our land to listen to what I now call the stories in the land. In those stories I learned that a question can sometimes be an answer; that history is just a collection of stories available to those who take the time to listen; and that knowledge like whakapapa is a series of never-ending beginnings where learning and what we might need to know at any given time can change like the land itself. We might call on the same values in asking a question and the process of ‘whaiwhakaaro’ might seem immutable and never-ending but they subtly and sometimes not so subtly point us in the direction of change.

I remember learning that last lesson one day when we climbed over the fences of what is now a Pākehā farmer’s land to sit and gaze across the paddocks at our mountain, Kahuranaki. As he talked about the maunga and told other stories in the land he would pause every now and again and say, “Look at the maunga”. And I would look at the mountain and think, “Yeah it’s still there,” and then he would talk some more and say again “Look at the mountain”. And sure enough, it was still there. After being told to look at the mountain several times I realised that while it was indeed still there it had in fact changed. It was actually different each time I looked. As the early morning sun rose, as it moved across the sky, as clouds moved across the sun, the way I perceived it changed, as did the shape and the appearance of the mountain itself. The mountain was the same mountain, the same never-ending presence in our lives as well as our pepehā, but each new moment, each new glancing look, indicated a process of change. When we finally left late in the afternoon and the sun was starting to set high above the mountain and he said, “Look again,” I knew that it would be different.

Many years later, just last Christmas actually, I took my own grandson to our maunga and I found myself doing what my Koro had done for me. As we talked of history and fanciful or fact-filled mountain stories, I too would pause every now and then and ask him to “Look at the mountain”. Because he is a mokopuna of the 21st century he would take out his cell phone and snap a picture. At the end of the day I asked him why he had taken a picture each time, and he replied by saying something that I thought was both really neat and really perceptive. He said, “I wanted to capture the mountain and I wanted to capture the change”.

On reflection, I realise now that in a way my koro left for me a very important intellectual or research ethic if you like. If we are to know all we need to know we must be able to see and adapt to the world as ever-changing, while realising that there might also be values and attitudes informing our ‘seeing’ that will not and should not change. Like the mountain, the tikanga of our uniqueness will remain no matter what changes might be made to its appearance or importance, and that there is a need to respect the unchanging as well as the immutability of change. Good research, like the understanding of my mokopuna, then helps us ‘capture’ both.
So I’d like to take those two ideas, the idea of the immutability of change and the idea of capturing change as the two main hooks upon which I hang what I would like to call a philosophy of ethics. Both of those hooks in my view need to be grounded in something that some people may not see as relevant to research or intellectual enquiry and I would like to explain that with another story if I may.

I have been blessed recently with my first great-mokopuna, a beautiful girl, who is nearly 4 years old. When I was last with them my daughter-in-law was weaving a kete and the little four year old was being instructed by her grandmother to make a small rourou. She worked away for some time, struggling as her little fingers tried to weave the harakeke and happily talking all the while as she worked. Her 8 year old Aunty at one point happened to ask, “Why are you talking to yourself?” To which she replied with a haughty look on her face, “I’m not talking to myself, I’m never by myself”. When she eventually finished the little rourou it was all rough around the edges and uneven but when she gave it to me I thought it was a thing of absolute beauty. When I commented how hard she had worked she replied, “That’s because I had to imagine to thoughted it right, Koro”.

To imagine and take the time to ‘thoughted it right’ (and knowing we are never by ourselves) are the papa or base within which the ideas about the immutability and capturing of change can in my view become a tentative philosophy of Māori research ethics. I offer it as something you might like to think about, not as definitive or programmatic list of definitive ethics, but rather as something which I think as Māori and as Indigenous Peoples we might like to bear in mind whenever we begin to question ourselves or others or the lives we would like to live.

The ethics that follow reflect the stories that I have told you, others are related to them, and like the weaving of my mokopuna, they are all inter-lapping and in fact, over-lapping.

The first is what I call the **ethic of prior thought**. That is, that if we are to do research, if we are to make sense of who we are, or what is happening to us, then we must have the confidence to reach back to the prior thought that has been left for us by our old people. In spite of what Elsdon Best said, we have a proud and noble intellectual tradition that for centuries has given voice to certain understandings of the world and insights into the crucial importance of relationships that are rich in meaning and poetry. In a very real way that tradition should be, if you like, the literature review of any research that we do. If we look at where we are now without acknowledging or trying to discover that prior thought, without that ethic in mind, then I don't think we can properly protect and nurture the whole idea of Kaupapa Māori research or even follow the thought in a way that is true to ourselves.

The second ethic is the **ethic of moral or right choice**. That might seem a repetitious statement but it seems to me that every piece of research necessarily requires a moral focus. If we reach back to our prior thought we find that our people understood that we could ask any question we wanted and follow the thought wherever it might lead us. However, before we did that we had to ask, will this be right, will this be tika, will this be moral? Such questions in my view should underpin the decision we first make about doing particular research as well as the way that we then actually conduct the research. Such an ethic does not imply some religious-based research proscription but rather reminds us that whenever we research a subject or whenever we choose to advance a particular theory, neither the research practice nor the theory exist in isolation from the people we are meant to serve. Ideas do not exist in isolation from the lives of those whom we may wish to research and there is therefore an obligation to interrogate an ethic of moral or right choice.
The third ethic that I’ve come up with is related to part of the kaupapa of this conference. I call it the **ethic of the imagination**. I believe that part of the joy of any intellectual tradition is identifying the flights of imagination that can lead us from the observation of a phenomenon to the description and understanding of the consequences of that phenomena. It often takes a leap of poetic imagination to lead us to the facts, lead us to the evidence, through which we can draw conclusions. And too often the whole idea of objectivity denies the role of the imagination. So I think there should be an ethic of imagination.

Fourthly, I think there should be an **ethic of change**. Whether it’s the immutability of change, when you observe a mountain, or the need for rapid and swift change, research should be dedicated to transforming or changing the realities in which people live. A static piece of research which does not seek change, which does not seek to improve the lives of our people, fails to meet the appropriate ethical standard.

The fifth ethic I’ve come up with I call the **ethic of time**. We often joke about the notion of ‘Māori time’ and the term now has negative connotations meaning lateness. I am sure we have all heard late arrivals at a hui being greeted, ‘Oh, haere mai, Ngāti Tūrēti’. However, that use is actually a Pākehā misunderstanding of the whole construct of Māori time – another colonising ethnographic trap if you like. For our notion of time is whakapapa based, and like whakapapa it has its own sense of never ending beginnings in which time turns back on itself in order to bring the past into the present and then into the future. Above all it is a notion of time which recognises the inter-connectedness of all things. If we have an ethic of time that guides us in our research, then I think it will help us realise that we don’t need to jump into a piece of research simply because someone else says it is important. Or simply because someone says, if you don’t do it now you will miss the waka. Or because somebody says, you’ve got to be at the table and do it now. In my view it is more important (more ethical) to infuse our research approach with a distinct Māori notion of time and accept that there may be occasions when there is nothing wrong with stepping back and deciding that perhaps at this time it might be good for us to miss that waka. Perhaps that waka may be leading us somewhere which would not be good or wise for our people. Perhaps that waka may sink. And once we make that time-based decision we may also realise that the time we take to actually do a piece of research can be guided more by the ebb and flow, the turning backwards and forwards, that leads to more considered and imaginative thought than that which is normally allowed in strict Pakeha time frames. Finally of course, time long taken helps reinforce the inter-connectedness and ultimate timelessness of all relationships.

The sixth ethic I call the **ethic of power** – if you like, the ethic of being the boss. Many speakers at the conference have talked about the need for research by us, for us, about us, and so on. However that imposes its own particular ethic of responsibility to those we are related to and those with whom we wish to work. The power to research necessarily carries a reciprocal obligation to be respectful. It also carries a reminder that if knowledge is power then we need to be clear about whose knowledge we are using or defining because if knowledge is power, and it is the coloniser’s knowledge we are using, then in the words of Frantz Fanon, we should never forget that such knowledge may one day devour us. However if it is our knowledge, and if it gives us power to be who we are, then we can conduct ethical research.

The seventh ethic that I have come up with is the **ethic of courage**. I really do feel that to do any research well we need to be brave and prepared to ask questions in a way that is transformative and brings about change. It is not easy to be brave about seeking change, especially when we are so often told that any Māori-centred call for change is ‘unrealistic’ or unacceptable. Yet one
The eighth ethic that I think is the ethic of honesty. Of course in all our work we should be honest at a deeply personal level, but there is also another honesty that I call the honesty of knowing ourselves. That is, research requires in my view a willingness to acknowledge that while as a people we are wonderful and sagacious and beautiful we are also simply human. We are therefore prone to all the fallibilities of humanity and we will make mistakes, we will do dumb things. We will often be hurtful to others and we may make unwise decisions. We should always celebrate the goodness, if only because Pākehā society still continually demeans who we are and what we might yet be. But part of the celebration should be the confidence to honestly know ourselves. If we are prepared to do that with a wise and loving heart, that is lacking in meanness and challenges in its honesty the dishonesty and mean-spiritedness of the culture of colonisation, then our research will draw strength from gentle criticism and give strength back to those we wish to help. Honesty flows from mana and respect and all are essential for ethical research.

The second to last ethic I call the ethic of modesty. The seductions of academic success in the western sense are very alluring and very tempting. By their very nature they promote a notion of hierarchal elitism, which in itself can be seductive. However if we remember always that we are mokopuna of those who came before us and the holders of the future of those who will follow, then we must naturally and necessarily be modest in what we do. To be an expert to me is to be the modest carrier of knowledge.

The tenth and last ethic I call the ethic of celebration. Research and the simple act of wanting to know more about the world should always be cause for celebration. As Indigenous Peoples it is part of the necessary joy of being able to celebrate our survival and our uniqueness. Perhaps most of all it is to celebrate the journeys that still lie ahead of us, to look at our mokopuna and celebrate the future that they hopefully will inherit.

When I was drawing these ethics together on my walk along the river bank this morning I realised that there were ten of them. I will not be presumptuous and call them the 10 commandments, but they do lead us to another quote from Frantz Fanon in The Wretched of the Earth: “Oh body, oh history, make me a person who will always ask questions”. If we can ask questions with an ethical mind, then we advance our people, we transform the world, and we make dreams come true.
TOWARDS ABORIGINAL SOVEREIGNTY

NALA MANSSELL-MCKENNA
Pakana, Palawa (Tasmania)

KEYNOTE ADDRESS (TRANSCRIBED)

Ya pulingina, mina Nala Mansell, mina pakana/palawa luna rrala, taypani lutruwita.
Mina ningina nayri Waikato iwi, nika milaythina-nanya waranta takamuna
Mina takamuna rrala, kani palawa takariliya manta, manta, raitji ningina kani-mana, putiya nayri.
Waranta palawa kani
Raitji ningina palawa kani krakapaka, mina tunapri, mina kani lumi paya-ku wulya
mina tunapri Waikato milaythina, waranta takara.
Mina tunapri layna, taupiri kunanyi ningina, Waikato takariliya lakapawa nina nayri-tu
Nina nayri ningina mina lumi, kani pakana palawa. Waranta tunapri Māori Aotearoa pulingina
mina milaythina-nanya Warr!!

Kia ora. My name is Nala Mansell and I am a proud Aboriginal woman from Tasmania, Australia.
It gives me great pleasure to be able to speak to you in the language of my ancestors, which was
taken away from us for so long, but recently regained and strengthened by the Tasmanian
Aboriginal community.

Based on the fact that there are no fluent speakers of my language left in Tasmania and that we
have only recently regained some of our language, I would also like to acknowledge that this will
be the first time my language has been spoken here in Aotearoa in at least 200 years. I would like
to pay my respects to the Waikato tribe, whose lands we meet on here today. I would like to
acknowledge the ancestral Waikato River, and Taupiri, the ancestral mountain, which connects
the Waikato people to their past and guides them through their future. I thank the Māori people
of Aotearoa for having me here, on your beautiful lands.

It’s an absolute privilege to be invited to speak here today on behalf of my people across Australia.
While mutton birding, basket weaving, language revival and being colonised by the British are
some of the things that Tasmanian Aborigines and Māori have in common, our fight against
racism, assimilation, oppression and being treated as outcasts on own land are also very similar.

Our hopes for sovereignty, self-determination and our legitimate rights as the original people of
our lands are also something that we share. So I hope that my talk this morning not only gives
you more of an idea of what is going on for us over there in Tasmania and mainland Australia, but
that you will also find it relevant to your people and your struggles here in Aotearoa.

Before the invasion of Australia in 1788 Aborigines had full control of our own destinies. We had
our own laws and education system; we had exclusive rights over the whole country, its islands
and its seas. In modern day language, we were a sovereign people.

Since then, we have been invaded, murdered, imprisoned, neglected and shunned. The only
reference to Aborigines in the 1901 constitution was to exclude us from being citizens. That
meant that we considered part of the flora and fauna of Australia, rather than human beings – and that's if you lived on Mainland Australia. If you were in Tasmania, our people didn't even exist within the colonised mindset.

Two hundred years of total domination by the white man in our country has scarred us deeply. It will take a long time for us as a people to recover; it will take even longer if the political framework remains as it is now, where the whites continue to make all the decisions for us.

Our children are forced to attend schools based on the needs of white people, where they must speak English and are continue be taught that Australian history started when Captain Cook discovered it. They are also told to stand up and sing Australia's national anthem about a history, 'young and free’. Funny that, when Aborigines have been in Australia since time began. And you only have to look at the Aborigines in the Northern Territory whose welfare payments are being quarantined by the Government to know that we are certainly not free!!

Australia has been unrelenting in its determination to rid itself of its Aboriginal ‘problem’. After slaughtering thousands of Aborigines during the invasion, many were removed from their traditional homelands and had their children stolen from them because of their race. This continued up until the 1970’s.

Tasmania is still the only state in Australia to have compensated the stolen generation. Other Aboriginal victims from across the country got an apology from the Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, who gained great credibility for himself but left the victims penniless by refusing to provide compensation.

It is easy to see why white Australia prefers to leave things the way they are. Full control and dominance over the lives of Aboriginal people enables them to develop, while we continue to be held back.

The standard of living in Australia is one of the highest in the entire world. Australia is among the richest and most prosperous countries in the world, with one of the most stable political democracies.

Yet when it comes to Aborigines, the statistics are not worthy of the same bragging rights. They are horrifying:

- Our people die 20 years younger than white people;
- Our babies are dying at 3 times the rate of the white population;
- We are 15 times more likely to end up in prison;
- Our children are 8 times more likely to be taken from their families and placed in out of home care;
- Our unemployment rate is 3x higher than white people;
- 40 percent of Aboriginal children complete year 12, compared to 80% of non-Aboriginal children; and
- Although suicide was unknown to Aboriginal people traditionally. Aborigines are 3 times more likely to commit suicide.

In 2011 the number of Aboriginal suicides in Australia exceeded the number of Australian Defence Force fatalities in Afghanistan. On the Tiwi Islands, north of Darwin in the Northern Territory, steel spikes were put on power poles to try to stop young people from hanging themselves. These islands were once known as the ‘suicide capital’ of the world.
An article in the Sydney Morning Herald (Ring, 2014) states that Australia is the only place on the planet where Indigenous health and wellbeing are going backwards.

There were 250 Aboriginal languages spoken in Australia before the whites invaded our country. There are now only 60 Aboriginal languages spoken as a first language.

In Tasmania, where I am from, there were 6-7 different language groups until the British invaders rounded us up and sent us off to Prison camps under false pretences. If the languages did not die along with the speakers, who could not fight off the introduced diseases or the starvation or living conditions, it was made very clear that these languages were no longer to be spoken. And they weren’t, for a very long time.

Professor Ghil’ad Zuckermann, a linguist at the Adelaide University, says that Australia holds one of the world’s records for the killing of languages (Haxton, 2012). This is easy to see.

My community has recently combined certain written and recorded words from the various language nations along with community knowledge to form the one Tasmanian Aboriginal language. And although we have no fluent speakers, our children are still growing up with their own language, which is something our parents and their parents could not do.

Australia also has one of the weakest protections of human rights in the Western world, implementing less than half the legal obligations of international human rights treaties. Now they are openly talking about dumping internationally recognised instruments on refugees as well.

There is a clear relationship between the social disadvantages of Aboriginal people and the crisis of Aboriginal health.

These social disadvantages, directly related to colonisation, dispossession, oppression, dislocation, and discrimination, and characterised by poverty and powerlessness, are reflected in figures that have only marginally improved with Government funding.

Our health standards are like that of third world countries. We have had enough! No longer can we accept that Aboriginal self determination is just a distant dream. Our right to determine our own futures seems to have been denied us, but that vision, that right, has not been forgotten. While we were busy having to react to oppressive government policies, we forget about coming together as a people to talk about where it is that WE want to be in the next 10 or 20 years.

The Australian constitution shows that white people agreed to the establishment of an Australian nation but there is nothing to show that Aborigines agreed to this new nation and there is certainly no evidence to suggest that we agreed to be part of it. The assertion that there is a single sovereign people in Australia is based on superiority. Who says that there is only one sovereign? And who gave that group the right to make the decision?

The idea that Australia is one nation is a familiar chant. I cannot imagine any Aborigine living in Australia who hasn’t felt the pressure to live and act like white people.

Any Aborigine who attempts to assert their sovereign right is seen as a ‘troublemaker’ and is accused of ‘promoting separatism’. Those of us who refuse to join in the callous and insensitive Australia day celebrations on the anniversary of the invasion of our lands are told to just move on and forget the past, yet every anzac day the country comes to a standstill in recognition of wars which took place in other parts of the world over 100 years ago.

Aborigines have rights that no others in Australia can legitimately claim. We must stand up and demand our rights as legitimate people of this land. I’m not talking about aboriginal jobs in
government departments or work for the dole schemes. I am talking about the right to our
country. The right to self determination. The right to our own government.

We want to be the ones to control our own destiny; we want to be the ones in control of our own
lives. No longer should we have to plead with governments to return the lands they stole from us.
No longer should we be forced to march the streets and protest to have our voices heard. No
longer should we be arrested for fighting for the protection of our ancient, sacred sites heard. No
Government developments. We have a right to self-Governance.

On 16 July 1999 The Aboriginal Provisional Government was formally founded. Its purpose is to
establish an Aboriginal government and an Aboriginal nation state. The APG view is that the
Indigenous people of Australia never relinquished their sovereignty and therefore Australian law
and title over the country is null and void. Like the Palestinians, we are occupied!!

We have our own Aboriginal birth certificates so that our newborns are not forced to register
with the occupier. We have Aboriginal passports that Australia refuses to accept. And, as I found
out on my way here, New Zealand refuses also.

When I return home tomorrow, I’ll present my Aboriginal passport at the gates back into
Australia and tell them it is the only one I own. Good luck trying to send me back to my own
country.

Internal self determination can also be exercised under Australia’s constitution, which provides
for the addition of new States. If we were to become a sovereign nation, we would need the return
of crown land. Rather than Aborigines from across the country having to relocate to one area of
land, we could have land spread across the country to enable Aboriginal communities to live on
their traditional homelands if they chose to do so. Enough land would be returned to Aborigines
across Australia to enable us to survive as a nation of people, and the remaining land would be
kept by white people and their government as a basis for them to continue their nation.

Some may choose to continue to live in the cities or in the country but the important thing is that
the choice would be there for them to make, a choice that we do not have at the moment. It may
be a way off, but while we beg and scrape and prop up the right of politicians to decide for us, we
will never get closer to our vision.

In 1983, the Central Australian Aboriginal organisations told the Two Hundred Years Later
enquiry:

*We have never conceded defeat and will continue to resist this ongoing attempt to subjugate
us. The Aboriginal people have never surrendered to the European invasion and assert that
sovereignty over all of Australia lies with them. The settler state has been set up on
Aboriginal land. We demand that the colonial settlers who have seized the land recognise
this sovereignty and on that basis negotiate their rights to be there.*

This is not a call to arms but a call to action. We may have been dominated for a long time and to
such an extraordinary extent, but in all that we have not once lost our dignity, nor sight of our
entitlements. We dream of once again being in control of our lives, with our heads held high,
proud of who we are, how we overcame adversity and how we have found our place amongst the
peoples of the world.

Forget native title, let’s make a deal. Let’s sign a treaty. But how do we get there from here? When
the APG was first established it had 1,000 paid up Aboriginal members and 1,500 non Aboriginal


associate members who were just as eager to be part of the struggle for Aboriginal sovereignty as we were.

Aboriginal sovereignty requires a joint effort, we cannot fight it alone. We need people like you here in this room, people who can help bring about change. We need a new movement of people who understand the meaning of Aboriginal self determination, people who understand the meaning of Aboriginal sovereignty and are willing to live it. We need a national movement. We need an international movement.

We need to show our countries that there is no need for white supremacy and domination of our people, and that we can live in harmony side by side with mutual respect as nations, not one dominating the other.

We need people power. People power is what changed the 1967 referendum. People power is what ended the Vietnam War. We are ready to take our place alongside the Cubans, alongside our bothers and sisters in Chile and Venezuela, like our Indian brothers and sisters in central and North America. Not as a people dominated by our invaders who have convinced us of their white superiority. NO. We want to be able to take our place amongst the nations of the world as a people, proud and free!

In 1992, Australia's High Court overturned the racist legal fiction of *terra nullius*, meaning no man's land, and at least acknowledged our prior ownership, and the shocking history of unlawful dispossession. The *Bringing Them Home* report was published, acknowledging that officials around the country had forcibly removed thousands of Aboriginal children from their families and communities on an ethnic-cleansing scale. ATSIC was the organisation set up as our national Aboriginal voice. It wasn't perfect. Its many critics from inside the Federal government claimed it was corrupt. But I thought that was essential for being elected in Australia.

The only hope Aborigines had of getting our land back was through native title laws which forced Aborigines to prove to the white man a continual, uninterrupted connection to our lands. Even though they were the ones that forcibly removed us from our traditional homelands, making 90 percent of the Aboriginal population unable to prove native title. This was a humiliating process where the dispossessed were forced to prove theft to the thieves.

In Tasmania we now have Aboriginal land rights legislation, where the Government returns land to the whole Tasmanian Aboriginal community for the simple fact that they stole it from us in the first place, but not without strings attached. While goodwill has been shown by the efforts made by past Tasmanian Governments, we cannot forget that not that long ago we owned 100 percent of Tasmania, yet after 200 years of fighting and pleading with government we now own 0.08 percent.

In 1970 Australian writer, Xavier Herbet, gave a good description of Australia’s responsibility to return stolen lands to Aborigines when he said;

> Until we give back to the black man just a bit of the land that was his and give it back without provisos, without strings to snatch it back, without anything but complete generosity of spirit in concession for all the evil we have done him, until we do that we shall remain what we have always been so far, a people without integrity, not a nation, but a community of thieves.
In the 1990s, we managed to survive the savage attacks of Pauline Hanson. With her demise I suppose it should have come as no surprise to find that her openly racist ideas were expressing the philosophy and aspirations of John Howard and his government. As the Māori Member of Parliament Hone Harawira put it, John Howard was a ‘racist bastard’. Furthermore, his mission to extinguish Aboriginal culture and force Aborigines into the western market economy has become increasingly apparent. It is more than an assimilation policy – it is cultural genocide.

The truth has to come out before we can move on. Children in Australia learn about Jesus being nailed to the cross; they learn about the Jewish holocaust; and they learn a lot about the Australian soldiers killed in the two world wars. But how many people in Australia can name one site where Aborigines were massacred? Some people know of the history of Botany Bay, but Aboriginal historical locations all around the country are still known to so few, including Aborigines. We have been dispossessed of much of our history, as well as much of our culture. Now, more than two hundred years later, it looks set to happen all over again in the Northern Territory.

Michael Mansell (2007) has written about this renewed attempt at genocide, saying:

*Aboriginal communities are … linked to particular geographical areas, where language and cultural beliefs are unique to that place. As the invader takes over the lands and replaces the old institutions and language with its own, much of the “Aboriginal ways” will be subsumed within the civic and political life of the invader, and is more likely to disappear. New values are adopted as a survival tool (but the alteration of the society and its values is significant).*

The gradual erosion of Aboriginal values and cultural knowledge threatens the long-term identity of the indigenous groups, as does the political preaching of ‘oneness’ by schools, media and politicians. The once sharp line that distinguished Aboriginal identity from whites is blurred by the widespread use of phrases such as ‘we are all Australians’, which serves to deny Indigenous identity.

There are two main reasons to explain why the once vocal and very visible Aboriginal struggle suddenly disappeared, and with it our hopes to advance. The first is the massive right wing swing in Australia’s political parties, supported by a timid media. The second is the promotion by ultra conservatives of those Aborigines willing to say what the whites want to hear.

It is regrettable that, instead of a healthy range of inspirational voices being heard, the only Aboriginal voices listened to now are those promoting assimilation. The theory of assimilation is based on the superiority of one people over another. One society – usually whites – is supposed to be so unquestioningly attractive that we all want to abandon our heritage, our hopes and, importantly, our independent political aspirations to be like them.

Not for a fleeting moment have I ever believed that my people are in any way inferior to whites. There’s nothing wrong with being different. In some parts of the world difference is valued, but not so in Australia. Australia was built on the blood of Aboriginal people and yet they believe they owe us nothing. When domination of one people by another is so pronounced, over such a long period, white Australia finds it hard to see its own faults.

Outside of Australia people see these things differently. Here in Aotearoa you have a treaty, designated Māori seats in parliament and economic fishing quotas, among other things. That may not be perfect, but we do not have any of them.
We need a powerful independent political voice. We are working on that. If we can succeed in getting the Northern Territory intervention laws repealed it means we have some clout.

Seats in the parliaments might be a first step but nowhere near as effective as our own Aboriginal government. No more advising white people what they should do about us, we decide. Did anyone ever hear of Palestinians sitting on an Israeli advisory body?

Under existing law, Aboriginal groups around the country could be given at least local government powers over their lands and people. 5 percent of Australia’s land taxes should be set aside for Aborigines, and we should be able to veto laws that adversely affect us. Then we can really protect our culture, our language, and our heritage and create a better future.

By the year 2000, things were starting to look up. Hundreds of thousands, if not more, Australians participated in organised walks for reconciliation, showing there was plenty of goodwill out there to be harnessed. Then, in the year 2007, the Howard Government dropped a bomb when they announced that they were going to introduce the Northern Territory Intervention, which was so racist they had to amend the racial discrimination act to put it into action. They claimed the intervention was an emergency response needed to tackle child abuse in Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory. Six years on and not one Aborigine has been found guilty of any charges relating to child abuse, but the invasion of the communities continues.

The Northern Territory intervention, or what they now call ‘stronger futures legislation’, is what we refer to as the Northern Territory Invasion.

The Northern Territory has about 10 percent of the country’s Aboriginal population. Of the 193,000 people in the Northern Territory around 60,000 are Aborigines or Islanders – a whopping 30 percent of the population. Over 10,000 people have an Aboriginal language as their main language. A massive 60 percent of Aboriginal adults live in overcrowded housing conditions in the Northern Territory. It is estimated that at least $1 billion is required to overcome the Aboriginal housing backlog in the Northern Territory alone.

It is not that the politicians do not know the consequences of their inactions. Minister Elliott McAdam’s parliamentary speech shows a proper understanding of the relationship between overcrowded housing and the ill effects on health, education, and all other social indicators, including skin sores and other infections in childhood resulting in kidney disease, rheumatic heart disease, deafness, blindness and delayed intellectual functioning in later life. That is, if the kids get old enough to be of school age and then manage to survive beyond early middle age. Infections that are so easily fixed by antibiotics are either not fixed in the first place because of the absence of health services, or are fixed, but reinfection occurs immediately after because of overcrowded housing.

The Little Children Are Sacred report is the document on which John Howard and Mal Brough relied to justify their military actions in the Northern Territory. The report made 97 recommendations. It is unfortunate in this case that the first recommendation was that governments must take the lead. That can never be right in Aboriginal affairs – governments should be there to resource and facilitate Aboriginal initiatives, not take the lead. It needs to be emphasized also that the first recommendation said there had to be genuine consultation and a collaborative partnership between governments and Aboriginal communities in finding solutions to this issue of ‘urgent national significance’. Nowhere was it even remotely suggested that the Commonwealth should take military action and send in the army, police and a whole range of outsiders.
The report went on to make recommendations for holistic reforms, such as preventive health services, family support services, community education, employment training schemes, and increasing the housing supply. But the main thing the federal government did in the wake of the report was to ignore its recommendations, and instead bar Aboriginal communities from having any alcohol; take over management of half of their welfare payments; get rid of the systems in place that required permits for outsiders to enter Aboriginal lands; and force Aborigines to hand over ownership of their traditionally owned lands in return for basic health care and necessities. It is no wonder these ‘emergency measures’ are being labelled as a direct attack on Aboriginal land rights and Aboriginal self determination.

The drastic actions taken by Howard and Brough have been labelled as: an attempt to extinguish Aboriginal culture; a land grab; an act of ethnocide; and an essential step in opening up the country to uranium mining. John Howard and Mal Brough, of course, have sold it as being necessary to save Aboriginal kids from the sexual predators in their midst. But when the army goes into an area without the permission or request of the people of those areas, it looks like an invasion, and it is an invasion.

There is, however, one spin-off from the invasion that gives some hope for the future. Firstly, by sending in the police and the military, the Australian government recognised the status of Aboriginal Australia as an entity separate from white Australia. A nation cannot invade itself. That is no doubt a reason for the Howard government’s determination to call the invasion a ‘response to a national emergency’, an ‘intervention’, an ‘arrangement’ – anything but an invasion. This is not to say that the invasion was for the best. It was not and never will be.

The Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission listed what they politely termed as the Northern Territory intervention’s ‘potential’ contraventions of human rights law, specifically:

- the right to equality before the law and the equal protection of the law;
- the right to self determination;
- the right not to be deprived of property; and
- the right to social security.

Breaches of the newly adopted United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples are far too numerous to list today. There are 164 countries in the General Assembly and only 4 countries initially dissented to the Declaration. It is not hard to guess which ones – The United States of America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia. And it is not hard to guess why.

It is said that Australia dissented because it disagreed with the indigenous right to self determination, but there are a few other indigenous rights that they have shown themselves to be opposed to recently:

- the right to maintain and strengthen distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions;
- the collective right to live in freedom, peace and security as distinct peoples not subject to any act of genocide or any other act of violence, including forcibly removing children of the group to another group;
- the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of culture;
- the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs; and
- the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions.

The list goes on.
So, what can be learnt from all this? And how can we move forward? Firstly, we can resist attacks on our rights wherever they occur and be as visible and vocal as we can about that resistance.

In Tasmania we took to the streets of Launceston with our campaign t-shirts, and men, women and children shouted abusive slogans about John Howard for hours before he appeared for a fund-raising lunch. He was quickly ushered away from us and into the building. I can tell you, to see the Prime Minister running away from a screaming mob of blackfellas is pretty powerful for those who are part of it. And these occasions are long-remembered by the children and young people who are fortunate enough to be brought along by their parents.

Secondly, we need to stay part of the national and international Aboriginal movement, no matter how little life there seems to be in it from time to time. Tasmania can be a tiny beacon of hope for those more bowed down by fear and oppression than we are, and we can be fortified in our determinations by bearing witness to the results of attempts at genocide and assimilation. All around the country Aborigines are hearing about our street protests. At every national meeting we go to, there are Aborigines who are inspired by our determination to stand up to those who seek to silence us. It is not usually the vocal leaders but rather the ordinary people who are looking for effective and active leadership as inspiration for what they are feeling.

Thirdly, we need to stay in charge of our own affairs and our own destiny. The ease with which the Australian military and police marched into Northern Territory communities and stayed there should inspire us to heighten our consciousness and determination for Aborigines to stay in charge of our own destiny. In Tasmania this is a constant battle. We have the ridiculous situation of the Tasmanian Heritage Council, backed by Tasmanian legislation, still telling us what we cannot do on those few tiny remnants of our land returned to us. We have public servants telling us how many pages of reports we need to give them to satisfy their reporting requirements, and telling us who does and does not represent the needs of the Tasmanian Aboriginal community.

Fourthly, we need to be vigilant against assimilation and genocide in all their forms. The Northern Territory intervention is a timely reminder that the next attempt at total genocide is just around the corner, or indeed is upon us already. We have to be ever-vigilant about the various forms that genocide, ethnocide, or assimilation can take. At present, the widespread demands for mainstream education and the high rates of removal of Aboriginal children from their families and communities for so-called ‘child protection’ reasons are the main threats. The undermining of the Aboriginal community by self appointed experts such as the publicity seeking Richard Flanagan or the jaded academic Henry Reynolds are extra threats. Both these men have reverted to pre-1970s anthropological talk, suggesting us Tasmanian Aborigines are not real Aborigines but something else, some kind of hybrid, different and lesser than the ‘real Aborigines’ of the Australian mainland.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples gives us hope that we might yet live to see the High Court rethink its position on Aboriginal sovereignty.

The first white contact with Aborigines in some parts of the Northern Territory is within the living memory of some people. Massacres have occurred within the lifetime of our grandparents or, for some, in our actual lifetimes. They are not ancient histories. Yet already, those who speak an Aboriginal language as a first language in the Northern Territory are very much in the minority. Not one Tasmanian Aborigine speaks their original language fluently. Assimilation, ethnocide, attempted genocide – call it what you will. The danger signs are all around us and if we do not
continue to fight back we, in Tasmania, will lose the right to consider ourselves part of the Aboriginal community of Australia.

Keeping up to date with developments, lobbying politicians, and joining public protests are obvious and easy ways of helping. The monitoring of the Northern Territory invasion by the alliance known as Women for Wik is documented on their web site (Women for Wik, 2007), and they are seeking expressions of support to send to the politicians.

The current crisis, whereby Aborigines are yet again at the centre of a political storm not of our own making, must end. I hope you will all be part of the solution.

References


TACKING THE SORE SPOTS IN OUR THINKING - FULFILLING OUR OBLIGATIONS AS KAITIAKI OF THE MĀTAURANGA CONTINUUM

ANI MIAERE

Ngāti Raukawa

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

To theorise is to be human; all peoples have employed theory to explain the meaning of their existence. At Te Wānanga o Raukawa the term we commonly use to describe the ever-expanding body of knowledge that has been produced by Māori thinkers and practitioners is the mātauranga continuum. The mātauranga continuum has been with us since our tūpuna first began developing theories to explain the nature of their reality, based on their observations of the world around them. It has been passed from one generation to the next and developed by each one in light of their particular circumstances. It represents the accumulated wisdom of those who have gone before us and it constitutes our connection with all who will follow. In order to ensure our survival as a people, each generation must make a commitment to nurture the mātauranga continuum. In many ways, what we have seen during this conference is a reaffirmation, indeed a celebration, of our commitment to do just that.

The central feature of a continuum is, by definition, its continuity. However, we are not currently in the position of being able to take the continuity of our continuum for granted. The reason for this is that in recent times a body of colonising theory has been brought to our land, its architect’s intent on stopping the mātauranga continuum in its tracks. Their attitude is nicely illustrated by the following statement, made in 1858 by a man who played a significant part in this energetic attempt at cultural annihilation, Francis Fenton:

[The Māori is . . . fortunate . . . A wise and a generous people, the English, have settled in his land; and this people are willing to teach him, and to guide him in the well-made road which themselves have travelled for so many generations . . . Let there now be no doubt nor hesitation, but be patient and earnest and follow the direction of those who have been appointed to shew you the right and the finished path.]

As this quote demonstrates so well, we were expected to stop wandering around in the mātauranga wilderness and to step gratefully onto the right and the finished path of Pākehā knowledge. To help us find our way, our colonisers obligingly tried to erase all memory of our own mātauranga, so that we could come to believe not only that theirs was the right and finished path, but that it was in fact the only path. Elsdon Best’s summation of us as “uncivilised folk . . . [who] . . . may not do any great amount of thinking” reinforced this idea by suggesting that we were actually incapable of theorising. This meant that whatever body of knowledge we had was not to be regarded as theory but rather as folklore. As well as being trivialised in this manner, what remained of our mātauranga was grossly distorted by the colonised interpretations of

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Pākehā ethnographers such as Best, thereby lending support to their portrayal of our tūpuna as primitive and intellectually inept.

How have we responded to this attempt to obliterate our mātauranga continuum and to bring us into line with Pākehā ways of being? I believe that when the full force of colonisation first swamped us, our people were probably too busy just staying alive to spend much time worrying about the need to preserve the mātauranga continuum. Many, probably most, were convinced that the only way to survive was to change direction, and to walk this new and strange path. It is heart-rending to ponder the awful choices that my grandparents must have faced when they resolved to keep the reo from their children and to push them into the pursuit of Pākehā education. Born in the 1890s, when everyone predicted that Māori were a dying race, physical survival must have been their priority. They made impossible decisions, without which I probably would not be here today, enjoying the luxury of being able to pontificate about the importance of the mātauranga continuum.

That was their reality. It was not until our physical survival appeared to be secure, until it became apparent that we were not going to die out, that I suspect we had the luxury of being able to think beyond the immediate challenge of simply staying alive, to consider the question of what our change of direction may have cost us. That is when groups such as Ngā Tamatoa started pushing for change, fighting for te reo, striving to reverse some of the dreadful damage that had been done by the deliberate disruption of our ways of knowing, our ways of thinking, our ways of being. Eventually, what had started out as a small band of radicals and activists, who terrified Pākehā and embarrassed most Māori, gained some traction amongst their own. And so, during the 1980s and 1990s we had the growth of Kōhanga Reo, of Kura Kaupapa Māori, of wānanga and of Kaupapa Māori research.

All of these initiatives have been efforts to resist the tide of colonisation – to escape from the “right and finished path” that Fenton wrote about, and to find our way back onto the path that was laid out by our tūpuna. I don’t think we are there yet – but we are in an extremely complex, fascinating (and sometimes exasperating) place at the moment. To switch metaphors for a moment, from paths to rivers, I think we are at the meeting point of two opposing currents – we can see where we want to get to, but we have a lot of choppy water, many swirling currents and eddies to negotiate before we can make it to calmer water. There are a number of considerations that we have to be mindful of as we try to navigate our way back to the channel that our people have been carving out since time immemorial.

The first thing that we must remember is that the system that we are confronting has been set on a track of cultural domination for many centuries. It has developed a raft of tactics to deal with indigenous peoples who have exhibited a determination to pursue their own agendas. As the colonising apparatus has ground relentlessly onwards it has displayed an extraordinary capacity for maintaining its course: if we develop pathways designed to lead to an outcome that differs from its own goals (for example, the realisation of rangatiratanga), it almost instinctively develops new strategies that enable us to be brought back onto its original trajectory (for example, redefining rangatiratanga as self-management).

Kōhanga Reo is a great example of how this process can play out. We know that the number of Kōhanga burgeoned throughout the 1980s, despite minimal government support, reaching about 800 in number by 1994. But we also know that in 1990, administrative responsibility for Kōhanga Reo moved from the (disestablished) Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education. What followed was a period of underfunding, over-zealous (and inappropriate) regulatory
control, and a dramatic decline in Kōhanga Reo numbers, to just 463 in 2011. By trying to run Kōhanga Reo as though they were just like any other early childhood education provider, the Ministry was stripping the heart out of the kaupapa. As we know, the situation was seen as so serious that the National Kōhanga Reo Trust eventually brought an urgent claim before the Waitangi Tribunal.

This pattern of development, whereby the early potential of an initiative is largely thwarted by Crown interference, posing as support, has been repeated throughout numerous other spheres of activity: Kura Kaupapa Māori, wānanga and the Waitangi Tribunal, to name but a few. So, while celebrating the imagination, dedication and sheer bravery shown by those involved in the design and early implementation of these initiatives, we cannot afford to be misty-eyed in our assessment of what has been achieved. We know that the reality of our ‘progress’ has rarely matched the rhetoric. We need to be honest about this, not defensive, not defeatist, just honest.

We also need to think very carefully about what the coloniser has stood to gain from trying to expunge from our memory the fact that the mātauranga continuum ever existed. Convincing us that we never had a distinctive intellectual tradition is a magic trick that conjures up a number of significant illusions.

Firstly, it paves the way for our colonisers to insist that there has only ever been one true intellectual tradition – theirs. The work that we are doing now is therefore characterised as a deviation from the ‘norm’ of Pākehā research. Secondly, and closely related to the first point, it leads to an assertion of the universality of Western thought. This means that the work we are engaged in is understood merely as a subset of their intellectual tradition. The consequence is that we are regarded as being contained by them. Thirdly, it creates an entirely false sense of the ‘progress’ achieved by Kaupapa Māori initiatives. When measuring how far we have come, the nullification of our own intellectual tradition forces us to take as our starting point a moment in time when we had nothing. This, in turn, produces a deceptive sense of how well we are doing, because anything is better than nothing.

It may be tempting to minimise the impact of these falsehoods upon our thinking, to insist that we understand only too well the tactics employed by the dominant in order to maintain their dominance, and to reassure ourselves that we can see through the illusions that they seek to pass off as real. However, most of us don’t yet have the luxury of working in coloniser-free environments; we are forced to toil away inside structures established by and for the dominant.

In these settings it is extremely difficult not to become infected by the way in which they characterise our present situation. We need to pay close attention to the fact that these working environments can so easily chip away at our sense of reality, lowering our expectations of what might be possible.

I want to consider more closely what it means to work in these situations, where our Māori space is encircled by those who view us as deviations from the norm, who regard our work as some kind of quirky subset of their activity and who expect us to be grateful for any small crumb that is thrown our way. It is important to salute the enormous amount of work that has been done

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4 For a summary of the Trust’s arguments and the Tribunal’s findings, see Wai 2336 Kōhanga Reo Claims Report (2012).
over the years by people such as Linda Smith, Graham Smith, Leonie Pihama and others who had the audacity to suggest that Māori had our own intellectual traditions, our own philosophical frameworks and our own approach to the maintenance, transmission and expansion of knowledge. These ideas would have been quite a revelation to the Pākehā academy some 25 years ago. And in that bastion of Western research privilege, the university, it would have taken real courage to articulate, defend and give substance to the ideas underlying Kaupapa Māori theory.

However, now that the groundwork has been laid, I think it is important to consider whether contemporary kaupapa Māori theorists and practitioners continue to exhibit that same degree of courage. The following examples may serve to illustrate the kinds of challenges that may confront us in the work that we do.

- If asked to conduct research into Māori and constitutional issues, do we limit our examination to matters such as retention or numbers of the Māori seats? Or do we tackle head-on the illegitimacy of Crown sovereignty and the need to restore tino rangatiratanga to iwi and hapū?

- If contracted to look into Māori and the criminal justice system, do we focus on a range of risk factors that might render Māori more prone to offending? Do we extend our brief to consider the racism of the state legal system in its treatment of Māori suspects? Does it occur to us to examine the relevance of the Crown’s own historic and contemporary criminal behaviour to any consideration of the relationship between Māori and the illegal state legal system?

- If asked to participate in a research project with Pākehā colleagues, do we challenge the parameters of the project if we know in our hearts that it is failing to ask the questions that Māori want answered? Or do we agree to provide ‘the Māori perspective’ that enhances their project, without questioning the flawed premises that underpin it?

- If enrolled in a doctorate, do we take the risk of trying to develop a kaupapa-based way of conducting the work and presenting our conclusions? Or do we follow a formulaic approach which meets Western research expectations, thereby securing a relatively smooth path towards timely completion?

- Do we really believe that presentation and defence of a written thesis is the only way to prove ourselves at the doctoral level? Why can an artist not produce a piece of work and present the thinking that has gone into it in order to complete such a qualification? Why should the composition, performance and explanation of a mōteatea not fulfil the requirements for a doctorate – not an honorary doctorate, but a doctorate?

- Do we truly consider a doctorate to be the only way to prove ourselves? What are we trying to prove? And to whom are we trying to prove it?

There are many more questions that we should be asking ourselves as we go about our work. When Linda Tuhiiwai Smith wrote Decolonizing Methodologies she described Kaupapa Māori research as an attempt to retrieve space: now that the space has been retrieved, what are we doing with it? Are we content to remain within a niche that has been carved out by others, convincing ourselves that we are being brave simply by treading in the footsteps of those who first dared to deviate from what the coloniser deemed normal?

We need to be aware of the dangers of becoming complacent. If we do not work tirelessly to defend the Kaupapa Māori space, we risk it being gradually eroded by the Western research environment that surrounds it and that seeks to contain it at every turn. If we are not constantly awake to the perils of being encircled by that environment, we can so easily find ourselves complicit in enabling others to poach the bits of Kaupapa Māori theory that they believe will enhance their work, reshaping it to serve their own agendas. We must be prepared to examine
order to ensure our survival. Looking at my own iwi history, one of these occasions would have
been when we decided to migrate across Te Moana Nui-a-Kiwa to come here; another would have
been when we responded to pressures that we were facing in the Waikato by moving south.
We cannot afford this because we have an enormous amount of work to do. Exctracting ourselves
from colonised ways of being is a massive task, but it is by no means the only challenge
confronting us. While we have been on this track of colonised thought, and while we continue to
struggle against those who would keep us there, our own pathway has fallen into disrepair. The
mātauranga continuum has been neglected. It has been abused. It has been distorted. It requires
our urgent attention. If we are to fulfil our obligations as kaitiaki of the mātauranga continuum,
we have to find a way to prioritise its restoration and expansion. It needs to become our central
focus, our touchstone.
Re-centring the mātauranga continuum as our point of reference has the effect of radically
altering our perceptions and re-ordering our priorities. By way of example, let us revisit the
question of measuring our progress. In the context of the mātauranga continuum, what might we
take as our starting point for the purposes of this exercise: Te Kore? The moment when Kupe first
came to Aotearoa? Might we go back to the time when groups of our ancestors made preparations
to come here on Tainui (and other) waka? Would we choose a time when the uri of those early
voyagers had settled in to their new environment and developed a body of knowledge that was
specific to this land? It is immediately apparent that the question, ‘how far have we come’ would
be answered rather differently if we took any of these as starting points, as opposed to adopting,
quite randomly, a date of 25, 50 or even 100 years ago.
Perhaps more importantly, our concept of what is ‘normal’ would be understood very differently
if considered in the context of the mātauranga continuum. When viewed against the backdrop of
our history since time immemorial, it is ridiculous to allow our construction of normality to be
dictated by the utterly abnormal events of the past century or so. There is nothing normal about
Western theoretical frameworks assuming centrality in the space that is Aotearoa. On the
contrary, ‘normal’ describes the situation when we have full control over the development and
application of our theory, based on our own philosophical traditions. That, with the exception of
the brief aberration that has occurred in recent times, is the way that it has always been.
So what does it mean for us to accept as normal the obligation to nurture and develop the
mātauranga continuum? It means trusting in the accumulated wisdom of generations past, while
understanding that we must be prepared to build upon that wisdom, and to innovate, in light of
our current circumstances. Every generation has done this.
It is probably worth noting, too, that the pace at which innovation and development has occurred
is most unlikely to have been constant. There will have been key points in our history when life
presented particular challenges. At these times the need for innovation would have been urgent,
and a more focussed commitment to expanding the continuum would have been necessary in
order to ensure our survival. Looking at my own iwi history, one of these occasions would have
been when we decided to migrate across Te Moana Nui-a-Kiwa to come here; another would have been when we responded to pressures that we were facing in the Waikato by moving south.

In my view, we are presently confronting another such key moment in our history. The particular challenge that we are facing is the interruption to the mātauranga continuum that has been inflicted by a colonising culture, hell-bent on our annihilation. Special circumstances warrant special efforts and demand heightened commitment. Making that commitment is both our responsibility and our privilege.

What this means in practice might mean different things for different people. Leonie Pihama has lamented the depoliticisation of Kaupapa Māori theory, urging us to remember that the tino rangatiratanga principle “has to be part of everything we’re doing that we put under the kaupapa Māori banner”. Linda Tuhiwai Smith has stressed the importance of thought, of imagination and of not being constrained by other people’s constructs. She has also talked about the significance of not being comfortable, reminding us that “being irritated is good for our thinking”.

I would add to this the value of trepidation: of experiencing a degree of anxiety about where a line of enquiry may lead, but making a decision to follow it anyway. When I first started looking into the origins of the patriarchal elements in contemporary tikanga, I was more than a little nervous about what I might find. When asked to deliver my findings in front of an audience which included many of my own uncles and aunties, I was terrified. This scenario has been repeated many times over the years as my curiosity has led me to explore a range of (often contentious) ideas. In fact, it has been repeated so often that I have found myself wondering whether I am capable of finding a topic worth exploring that does not induce an element of fear.

Despite my best efforts to build a nonchalant kind of ‘feel the fear and do it anyway’ attitude towards my work, a current project has provided a humbling reminder of my essential faint-heartedness. I have been enrolled in Te Kāurutanga, the most senior degree offered by Te Wānanga o Raukawa, for more years than I care to remember. The degree will be conferred by the founding iwi of the wānanga, Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira. I report to a group of elders, Ngā Purutanga Mauri, who are the guardians of tikanga and kawa at the Wānanga and who act as senior scholars and advisors on a range of issues that are important to our ongoing development. My supervisory team consists of Ngā Purutanga Mauri and a group of other advisers who have generously agreed to be involved.

For several years now I have been floundering, producing chapters that skirt around the edges of a topic that I have been struggling to articulate with any degree of precision. I have found numerous excuses for the fact that I haven’t been making better progress, excuses with which some of you will doubtless be familiar: too busy teaching; too much administration; too many meetings to attend; too many conference papers to write; and so on. However, the truth of the matter is that I have been too scared to explain to Ngā Purutanga Mauri exactly what it is that I want to focus on. When I look back at work that I have done over the years I know that all paths

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7 Moana Jackson, Leonie Pihama, Aroha Yates-Smith and Ruakere Hond.
have led me to this topic, and yet, when it has come to describing it to my own aunties and uncles, my courage has completely failed me.

Some further explanation might be helpful. For a long time now I have been interested in the degree to which colonisation has changed the way we look at the world, at the extent to which our philosophical frameworks and the practice of our tikanga have become contaminated by Western thought. I have looked at the influence of patriarchy and, more generally, at the hierarchical thinking that seems to infect much of what we sometimes unquestioningly accept as tikanga. In my search for explanations for the contradiction that exists between what many of us accept as fundamental Māori concepts and the way that tikanga is often implemented in contemporary times, Christianity has invariably been heavily implicated.

When I enrolled in Te Kāurutanga, I knew that I needed to focus on my own iwi, Ngāti Raukawa. Given that the degree is to be conferred by the iwi, it seems rather obvious that it should result in work that is of value to the iwi. It is also fair to assume that successful completion will require me to venture into territory that has not previously been traversed – there is no value to be found in rehashing material with which the iwi is already familiar. Tackling a project that ventures into new territory requires a degree of intimacy with the subject matter that, in my view, only a whakapapa relationship makes possible.

So far, so good. However, I faced a real dilemma. Those of you who are fa have been inspired by the fearlessness of others who have taken up the challenge to do this – centuries, it is to be expected that the struggle to reclaim and expand it will often be difficult. I confronted my fears so that the project could move forward.

I grew up with a grandmother, aunties and uncles who were staunchly loyal to Rangiātea. They attended the monthly Communion services conducted at our marae, Ngātokowaru, by the minister from Rangiātea. On top of that they regularly attended services at Rangiātea itself and fundraising for the church appeared to be a constant feature of their lives. The artwork within our whare tupuna makes numerous references to Christianity. Christian ritual seems to have become woven throughout our practice of tikanga, both on the marae and in the home. Over the years I have formed the opinion that Ngāti Raukawa might be one of the most Christian iwi in the country.

How, then, to admit to my elders that what I wanted to investigate, more than any other topic, was the idea that Christianity has had a negative impact on our tikanga? How to explain to them my hope of developing a theory that might explain how Christianity has impacted upon Ngāti Raukawa in ways that put our very survival at risk? How to examine the decisions of various tūpuna to convert to Christianity without being seen as questioning their judgment? How to raise questions about something as intimate as personal faith without upsetting or even hurting people for whom I have the greatest respect, people about whom I care deeply? These are some of the imponderables that hounded me as I wrestled with my topic and tried to show progress by skirting around the edges of the issues that I really wanted to tackle. But in truth I was going nowhere fast; it got to the point where I was almost completely paralysed by anxiety.

Last September I was presented with an opportunity to break my self-imposed gridlock. Deeply embarrassed by my lack of progress, I decided I had to take it. One of the themes of the Kei Tua o
te Pae conference, hosted jointly by Te Wānanga o Raukawa and the New Zealand Centre for Educational Research at the Wānanga, was the impact of colonisation on tikanga. There, in the presence of an audience full of relatives and workmates, and under the watchful eyes of Ngā Purutanga Mauri, I finally talked openly about my feelings with respect to Christianity. I can safely say that I have never been quite so nervous.

To describe the feedback following my presentation as humbling is a massive understatement. One of my cousins told me thoughtfully that, upon reflection, her mother (my aunty – and a pillar of the church) would have enjoyed my kōrero. And that it is time for our generation to have this discussion. An uncle, who is heavily involved in the church, had a lengthy discussion with me some weeks later and urged me to pursue my chosen topic. One of my deeply Christian aunties, while looking slightly puzzled at my choice of subject matter, has remained as supportive and loving as ever. And another of my uncles, without whose assistance completion of the project will be virtually impossible, has agreed to set aside time for me to interview him and has already revealed some extraordinary insights into the behaviour of my tūpuna that have made me realise just how superficial my understanding of my own history really is.

Having allowed anxiety and doubt to get the better of me for so long, I am now feeling excited about my topic and highly motivated to test my ideas, regardless of what I might find. I have been reminded, even from the small amount of information that has been shared with me so far, how much more there always is beneath the surface of historical accounts. I realise that my understanding of my own tūpuna is shockingly one-dimensional, and that I have been guilty of believing far too much of what has been written about them by others. I am more than a little ashamed at having underestimated the capacity of my elders to accept the exploration of ideas that may not necessarily correspond with their own; and I am mortified to think that I doubted for a moment their support for me, regardless of whether or not they agree with my views.

I also have to live with the realisation that my querulousness prevented me from fulfilling my obligations as a kaitiaki of the mātauranga continuum. Christianity has constituted a major interruption to the development of our mātauranga, and one of the reasons for its success has been the extent to which it has demanded and won the loyalty of our people. Challenging the hold that it has on my iwi was never going to be easy, but that offers no excuse for my tardiness in confronting my fears so that the project could move forward.

Given the extreme pressure that our mātauranga has been subjected to during the past two centuries, it is to be expected that the struggle to reclaim and expand it will often be difficult. I have been inspired by the fearlessness of others who have taken up the challenge to do this important work. Take, for example, the ground-breaking writing of Ngāhuia Murphy on the significance of menstruation according to tikanga Māori,\(^8\) or the pioneering work by Kim McBreen\(^9\) on framing a kaupapa-based understanding of sexuality. Witnessing the intellectual bravery of these young women as they tackle subjects that generations of colonised minds have come to regard as untouchable should fill all of us, as it does me, with hope for the future.

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\(^8\) Murphy, N “Te Awa Atua: The River of Life! Menstruation in Pre-Colonial Times”, *Kei Tua o te Pae Conference Proceedings* (2012), p 36.

Conclusion

Today we find ourselves surrounded on all sides by a colonising presence that blithely asserts the universality of its peculiar way of perceiving the world. In light of this reality it is probably inevitable that some of our time will be spent defending the kaupapa Māori space that has been carved out during the past 25 years through a potent blend of imagination, determination and effort. But we must not forget that our tūpuna had been developing the mātauranga continuum for an eternity before these strangers arrived with their own theoretical traditions and assumed the right to impose them upon us. But for their intervention, the mātauranga continuum would have continued to develop uninterrupted. Who knows where our theoretical traditions may have led us?

We will never know the answer to that question, and that is not something that we should waste too much time worrying about. We cannot change what has happened. We can, however, determine what happens now. Are we going to allow others to dictate the direction in which our mātauranga grows, or the pace at which that growth occurs? Will we become so preoccupied with responding to their demands that we neglect our own intellectual traditions? Or will we fully reclaim our responsibilities as kaitiaki of the mātauranga continuum, prioritising its recovery and expansion ahead of all other potential distractions?

I am not suggesting that doing this work is easy. Many years ago I came across a turn of phrase that strikes me as highly relevant to the task that lies ahead of us. It was the suggestion that we all have ‘sore spots’ in our thinking, in respect of which we develop defence mechanisms to “deceive ourselves, protect ourselves, and extract ourselves from uncomfortable situations”.10 As a people who have been battered with colonising thought for several generations, we probably have more than our fair share of sore spots. Accepting our obligations as kaitiaki of the mātauranga continuum requires us to acknowledge, and to tackle, those sore spots. It means being honest with ourselves, opening ourselves up to doubt or criticism and being prepared to accept a level of discomfort.

This may not sound particularly inviting. But the degree of satisfaction, even exhilaration, that can flow from knowing that we have played our part in the epic task of reclaiming what is rightfully ours, can be surprising. On the other hand, failure to play our part will make us shamefully complicit in the withering of an intellectual tradition that makes us unique in the world. We are talking about our survival here: for without our mātauranga, who are we? The options, therefore, can be laid out in fairly stark terms: contribution or complicity; satisfaction or shame. The choice is ours.

Mātauranga grows, determine what happens now. Are we going to allow others to dictate the direction in which our thinking, in respect of which we develop defence mechanisms to all have ‘sore spots’ that strikes me as highly relevant to the task that lies ahead of us. It was the suggestion that we I am not suggesting that doing this work is easy. Many years ago I came across a turn of phrase: expansion ahead of all other potential distractions? We will never know the answer to that question, and that is not something that we should waste for an eternity before these strangers arrived with their own theoretical traditions and assumed the right to impose them upon us. But for their intervention, the mātauranga continuum would have continued to develop uninterrupted. Who knows where our theoretical traditions may have been carved out during the past 25 years through a potent blend of imagination, determination and effort. But we must not forget that our tūpuna had been developing the mātauranga continuum for an eternity before these strangers arrived with their own theoretical traditions and assumed ‘deceive ourselves, protect ourselves, and extract ourselves from uncomfortable situations’.

As a people who have been battered with colonising thought for several generations, we probably have more than our fair share of sore spots. Accepting our obligations as kaitiaki of the mātauranga continuum requires us to acknowledge, and to tackle, those sore spots. It means accepting our responsibilities as kaitiaki of the mātauranga continuum, prioritising it without our mātauranga, who are we? The world. We are talking about our survival here: for w

E rongo ana te kiri i te maori o tēnei whare – te whare i hurō ai te ngākau i roto i ngā tau, i ngā mahi poitararawhiti, i ngā mahi kapa haka anō hoki. Tū tonu mai, Tāne-whakairiripiri, hei taumarumaru i te maori kaupapa nāna mātou i karapinepino i ngā rangi nei. Ahakoa kāore te ti o Magic i rongo i te kaha o tō mau inā tata nei, kia ahatia. Ko te tūmanako ka tatū iho mai ngā tauwhirotanga o Rongo, o Tāne, o Hine-te-iwaiwa ki runga ki tēnei huihuinga tāngata.

Te Rākau Rangahau – He aha tōna uho?

He aha te pūtāke o te rangahau? He aha tōna whāinga nunui? Me pēwhea e whāia ai aua whāinga kia tutuki rā anō ai ngā manako o te whare mō rātou te rangahau me ō ngā ringa tōhau nui nā rātou te rangahau i whakarite, i whakahaere, i whakatutuki? Ina tutuki, he aha rā ngā hua o taua rangahau ka kītea, ka rangona? Mā tēnā rangahau ka aha?

Kua tīkina atu te tauira o te rākau e tupu ana i te wao, hei whakaata i te hononga o ngā pātai nei, ki tā tēnei Māori nei titiro ki tōna ao.
Tekau mā whitu tau nei ki muri, i tutuki ai taku tohu toho paerua. Ko Hirini Melbourne taku kaitohutohu matua. Nō māu e hui ana ki te kimi rautaki e tutuki ai te tuhinga roa, ka puta tana kupu ārahi. ‘Haere ki te whakatō rākau. Me rākau te hanga o tō tuhinga roa. Ka tāmata ki te kākano, ka pihī, ka pakari te tū o te tinana, o te kāhiwi o te rākau, ka whātoro ngā peka, ka tupu mai ko ngā hua.’

Ka hua mai i ā māua whakawhitinga kōrero te anga o taku tuhinga roa - ko te whakatūnga o tō mātou marae, o Pōhara, i ngā tau o te korekore nui te uho o te kaupapa. E whakapono nei au, i tutuki ai, he mārama, he māmā hoki nō te anga o te rākau hei wāwāhi i te kaupapa, ka tahi. He tauira i ahu mai i te ao Māori me te whakaaro Māori, ka rua.

Kāore i roa i muri mai, i hinga ai te rākau e tū ai te rākau, inā rā, e hia rau whārangī pepa, o ngā kape e hia nei, i tāngia hei whakatutuki i ngā ture o te tuku tuhinga roa ki te whare wānanga me ngā here o te tuku i ngā kape ki te hunga nā rātou ngā kōrero i whāngai mai, mō rātou rānei ngā kōrero.

Nō nā tata nei i oreorea anō i tērā punua rangahau āku, i a au ka rapu kaupapa kōrero mō te hui nei. I te pānuitanga hoki o te pukapuka a Edward de Bono e kīia nei, ko ‘Simplicity’, ka kitea te anga o te rākau e whakatairangahia ana hei tauira whakaraupapa, whakangāwari hoki i te wāwāhitanga o te tāhuhu tātou kaupapa.

“A metaphor provides a physical model through which we can more easily look at abstract matters… We can focus attention at different points once we have some model.” Edward de Bono

I tino hāngai tēnei whakaaro o de Bono ki tā Hirini rautaki, otirā ki a au nei, e tino hāngai ana ki tā ē tātou āhuatanga o te tāia hei whakapūrangiaho, hei whakamahuki, hei whakapuaki anō hoki i ō rātou whakaaro ki ngā kaupapa nga huihui o tō rātou ao. Ka hua mai he ariā, he anga, he huahutau, he kupu whakarite.

Anei ētehi tauira:

1. Ko tā Tāwhiao i kī rā i roto i tana tongi:

|Māku anō hei hanga tōku nei whare,
|ko ngā pou o roto, he māhoe, he patatē
|ko te tāhuhu, he hīnau.

Ngā tamariki o roto me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga
me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki.

*I shall fashion my own house,

the poles within will be made of māhoe and patatē,

the ridge-pole made of hīnau.

The children within will be fed on the fruit of the rengarenga, and raised on the fruit of the kawariki.*
He mea whakarite ngā apataki a te Kingi ki ngā momo rākau o te wao. Heoi, ki te whakaaro ake tātou ki ngā momo rākau i kōrero rā ia, ehara hoki i te rākau kaha hei hanga whare. Ko ngā hua i kōrerohia, ehara i te otaota i tino whātotorohia atu hei kai. Nō reira ko tētehi whakamāoritanga o te kōrero nei, ahakoa ngā toimahatanga o te wā me ngā ngoikoretanga i tau ki runga ki ngā iwi, i tū tonu ia i runga i tana tino rangatiratanga ki te ārahi i ngā iwi ki te ao mārama.

2. Ko te Whare Tapawhā o Meihana Durie i hangā hei huarahi whakapiki i te oranga o te tangata:

3. Ko Te Whare Kōrero o Te Reo Māori i hangā mai ai e Wharehuia [Milroy]:

Ko te rangi e tū iho nei te tuanui o tō tātau whare
Ko te whenua e takoto nei te papa
Ko te tāhuhu o te whare ko tō tātau Māoritanga
Ko ngā heke ngā tātai o ngā iwi
Ko te poukomanawa ko te reo Māori
Ko te pou mataaho te whakaho ho ho o te reo
Ko te apai, ko te tuarongo te awhinuku, te awhirangi o te kura nui, o te kura roa
Ko te pou te whara o kaitiaki kōrero
Ko te pou te āniwaniwa te kaipupuri i ngā mauri o te reo
Ko ngā pou pou ngā kaikawe i te reo
Ko te roro te nohoanga o ngā tautaki o te whare kōrero
Ko te matapihi te whakakitenga atu i ngā whakatipuranga
Ko te tatau te ara ki te āhurutanga o te reo me ngā tikanga."
Hei āpiti atu ki ngā tauira o te whare, he mea whakawhānui e au te tauira wetere o Biggs, i runga i te hōtaka o Ako, e kīia nei he terenga, anō nei he waka ka whakarewaina ki te moana, ka whakateretia ki tai, kātahi ka whakakukūhia ki uta e ana kaihoe.

Ko ngā kupu matua e kawe ana i te matū o te whakaaro i roto i te rerenga, ko ngā ‘tū’ ērā – ko te whānau o Tūmahī, o Tūāhua, o Tūwāhi mā ērā. Anō he haumi nō te waka.

haumi = Ngā kupu e kawe ana i te matū (bases)

aukaha = Ngā kupu ripiriki e pūrangiaho ai te kōrero (particles)

Ko ngā kupu ripiriki e pūrangiaho ai te kōrero, e mōhio ai te kaiwhakarongo ki te wā, ki te tokomaha, ki te wāhi, ki te hiranga o te whakaaro i roto i te tangata, ki te aha rānei, ko ngā ‘pū’ ērā – ko te whānau tērā o ‘a’ me ‘o’, ‘o’ nei’, ‘nā’, me ‘rā’, ‘o’ hoki’, ‘o’ pea’, ‘o’ rawa’, ‘o’ ai’ me te huhua o ō rātou whanaunga. Anō he aukaha hei rangitāmio, hei hono i ngā haumi o te waka, e tere pai ai te waka ki runga ki te moana o te reo.

Whare mai, waka mai, pū harakeke mai, whakairo mai, tikanga mai, whakarekarekapa mai, whakarato mai, tikorurukura mai, he tauira katoa ngā whakaaro me ngā wawata o roto o taua ariā.

Whakapono ana au inā kē te hōhonu o te manawa whenua o te mātauranga Māori kei roto i ngā whakatauki kua whakarērea mai e kui mā, e koro mā, hei ārahi i a tātou, kia tau ai te noho a te hapori i runga i te mata o te whenua, waihoki, kia ora ai te tangata.
Ko te hua o tēnei momo reo, o te whakataukī, o te kupu whakarite - ‘iti te kupu, nui te kōrero’. Nō reira i tua atu i ngā anga, i ngā tauira ā-taiaro nei, i ngā ariā hei tāhuhu, hei tūāpapa, hei aha rānei mō ā tātou kaupapa rangahau, ko te reo whakataukī anō tētehi huarahi hei āwhina i a tātou ki te whakaui i te wairua Māori ki roto i ngā mahi rangahau.

Hei matapihi ki te ao o nehe, ki ngā whakaaro o tūnohunohu mā, e kitea ai hoki ngā kaupapa mātāmua, ngā mātāpono matua rānei i whakaaro nuitia ai e rātou, i tahuri au ki te pukapuka pepeha a te pāpā o Linda mā. Anei ngā hua o tērā rangahau poto āku.

Ngā kaupapa i whakataukī nuitia ai i roto i ‘Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tipuna’ nā Hirini Moko Mead & Neil Grove:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaupapa/Theme</th>
<th>Nama o roto i te 2,669</th>
<th>Ōrāu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Birds</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Food</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Trees</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Chief, leader, mana</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Warfare</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Work, industry</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Weather</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Fish</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Death</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Language, talk, oratory</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kei tēnā, kei tēnā o tātou tāna whakamāoritanga i ēnei tatauranga. Heoi, mena ka tukuna ngā whakaaro kia rere, ki te rārangi whakataukī ka whakarērea e tātou ki ngā reanga o ā tātou mokopuna e noho ora ai ko rātou i runga i te mata o te whenua, he aha ngā momo kaupapa ka kitea i ā tātou rārangi? I tāku rārangi, ka mātua ko te reo me te whakaaro Māori me te taiaro. Hei te rārangi a ngā rūnanga ā-īwi, ka kitea tonuitia pea ko te ika me te rangatiratanga. Hei te rārangi tōrangapū, ka whai wāhi tonu pea te pakanga me te kōrero, engari ko te tūmanako ka noho hoki a mahi me pukumahi ki tērā rārangi. Hei te rārangi a te rangatahi, ka kitea pea te hangarau, te ipurangi me te pūtea. Hei tā te kaumātua, ka kitea pea te maraia, te whenua me te wai. Ka pēwhea tāu nā rārangi? Ka pēwhea hoki te āhua o tō tuku i tērā rārangi ki ngā reanga e whai mai ana? Ka reo Pākehā pea? Ka reourua, toru, whā rānei pea? Ka whakairia ki pukamata, ka tuhia ki te pukapuka, ka whakamaungia rānei te reo ki runga pūrere e mau ai tō mita ā haere ake nei?

Wai ka hua, wai ka tohu ka pēwhea te ao o ngā reanga e haere ake nei. Ahakoa tonu, ko tā tātou he whāngai i ngā akoranga i tau mai, i ā tātou rangahau, i ō tātou wheako, i ā tātou mahi, i ā tātou hē, i ā tātou eke panukutanga, me kore noa e hiahia ō tātou uri o ātahārā ki tētehi taukaea ki te ao me ngā mātāpono o tō tātou ināianei, hei mātāpono o nehe mō rātou.

E hoki nei aku mahara ki tētehi rārangi kōrero e kawe ana i te mātāuranga o kui mā, o koro mā, ki te reo Pākehā, i waihangahia rā i ngā tau o te ono tekau i Tūranga hei kaupapa kohi moni, i tapaina ai, ‘ Ko Te Mana o Manutuke – Māori Wisdom’. Anei ētehi o ngā rārangi kōrero e ū tonu nei ki tēnei hinengaro, hei wānanga mā koutou:
Te Mana o Manutuke – Māori Wisdom

1. One rotten fish. One good fish. Two rotten fish.
2. A pigeon won’t fly into a wide open mouth.
3. Chase two moa, catch none.
4. Time to dream when you’re dead.
5. No twigs on the fire, no flame.
6. The little wedge reduces the mighty kauri.
7. Youth talks. Age teaches.
8. Never be late to a battle to win it.
9. The brighter the clearing, the darker the shadows.
10. A wise man knows both pain and joy.
11. An obedient wife commands her warrior.
12. Great griefs are silent.

E whakaatuhia ana ēnei tauira i te mea, ahakoa ko te reo Pākehā te reo kawe, kei te kīte a e au te whakaaro Māori i roto i te takoto o ngā kupu, me te hāngai o ngā horopaki ki te wā o ō ō tātou tūpuna, ka mutu ko ētehi e hāngai tonu ana ki ngā horopaki o ēnei wā nei mena ka rukuhia te tikanga kei muri i te kōrero.

He taonga ngā whakataukī kua whakarerea mai ki a tātou. Maimoatia. Wānangahia. Engari kia kore ai te manawa whenua e mimiti, whāngaihia te puna ki ētehi whakaaro hou. Koinā te hua nui o te rangahau.

Ki te whāiti aku whakaaro ki ngā rangahau e pā ana ki te reo me ngā tikanga, ki tāku nei titiro, kāore anō kia ata rangahaua te panoni haeretanga o ēnei pou o te tuakiri Māori e kīte a ai he hua, he rongoa, he huarahi rānei e taea ana e te tangata te whai, e ora ai te mau i te reo, e ū ai ngā tikanga i runga i ō ō tātou marae, e whakaaro nuitia ai te reo e te maku.

Te āhua nei, e mimiti haere ana te manawa whenua o Te Kōhanga Reo, te mātārere o ngā kaupapa whakaraunora reo, e whakarērea nei, e pikitia nei e te nuinga o ngā whānau Māori.

Te āhua nei, e tawhiti haire ana te reo o te hunga pakipaki (e kī nei a Te Manahau) me tō te hunga e tutungi ana i ngā ahi o te wā kāinga.

Te āhua nei, kua ū te reo Pākehā ki roto i ngā whakahae re o ō ngā marae ma a hoa o te motu.

Mā te rangahau rawa e huri ai te ‘Te āhua nei’ o ēnei kōrero hei ‘koinei te take i pēnei ai, ā, koinei ētehi huarahi hei whai, hei rongoa i ngā mate nei’.

Ko te wero ki a ō ō tātou, ki te hunga rangahau, i roto i te whānuitanga me te rerekē o ngā horopaki me ngā mate e pā nei ki a ō ō tātou, me pēwhera e rongohia ai, e kīte a ai, e whāwhāngia ai ngā hua o ē ō ō tātou mahi i waenga tonu i ō ō tātou haporī, te ora ai ō ō tātou noho i te ao?
1. One rotten fish. One good fish. Two rotten fish.
2. A pigeon won’t fly into a wide open mouth.
3. Chase two moa, catch none.
4. Time to dream when you’re dead.
5. No twigs on the fire, no flame.
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Ki te whāiti aku whakaaro ki ngā rangahau e pā ana ki te reo me ngā tikanga, ki tāku nei titiro, kāore anō kia āta rangahaua te panoni haeretanga o ēnei pou o te tuakiri Māori e kitea ai he hua, he rongoā, he huarahi rānei e taea ana e te tangata te whai, e ora ai te mauri o te reo, e ū ai ngā tikanga i runga i ō tātou marae, e whakaaro nuitia ai te reo e te makiu.

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Te āhua nei, kua ū te reo Pākehā ki roto i ngā whakahaere ōkawa o ngā marae maha o te motu.

Te āhua nei, kāore te kounga o te reo Māori i te uaratia e ngā mana o te ao mātauranga, inā rā, he nui tonu ngā kaiwhakaako e tukuna ana ki roto i ngā kura, e tukuna ana rānei kia noho tonu hei kaiwhakaako, ahakoa he nui ngā hapa o te reo e whāngaihia ana ki ngā taringa o ngā tamariki.

Mā te rangahau rawa e huri ai te ‘te āhua nei’ o ēnei kōrero hei ‘koinei te take i pēnei ai, ā, koinei ētehi huarahi hei whai, hei rongoā i ngā mate nei’.

Ko te wero ki a tātou, ki te hunga rangah au, i roto i te whānuitanga me te rerekē o ngā horopaki me ngā mate e pā nei ki a tātou, me pēwhea e rongohia ai, e kitea ai, e whāwhāngia ai ngā hua o ā tātou mahi i waenga tonu i ō tātou hapori, e ora ai tā tātou noho i te ao?
ABATHEMBU AND THE USE OF BEADWORK TO RESTORE AFRICAN ETHNIC IDENTITY (AEI)
CARINA NOMFUZO ROZANI AND PROFESSOR NOMALUNGELO GODUKA

South Africa

Bhotani makhos’ anyonga nde kukudlela! Greetings to you all!

Abstract

The paper focuses on the erosion of African cultural values, including rituals, spirituality, and style of dress accessorized with beadwork (intsimbi), during colonialism. It further investigates how African ethnic identity (AEI) can be restored by integrating beadwork within curricula in school. The study was conducted at Qunu village where abaThembu are located. A total of 179 learners and 16 teachers responded to a questionnaire. A total of 18 learners, 16 teachers and 6 parents participated in in-depth interviews. The study was underpinned by eZiko siPheka siSophula theoretical framework. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences was used to analyze quantitative and qualitative data. 53% of participants indicated the significance of integrating beadwork within curricula in primary and high schools.

Introduction and Background Information

AbaThembu are an ethnic group found in the South Nguni area of the Eastern Cape, South Africa between Mthatha and Kei rivers (See map, Figure 1, below)

Figure 1. Map1 of O R Tambo region showing the South East Nguni ethnic groups and Umtata (Mthatha), where Qunu village is located and where the study was conducted.

AbaThembu used to live a simple life practising cultural rituals and customs that included wearing their traditional attire accessorized with beadwork. They are located in areas of Lady Frere, Cala, Qamata, Ngcobo and Mthatha. AbaThembu also had a very special liking for the red colour termed umdiki (the red ochre). All their regalia were accessorized with colourful

beadwork. Stevenson and Graham-Stewart (2001) argue that bead colours are used symbolically to denote different usage. For instance, among abaThembu the colour green in beadwork denotes new life, yellow denotes fertility. When the colour green and yellow are combined with white, navy and red they are used for occasions like weddings and other rituals. Blue beads (*intsimbi*) were identified by abaThembu as the dominant colour for use by youth. Soga, cited in Mtuze (2004), states that “the prevailing colours are either pale blue or white.” Mtuze discusses further the idea that beads were borrowed from the San or Khoi. They could have been made from dried seeds or shell. Kuckeritz (2000, p. 97) argues that beadwork is embedded in indigenous technologies and “colours which have long informed the craftswomen and craftsmen.” He investigated the culture of Batlokwa in the Eastern Cape as it relates to the usage of beadwork, and found that beadwork is imbedded in the culture of those people, having survived both the colonial and apartheid eras.

**Erosion of African cultural values during Colonialism**

Masumbe and Coetzer (2002) discuss policies that colonizers used to alter ways of thinking of those who converted into Christianity, and how African ethnic identity was lost. For example, through the school system and religion, colonizers imposed their cultural values that included western ways of teaching and learning as well as worshiping in the church. For instance, the choral genre of music which is stifling the performers was introduced, versus traditional music and dance which is vigorous in nature. These were forms of cultural imperialism, a system whereby a dominant group imposes its culture on a colonized group. This discussion is supported by Sedibe and Tondi (2005, p. 137) who cite Ntuli articulating that “European cultural imperialism disempowered the colonized by causing them to discard their values, customs, beliefs and indigenous languages”. Names were replaced with English names and converts spoke the language of the colonizers at gatherings, even when Europeans were not part of that gathering. The dark complexion was changed to white skin by means of hydroquinine and hair was no longer plaited but stretched out to resemble that of the colonizer. Consequently, abaThembu were not allowed to wear traditional outfits that were complimented with beads at school and at church but had to present themselves in western clothes and to speak the European language.

Although abaThembu cultural values were eroded, in every community there were Indigenous Knowledge holders who resisted western influence. These were termed red ochre people *(abantu bembola/amaqaba)*, especially in the remote rural areas. They risked being treated as outcasts in their own country of birth by missionaries who labeled them as heathens. Thus, beadwork could not be eroded in its entirety. For example, when a new homestead is introduced to the ancestors *(ukwaziswa komzi)*, attendants wear traditional attire and beadwork especially designed for dance, as people are usually happy then. This comprises green, yellow, blue, navy, white and other colours. A new homestead is introduced to the ancestors so that any ritual that is performed has the blessings of the ancestors (Richards, 1982). During the stay, *emkhusaneni* (under the veil) *intonjane* (a girl initiated into adulthood) was involved in designing her bead dress to be worn during pass-out. Again, until her first menses, she wore a genital girdle made from an apron of plaited cloth threads and bead filaments, held in position by a flat bead strap. The word *intonjane* is used both for the ritual performed to initiate the girl into adulthood and to mean the girl is under the initiation rite. Traditional dance groups put on beadwork designs that are colourful attire *emtshatweni* (at the wedding). The groom makes an entrance on horseback.
The horse is dressed in full bead regalia, a gift from his bride-to-be (Broster, 1976). During these occasions umxhentso (traditional dance) is presented. Vulakabini (beadwork opening down the chestline) and isidanga (beadwork in pale blue or white colours flowing down the chestline as far as the lower ribs) such that when the wearer dances, it presents a very beautiful presentation, is the most appropriate (Mtuze, 2004). For abaThembu, traditional dance is a religion. The head band (ithambeka/ipasi) worn by the traditional healers/diviners (amagirha) is white. In almost all Nguni-linguistic groups they believe in using white beadwork. AbaThembu also believe that they see umhloko (diagnose bad omen) when wearing the white head band (Lamla 1975). In Xhosa traditional culture, white symbolizes purity.

According to Mtetwa (2006, p. 480) beadwork also illustrates concepts of ethnomathematics that include different colours, shapes, sizes and aesthetics. This attests to the fact that Indigenous Knowledge holders possess skills that could benefit learners in schools, as they display technological and mathematical orientation. Zaslavsky, (1999) shares the same opinion as he states that in Africa, where most societies have been labeled non-literate, they were able to observe and reproduce both numerical and geometrical patterns.

This study employed eZiko siPheka siSophula theoretical framework (eZiko for short). This framework was chosen because of its features of being holistic, feminine, relational and participatory. It is an indigenous paradigm that was developed from ethuthwini (ashes) of the South African soil. Literally, iziko is the hearth (fire place) whereby family and community members gather to prepare and share food as well as oral tradition that include panegyric legends, iintsomi (folklore), amasiko nezithethe (customs and beliefs), and izaci namaqhalo (proverbial and idiomatic expressions. At another level, eZiko siPheka siSophula theoretical framework means teaching, training and researching back. It is built on the principles and practices of the Kaupapa Māori theory. It creates spaces for dialogues and develops emancipatory consciousness in researchers, scholars and communities to fight domination (Goduka, 2005). As an emancipatory theory it queries the status of the researched as the object, instead advocating for meaningful partnerships (Bishop, 1999 and Goduka, 2012). Another key focus of eZiko is respect for participants, who are regarded as co-owners in the research, not as researched subjects (Chilisa, 2012). EZiko also employs the following philosophical assumptions: relational/ontological assumptions, nature and form of reality; relational/epistemological assumptions of how truth and facts are developed; and axiological assumptions referring to values and what is worth knowing and why.

Research Design and Methodology

Participants were purposefully drawn among abaThembu of Qunu village. The reason was that Qunu village still has a large number of red ochre people who still practise beadwork. A mixed-methods approach was employed. This is a procedure where collection of data is based on both quantitative and qualitative methods (Creswell, 2005). Using both methods enhances validity of data. We distributed questionnaires to 217 people and received 201 which meant a 95% return rate. The first school had 63 participants (31.3%), the second school had 76 participants (37.8%), while the third school provided 62 participants (30.8)%. They were from Grade 4 to beyond Matriculation, and their ages ranged from eleven to over 41 as the sample was composed of learners, teachers and parents. Parents were intended to be involved in qualitative research only. But 1 (0.05%) questionnaire from when the instrument was tested had crept into the quantitative research. As we wanted a larger number of children at school we targeted two primary schools
and the only high school at Qunu village because we wanted to establish whether learners have beadwork knowledge from home or from school.

According to Creswell (2005), the refinement results in exploring a few typical cases, termed key informants, where researchers may probe in more detail. Thus, qualitative data to help elaborate on quantitative results was collected through in-depth interviews with 18 learners, 16 teachers and 6 parents. In-depth interviews minimize researcher bias, and thus increase reliability.

Ethics were considered, and permission to conduct the study was granted by our HEI, Walter Sisulu University. Among the stipulations set by the Ethics Committee that did not appeal to the participants was the idea of anonymity. They expressed concern that their information had been stolen by previous researchers. They said that they wanted our university to advertise their works. They also said they are aware that since South Africa attained democracy in 1994, people around the world appreciate and use beaded garments.

**Research Findings**

Below are some of the responses from key informants as evidence that there are abaThembu who are still proud of their ethnic identity. This is also evidence for the necessity of identity restoration through integrative curricula. The importance of language was discussed with the participants who welcomed being interviewed in their mother tongue, isiXhosa. This helped us to delve deeply into the knowledge possessed by the elderly at Qunu. This is in line with eZiko, the theoretical framework that emphasises strong cultural connotations and respect for participants. These responses demonstrate the feature of uniqueness of this type of Indigenous Knowledge, and the resilience demonstrated by abaThembu through the colonial and apartheid eras:

> Ndifuna ukuba abantwana babone ukuba sisayilandela imvela-phi yethu, asiyilahlanga. Ndanye ndinebhongo ngobuAfrika, ubuXhosa bam. (I want children to see that we still follow our tradition, we have not discarded it. Moreover, I am proud of my African/Xhosa identity).

Of importance also is the fact that some key informants noted that abaThembu customary ways are important for communication, interaction and marketing of one’s identity. This is what they had to say:

> Siyinxiba impahl a yethu yesiXhosa xa sifuna ukuqhayisa ngobuntu bethu. Le, yene yeendlela zokuqhamshelana omnye nomnye. Yaye, njengokuba ndingumAfrika nje, umXhosa, ngoko ndobukeka kakuhle. (We wear traditional attire when we want to demonstrate our identity. This is one of the ways we communicate or interact with one another. And because I am an African/umXhosa, then I would be presentable).

Educators also weighed in by indicating the significance of cultural dress and one informant had this to say:

Perceptions of learners, teachers and parents on interfacing beadwork within curricula

Judging by responses from the participants we saw a great need for inclusion of a Beading Learning Area in primary and high school learning programmes. Indigenous beadwork is one such example of skills that should be taught. The modern system of Education in the Department of Education (DOE) offers Learning Areas that are mostly academic, and that are designed as if learners all operate on the same wave-length cognitively. The learners are labeled negatively though parents are not involved in deciding curricula. Participants advanced concrete reasons for the consideration of beadwork for inclusion.

Asante, (2011) argues that Imhotep was not taught geometry or trigonometry before he built the first pyramid, yet it is mathematically oriented. The implication is that by transferring beadwork skills to the learners, mathematics can be an easy learning area/subject.

Other key informants also indicated that it is important to ensure that beadwork is part of curricula, as it presents some learners who may be talented in practical aspects with a chance of broadening their skills. Thus, one informant had this to say:

*Italente zethu azifani, abanye abafundi baphiwe ez bundleni, abanye ebuchotsheni nasekubhaleni. Abanye bakholelewa kumsebenzi wezandla. Ezi zinto zingabenza baphume esikolweni bephethe nto.* (Our talents differ, some learners are gifted practically, some cognitively and in writing. Some believe in doing practical which we refer to as handwork. This effort can make them to come out of school with something).
Recommendations

In light of the above, we argue for the involvement of Indigenous Knowledge holders in the rural areas as well, before the passing of the IKS policy, i.e., in the formulation stages. Someone has to go to these people in the rural areas because most people in the rural areas do not read newspapers or the Government Gazettes. Moreover, as eziko siPheka siSophula theoretical framework suggests, these addresses should be done in indigenous languages, and most probably, orally, since Nguni linguistic groups are an oral society.

HEIs, together with relevant government departments, must collaborate and engage in curricula reform. They must deconstruct the identities constructed for indigenous people by the previous hegemonies and reconstruct their identities in an effort to develop a sense of pride in their culture and its manifestations. This involves aesthetics, highlighted by beadwork, in the present situation. Beadwork is a talent or art; it cannot be simply discarded. Indeed, it is used even in fashion designs. It undoubtedly has some commercial undertones. This may lead to entrepreneurial projects, who knows? Therefore, there is a need for formation of amalima (co-operatives) so that youth can be introduced to entrepreneurship, to serve these clients. A-Magid (2011) suggests that Regional and reputable organizations of this continent like NEPAD, SADEC, IGAD, AU and international ones like UNESCO and EU should be approached for financial and technical support. We agree with this suggestion and recommend as such.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate erosion of the African cultural values that include rituals, spirituality, and style of dress accessorized with beadwork, during colonialism. We hoped to find strategies as to how African ethnic identity (AEI) can be restored by integrating beadwork within curricula in schools.

Arguments raised in the study indicate a need for the revival of cultural traditions through beadwork. AbaThembu expressed the view that their identity would be restored if their traditional attire and their pre-colonial cultural ways were resuscitated. They want integration of a beading Learning Area within curricula, and the teaching of values, including beadwork, by Indigenous Knowledge holders. This idea was cherished by both those who have Indigenous Knowledge and those who lack it. They would welcome the involvement of males in beadwork networks also. It was encouraging to note that there are males involved in beadwork. Cultural values can be revived with collaboration, communication and co-operation from all the stakeholders.

Now that amaXhosa have realized that collectivism and communal morality should be the way to live, they can come around their amaziko (hearth) s, open dialogues and revive the good old times, doing beadwork. They are thus encouraged to think ‘out of the box’, reclaim their languages, virtues, dress accessorized with beadwork, fight the alienation that came with colonization, and live communally again.

Acknowledgements

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References


CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION THROUGH MAORIFICATION AND THE PURSUIT OF MAORIGINALITY

A Studio-based project exploring the modification and localization of identity and global popular culture articulated through a contemporary arts practice.

ZENA ELLIOTT

Ngāti Awa, Ngai Te Rangi, Te Whanau A Apanui, Te Arawa

Ko Putauaki toku Maunga
Ko Mataatua toku Waka
Ko Rangitaiki toku Awā
Ko Ngāti Awa toku Iwi
Ko Ngāti Pahipoto toku Hapu
He Kaitaa ahau
Ko Zena Elliott toku ingoa

Abstract

I would like to share the concepts and processes within my contemporary arts practice by discussing the innovative cultural transformations and modifications that I have explored within my studio-based work. My approach to creating art responds and adapts to ever-changing environments on a global and local scale and from the many perspectives of knowing and understanding which I have obtained through lived experiences.

Through these perspectives I follow a process that comes naturally where my research methodologies are from a practice-based context and approach, which results in an imaginative and independent form of creative process; an enquiry that contributes to the creation of new knowledge through materialistic realizations that incorporate the disciplines of drawing, painting and sculpture.

Whakawhanaungatanga

I come from Te Teko within the Mataatua region. In this small rural township (also known as ‘Texas’) our basic mode of transport was riding horses. My parents were part of the Hippy generation where music festivals such as ‘Sweet Waters’ and ‘Nambasa’ were their second home. We spent most of our early childhood living with our grandmother in Te Teko where she would encourage her grandchildren to participate in Māori performing arts. A fond memory of my grandmother is the creative skill she had, where she knitted the characters from the popular television show ‘The Muppets’. She would put on a show for us, but would have the characters talk in Māori. This early exposure to elements of popular culture and the re-contextualisation of language was one of many forms of cultural modification and customisation I experienced from a young age.
I moved to Kirikiriroa (Hamilton) in the mid-1990s to study media arts at Waikato Polytechnic. There were very few Māori students in my class at the time. Leaving behind my small rural town and upbringing was sometimes difficult due to my relocation and educational journey, but with a lot of determination I gained a Bachelor of Media Arts and a Master of Arts. I am now a practicing artist within the Tainui region.

My work is inspired by popular films from the 1980s such as ‘Back to the Future’ (dir. Robert Zemeckis), ‘Blade Runner’ (dir. Ridley Scott), ‘Bill and Ted’s Excellent Adventure’ (dir. Stephen Herek) and the ‘Star Wars’ trilogy (dir. George Lucas), just to mention a few. Other influences are comic books, video games and graffiti. I base my art practice on aspects of popular culture because it is a dimension and a perception of my reality, where relationships between scenarios and themes reflect a sense of understanding within the context of my personal situations. Being born into the generation of MTV and mass media consumerism has had a strong impact on my sense of cultural identity.

I was educated in a Westernised visual arts context – looking into art history and art movements, and learning how to develop contemporary art strategies that can be applied to my practice. I utilise the many codes and systems of western art practice to weave and incorporate notions about Māori identity into its structure. By doing this I hope to create an exotic representation of cultural difference that builds on the discourses of identity within a neo-indigenous and westernised art context. My passion is to create artworks that respond to my personal situations and environments, so that I and others may understand the relationships between identity and popular culture.

**Situating the Local within the Global**

‘Think global, act local – think local, act global’. Be who you are by keeping it real, keeping it home-grown. Modify (or what I like to term ‘Māori-fy’) aspects of global popular culture to emphasise grounded and lived experiences. And utilise your own world views within global-cultural and contemporary indigenous arts frameworks. Within my art practice I re-contextualise global and local aesthetics and concepts to communicate contemporary (urbanised) and historical narratives that tell of personal and cultural stories and relationships. These concepts are voiced through an ancient indigenous visual language while reflecting unique aspects of diaspora communities. Markings move, transition, slip, and collage local and global dimensions which parallels the constant states of contestation and negotiation of the Māori identity as it transports itself between multicultural world views and its own traditional cultural expressions.

This paper discusses the strategic concepts and theories within my art practice; exploring notions to do with the ‘Māori-fication’ and localisation of Māori identity and popular cultural forms. The idea of a threshold between Māori and Pakeha world views (a space in-between) suggests the idea of ambiguity, an overlapping of artistic ideologies and a space where narratives float between world views and in competition with each other; transforming from back to the future and into the past.

I have embarked on this creative journey all of my life; the cultural transformations that I have experienced are reflected in the artworks that I create. I will be discussing these key ideas within the context of my self-funded research project that I have named ‘Glokool’, a studio-based investigation and solo exhibition referring to a blending of global and local cultural discourse.
Cultural Identity

Culture may be defined by social groups that are based on ethnicity, beliefs, religion, customs, language, world views or common interests. Cultural identity is the sense of identifying with or belonging to a group or culture. A group recognizes itself as a group when it compares and defines itself in relation to other groups and cultures.

There is evidence of some Māori identifying with various aspects of popular culture and this is reflected through the fashion, music and arts that they consume. Popular cultural forms such as film, comics, music, graffiti and video game technology have influenced how some Māori youth may express themselves and this may also be true for other indigenous people. It is important to identify these relationships so that we may understand the modifications of Māori identity through global popular culture.

Mass culture has been widely disseminated via mass media; this medium is a diverse force breaking down the boundaries of class, race, tradition and cultural distinctions. It amalgamates and mingles everything together and destroys all values in time and space (Macdonald, 1994). We see it every day, on our television screens, advertisements and billboards; popular cultural signs and images dominate our sense of reality, and the way we define ourselves and the world around us. Post-modern theory tries to come to terms with and understand this media saturated society.

Most people live in culturally diverse communities and choose aspects of their lives from the global market of art, beliefs and religion; we may pick and choose culture or a combination of cultures from the ‘global cultural supermarket’. This has similar traits to the grocery store, displaying a variety of foreign and local produce available for the choosing.

I am interested in investigating the relationships between media technologies and low art culture in order to further analyse and understand the impact it has on how we may construct our personal identity.

Hybridity

A hybrid has been defined in biological terms as a cross-breed of two or more different varieties of race. The term also applies to words composed of two different languages (Wikipedia Encyclopaedia Hybridity). For example, there are complications when filling out forms for government purposes, you are given the option to define your ethnicity by ticking a box that is categorised with either Māori or European to choose from. What box do you tick when your ethnicity is both Māori and European or your gender could be considered undefined? I have made the decision to choose Māori as that is how I have been raised to identify myself – although I am part Scottish and live in an environment that is predominately European. How do I make sense of my ethnic backgrounds when both have contested each other throughout colonial history? Perhaps the notion of hybridity provides an opportunity to explore the overlapping of cultural domains such as within indigenous communities where these ideas are contested and initiate new signs of identity.

In a visual art context, artists may choose another ethnic group or cultural form of art to communicate their individual identity, relating to certain aspects of a particular culture. For example some Māori may relate to African American youth culture because they can identify with the common scenarios experienced through urbanisation and colonisation.
Indigenous peoples such as Māori may occupy a ‘dual’ position or hybrid domain. Homi Bhabha suggests that this hybrid domain can be contextualised in infinite subject positions at one time. Bhabha refers to this domain as the ‘space in-between’ or a liminal space where artistic and cultural ideologies are in constant states of contestation and negotiation. This space in-between feeds and integrates within itself and may not be defined. A ‘liminal’ space suggests the idea of ambiguity, an overlapping of ideas and cultures and a space for transition. We often navigate through these spaces with video games, comics and film. With video games there is a space between the virtual and reality, but it is getting harder to separate the two from each other (Bhabha, 1994, p. 6).

The liminal space also occurs when interpreting comic book narrative. The panels of a comic book fracture both time and space, offering a flow of unconnected moments. The transition from one image to another is negotiated by the viewer through his or her own social and cultural conditioning. It is that ‘in between’ space that Bhabha refers to where cultural differences and social backgrounds mix and match to make sense of what is in front of them (McCloud, 1993, p. 67).

Transformative Māorification and Māoriginality

If the boundaries between drawing and painting are conventions then I must understand that all boundaries are conventions waiting to be transcended. Change and transformative models can be naturally forced by internally motivated alterations.

The stereotype representations of other indigenous peoples within popular culture may influence our sense of reality, where youth may adopt the characteristics of popularised stereotypes. This act could have positive and negative effects on how we construct our identity. Perhaps popular cultural forms can be a positive source and medium to communicate local historical and contemporary narratives that engage youth. Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas (GTA: SA) is an example of a video game that offers many creative possibilities for modification to voice our stories and experiences from a local perspective. The video game was my main source of inspiration for creating a series of paintings depicting a localized version of the scenarios embedded within the game and was a reflection of how Māori youth may view their environments.

Cultural appropriation can also be referred to as ‘cultural theft’ or ‘cultural mimicking’. Cultural appropriation is an adoption of elements of cultural expression from one societal group such as the forms of dress, religion, music, art and language. An external group may appropriate from other cultures without knowing the underlying meaning of what they are appropriating. There is a negative connotation associated with cultural appropriation, usually because it is the cultural expression of a minority group that is being appropriated or exploited (Wikipedia Encyclopaedia Cultural Appropriation).

There are varying definitions when it comes to cultural appropriation. Some people may interpret cultural appropriation as a multicultural effect. In other cases the appropriation of indigenous cultures may be seen as exploitation. There is a stigma associated with appropriating from other indigenous cultures; for example, in African American culture white rappers have been criticized for exploiting the styles of rap music. They are sometimes referred to as ‘wiggers’ (Wikipedia Encyclopaedia). These white rappers rap about the conflicts, crime and realities of ghetto life, in some cases preaching it without first experiencing it.
Another common form of cultural appropriation is the adoption of traditional artefacts and symbols of indigenous peoples such as tribal tattoos, tiki and bone carvings, which are either mass produced or worn by people who have no understanding of their underlying cultural significance (Wikipedia Encyclopaedia). However from a different perspective, cultural appropriation could also be seen as a form of admiration, respect and influence. Māori have admired African American youth culture since it was available through the media outlets such as television.

One of my experiences with popular culture was in the early 1980s when my grandmother, a teacher of traditional Māori waiata and haka (song and dance), adopted break dancing beats and soundtracks to use in our Māori performance group. My grandmother wanted to teach us traditional Māori culture, but because we were not interested in it, my grandmother allowed my cousins and I to break-dance while the rest of the Māori club were performing. Adopting different forms of popular culture and using these forms for your own purposes is also common in art. This raises multi-faceted issues relating to the ambiguity of identity and the complexity of stereotypes.

Within the local Hip-hop genre I find that there is a similar relationship between traditional oral storytelling and the lyrical expression of Hip-hop within New Zealand. “Rapping is like a form of karakia [a Māori recited prayer] – it’s fast, with all sorts of different rhythms running through it. . . . Rapping tells a story a kid on the street can recognise” (Scott, 1985, cited in Zemke-White, 2005, p. 206). Some of the narratives relating to New Zealand Hip-hop or rap are autobiographical and may express the complications of urbanisation, globalisation and colonisation (Zemke-White, 2005).

Māori of today who identify with Hip-hop or rap sub-cultures use visual language (baggy jeans, baseball caps and hoodies) as a vehicle to communicate group identity. This visual language is also evident in Hip-hop videos and magazines. Fashion and hair styles are vital for youth identity and are usually influenced by forms of popular culture. Because of this Māori youth have developed an identity that reflects African American culture.

Music videos of the 1980s have influenced Māori youth like myself and provided an insight into other indigenous peoples’ lifestyle and conflicts. Video clips also offered opportunities to reflect on the world around me in comparison to other indigenous people.

There has been a long history of Māori identifying with some aspects of African American culture. This may also be true with other indigenous peoples; the Japanese have been intrigued with everything Western, particularly fashion, music and visual arts. A perception of Japanese art is silk screen paintings of waves, bamboo shoots and plants. Today contemporary Japanese artists play electric guitars and paint cartoon characters that are a hybrid of Japanese traditional culture and American culture. Some Japanese are born into a world populated with Rock ‘n’ roll and contemporary performance art, influenced by artists such as Andy Warhol, The Sex Pistols, Salvador Dali and Elvis Presley. Traditional Japanese culture may seem to be lost and to be merely imitating Western culture; however, this may not mean that Japanese culture is dead but rather being reinvented (Mathews, 2000, p. 30). This is also true of other indigenous cultures, such as Māori. Artist Takashi Murakami has altered pop culture into high art (usually in the form of commercial aesthetics) and has been compared to Andy Warhol. Murakami’s work characterizes itself by referencing Japanese post-war national identity.

Māori youth have identified with African American culture through participating in popular cultural forms such as recorded music and films. In the 1970s, my father was interested in Jimi
Hendrix and his music, to the extent of wearing similar clothes and hair styles as him. Today the influence of popular culture continues through GTA: SA. The expression of African American street culture in GTA: SA has influenced many Māori, Polynesian and Pakeha of New Zealand. This is expressed through fashion and music as well as visual arts.

**Glokool**

The artworks in my art project Glokool are a good example of a space-between, where signs and symbols transition through and into each other suggesting connections and familiar themes and ideas. This project was a continuation of my ‘Super-flat’ aesthetic artworks of “Grand Theft Auto: Aotearoa” (2005) and questions the distinctions between Māori and Pakeha world-views. This research project examines the dynamics of cultural identity and popular culture which has stemmed from my on-going interest in the iconographies and symbolism associated with sub-cultures.

Glokool aims at contributing to the field of contemporary New Zealand art by analysing identity and popular culture discourses; investigating the complexities of local identity and the connections to place, space and community that articulate its cultural particularities; and also the adaptability that enables it to be locally and globally transformative (Sharp, 2006). The artworks themselves explore a local sense of place and narrative themes that demonstrate an influence of popular cultural signifiers; reflecting on Māori art processes and the relationships between Māori popular culture, New Zealand national culture and the global context that forms contemporary art.

Within my studio-based research, local expression is informed by global processes and cultural terrains that explore spaces between essentialised notions of Māori and western art practices while deconstructing the notions of the signifier and the signified. This idea has been explored through articulating the hybrid juxtaposition of signs and symbols of global and local contexts.

Māori identity and popular culture can be alternated between cultural sites and co-exist with non-localized elements. Individual content can be substituted by using the contexts of western and Māori art practices, creating a series of experimental artworks that reflect a neo-indigenous expression of contemporary art.

**Conclusion**

Strategic essentialism and strategic identity can be utilised for the artwork to negotiate the originality of local, global and national cultural identities and investigate the potential of cultural otherness within a global context. Elements of Māori localized cultural markings and practices can be expressed through a western art framework, and used to re-evaluate the boundaries of cultural fixity within a global context.

Global and local forces can have positive and negative effects. This reciprocity creates a space for re-articulation while allowing for new strategic identities to take form - new cultural dynamics of re-location and re-localisation. These new strategies create constructive practices and frameworks for cultural endurance.

This new direction that I have taken within my arts practice is a cultural journey - a transformation through Māori-fication and a pursuit of artistic originality.
I have discovered that popular cultural forms are a site and space for transaction, a location for reclamation and exposing colonial, political and identity issues and concerns.

References


Internet references


Abstract
This paper channel-surfs the changing bandwidth of Māori gender portrayals. It describes how taonga enable Māori to reframe the media created 'real', by fast-forwarding through pixel-confused media enactments of interactions between wahine and tane in Māori society. In particular, this paper makes comparisons between three Te Arawa kapa haka performances, broadcast to audiences of the national kapa haka competition, Te Matatini 2013, and gender portrayals of Māori through mainstream media. Te Pa Harakeke, which empowers the logic embedded in Māori creative practice, is used as a research methodology. This affirms Māori taonga as research practice, where relational whakapapa form strands of woven narrative; interlaced in order to test patterns, find inherent tensions and then explore pathways forward. In doing so, this paper seeks to unearth the performative strategies of tino rangatiratanga that Māori communities have used to convey the lustred ahu of gendered Māori social engagements. It describes inherently Māori creative processes that help us to internalise subversive practices of agency.

Opening credits: Insert theme song here . . .
The channels change, but often the themes stay the same, it's like a game, there's always a winner and there's always a loser. When the TV screens us, who do we see and in what ways do we manifest a predetermined scene? The power doesn't just come at us through the plug, we've been dug in these trenches of defencelessness for a long while. What are the things we have always been doing that both stage the perceived versions of our Māori existence, and actively improvise new imaginings; when we compare our own theatrics to the tricks of the slivered beams that enter our evening homes, how do we enact our own forms of agency? Is there some kind of format that can turn us onto self-controlled chapters; is there a way to think through the tirade long enough to create a tense of self that makes sense? Through a creative description of the ways our realities as Māori people are constructed through mainstream means, this research explores the humble methodology of raranga as tino rangatiratanga.

TV screening scenes: Māori and the merciless manipulation
What power do mediated perspectives have to shape Māori realities, but more importantly, who authorises the tyranny of their onslaughts; shouldn't we ought to be in love with ourselves enough to deny them? From the birth of television, images of Māori have broadcast buy-ins for mass mediatised-memes to merge with actuality. Savage screen English-language dementia hides under mattresses in dark places, it manipulates and excludes us (Nairn et al., 2012, p.46); 'normal' television extrudes us into truth filled moulds on servile fantasy islands. Māori ledgers have been erased and replaced by ordinary TV and film, through the creation of new legends that serve us samples of The Māori Today (Hughan, 1960), narrations of the colonial desire for a new-found state where we can finally fit in. Statuesque tane stage silhouettes of the hard working colonial
MASS PRODUCTION: TRANSMITTING THE REEL BACK THROUGH THE TV HAKA SCREEN

TAWHANGA MARY-LEGS NOPERA

Te Arawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Tainui, Ngāpuhi

Abstract

This paper channel-surfs the changing bandwidth of Māori gender portrayals. It describes how taonga enable Māori to reformulate the media created ‘real’, by fast-forwarding through pixel-confused media enactments of interactions between wahine and tane in Māori society. In particular, this paper makes comparisons between three Te Arawa kapa haka performances, broadcast to audiences of the national kapa haka competition, Te Matatini 2013, and gender portrayals of Māori through mainstream media. Te Pa Harakeke, which empowers the logic embedded in Māori creative practice, is used as a research methodology. This affirms Māori taonga as research practice, where relational whakapapa form strands of woven narrative; interlaced in order to test patterns, find inherent tensions and then explore pathways forward. In doing so, this paper seeks to unearth the performative strategies of tino rangatiratanga that Māori communities have used to convey the lustred ahua of gendered Māori social engagements. It describes inherently Māori creative processes that help us to internalise subversive practices of agency.

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The channels change, but often the themes stay the same, it’s like a game, there’s always a winner and there’s always a loser. When the TV screens us, who do we see and in what ways do we manifest a predetermined scene? The power doesn’t just come at us through the plug, we’ve been dug in these trenches of defencelessness for a long while. What are the things we have always been doing that both stage the perceived versions of our Māori existence, and actively improvise new imaginings; when we compare our own theatrics to the tricks of the slivered beams that enter our evening homes, how do we enact our own forms of agency? Is there some kind of format that can turn us onto self-controlled chapters; is there a way to think through the tirade long enough to create a tense of self that makes sense? Through a creative description of the ways our realities as Māori people are constructed through mainstream means, this research explores the humble methodology of raranga as tino rangatiratanga.

TV screening scenes: Māori and the merciless manipulation

What power do mediated perspectives have to shape Māori realities, but more importantly, who authorises the tyranny of their onslaughts; shouldn’t we ought to be in love with ourselves enough to deny them? From the birth of television, images of Māori have broadcast buy-ins for mass mediated-memes to merge with actuality. Savage screen English-language dementia hides under mattresses in dark places, it manipulates and excludes us (Nairn et al., 2012, p.46); ‘normal’ television extrudes us into truth filled moulds on servile fantasy islands. Māori ledgers have been erased and replaced by ordinary TV and film, through the creation of new legends that serve us samples of The Māori Today (Hughan, 1960), narrations of the colonial desire for a new-found state where we can finally fit in. Statuesque tane stage silhouettes of the hard working colonial
construct, while wahine wage passive pretence of the prim, proper and petite. We are people exhibited within confines of controlled change, where hegemony happens without hindrance. Distorted dances from the ages contort informal controls; roll your eyes horis and stick out existence where your tongues used to be, stay simple and silent.

Moving pictures of our present-past, fast-track the dictates of the state. In an era of uprising we become the beasts, burdened with broken-hearted dreams and bleeding eyes; we fit the thematised tread of unabashed child abusers and criminal corpses (Rankine et al., 2007, p.10). In the disguise of a mainstream filled with fear, hear me ‘Beth Heke’, you are shaped by something other than the fists of your husband. The removal of traditions, replaced by the lonely laws of separation, linger longer than we can imagine. The Piano played you ‘Beth’, you were victimised by the colony’s corset long before you even dreamed of your ‘Jakey’; Once Were Warriors was just another entertaining expectation for the global multitudes to enjoy (Mikaere, 1994). Why does hindrance dance on so many of our graves, engraved with patches of black fists and bulldogs; will we be stuck in the land of the long white beating our heads against our own uncivil wars forever?

Mediatised colonisation is like a fever, a sickness that haunts us through The Telegraph and The Sydney Morning Herald; a worrisome kind of gene that binds us to the blindness of fury (Chapman, 2006 and AAP, 2006). Our academics talk back paper-peddlers as they pencil our prescriptions; they question how a population can paddle their ways across Te Moana on the bones of antisocial disorder (Hook, 2009, p. 6), but isn’t that a korero we should have with our kids, our relations and our friends? Our ancient vices are not really our own, science just makes them exist as intended toward an agenda of globalist avarice; divisive devices embedded in pedagogy that programmes our pupils to match the dilating television derangement? An age of schooling for Māori in New Zealand, encourages entertainment within boundaries painted on grass. Football practice has, for Māori, been more than just sessions for Saturday sports, cohorts of tane, “...mutated [in]to positively framed sporting images that serve a largely subconscious subjugation” (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 278). A nation of unthinking brown rats, raised by fembots; wahine instilled with alien values to validate a form of moral integrity for their unborn families (Jenkins & Morris Matthews, 1998, p. 88).

Images of ourselves are not inert for our interactions; through images we create the world we know. The manufacture of fact prevails as a veil, because, “[o]ur physical world, cityscapes and natural settings, as well as our inner mental landscapes are all colonised today by the image industry” (Pallasmaa, 2010, p.15). We progressively retreat into market driven imaginary misses; our mission to consume massive monsters that feed upon our feasts, a cycle of culture reproducing production. Even though we are constructed by the construed-self, we barely notice the normalised notions we navigate; we barely interpret the enforced adherence to moving projections of web-designers’ spidery minds (Manovich, 2001, pp.60-61). Our lives are hidden behind images that are hidden because they no longer even exist; the objects we oppress ourselves through have become digitised memories of menace, meaningless mirages in a virtual haze (Baudrillard, 2003, pp. 175-176). Symbolic violence enacts the lifeless space we indulge as our new social realm; we are too distracted by our devices to diarise a concrete society into our daily dreamworld, and instead we become our own victims.
Creative practice: Haka praxis

Interlaced debasement of our cultural face force façades of ferocity forward; haka betwixt bulletins of bully boys and girls grasp for the nation’s attention (Nairn et al., 2012, pp. 44-45); retention of our ancestral norms navigate confused logics in the techno-rubric of the daily grind. It’s so hard to find sense in the madness of caring what the old-times left behind for us, when it’s so relentlessly chewed upon. But that’s where it lies dormant, a kind of sense that silently infiltrates the ticks and traces of the masses. Haka reassembles us from the inside out, an embodied existence that makes the body the mind, the mind the body. Thinking lies not in the head, but in every cell, every aspect a perspective that adds to a total human whole (Pallasmaa, 2009, p.9). Haka helps us heal from formulated fictions of the savage image visage; haka helps us imagine tomorrow without the hurt of the hunt.

My whole life long I had feared to haka; hyper-masculine taunts to the ultra-feminine within, my skin had always crawled with the itching of displaced encasement. Māoritanga though is always a place that lives in my form; my heart definitely knows the culture I live every day in the misty steam of paupers and princesses. But my body, my structure, has been forcefully fabricated; mis-educated into a disguise of “guys do this, so even if you don’t feel it, pretend or get punched”. Out to lunch, but hungry all the same, I yearn to vanquish an inner enemy; it’s just me and my excuses now, because the drowning way is to ignore what my body should know. And so, day after night, night after day, I reconfigure my muscle memory and practice till perfect; I internalise my whakapapa through voice, skin, mucus muscle and bone. I sharpen my hands to wiri, like Tane’s rore simmering in shimmered summer imaginings (Royal, 2005, p.7). Haka induces within me a slumbering type of seduction toward self-knowing, an inner gender alignment, akin to “light that brings about the dawn”; haka for me, enables the denied sexual-self, stirred by Hineruhi in her morning rising ritual (Royal, 2005, p.8).

Had haka schooled me rather than religious education, in my years of youthful avoidance, perhaps I would have known myself as a person rather than a fault-fuelled flickering picture, trapped immobile within a nameless coffin-frame. School for me was a bleak hole, a black coal beach, where my future was washed ashore before the boring drone of someone else’s history hardened my mind against anything of worth; a worthless existence drummed into me by dictation and repetitive mantras during mathematics. School could have bridged the gap where trolls lay in wait to waylay steps; stricken schoolyard scenarios when a marae visit for my teachers might have manifested a place for me to be met halfway (Baskerville, 2009, p.466). I could have done with a culturally responsive rendering in order to know I matter; mainstream education that utilises kapa haka could have connected me to knowledge and with knowledge contexts (Whitinui, 2008, p.8). Today when I need potency, the perpetual push and pull of pukana provides political parry with power; haka has a heart-beating takahia of socio-politics, my body is its own message media (Matthews, 2004). Through haka, mute incapability fades like phantom daily papers latent with news.

Accountability and self-control: Remote emotions and the ethics of distance.

But what messages do we deliver, decisive and discerning; do we speak on behalf of ourselves when we mediate our own minds to the masses, or do we meditate an interrupted ethics of opinion? Blazed: Drug driving in Aotearoa (Waititi, 2013), a commercial that intends to invest an alternative voice as a means to manage men who drive their kids doped, victimises Māori from
the inside out. Outspoken is one thing, it is important that we deny deviant addictions from the harm they can cause, but what are the ethics of doing so whilst dredging our whānau through the long-held gutters gifted to us by the state? We stalemate, when we remake ourselves in the vision of the massive meritocracy; one where our families are impoverished and inarticulate. Perhaps, instead of walking the paths of prescribed illusions about who we are, we should re-create the ways we define ourselves. In a discussion on issues of sexual diversity, Māori educator Kim McBreen offers advice that maybe we should interrogate the core of our values, as a means to reinvest in the future of our past practices (McBreen, 2012); we have a lexicon of terms that organise our thinking within the social realm, but is our memory of tikanga based in yesterday or today?

I had to ask myself those same serious questions as I sat watching my Te Arawa relations perform at Te Matatini, 2013. When I distanced myself from the narratives as they played out on the stage, ropu aesthetics rolled from reel to reel like a film; descriptions of our countenance as conveyed by a crippled colonial contrivance. While I watched my cousins, nieces and nephews perform, a pastiche of transculture seemed to transmit an illogical lens; I could see generational portrayals of Māori by the mainstream, merge with odes to orally expressed stories from eons past. And yet, although I could see a mixed kind of magic that bewitched me into disbelief, how could I write about my relations, and still smile and communicate authentic aroha in the pa; who am I really accountable to as a Māori person? It’s a strange yearning to want to talk a story whose voice will vehemently cement colonial traps as they continue to close upon us. Where can we begin again, to regain a new set of memories; how do we strategise with wherewithal?

To develop a methodology, and an ethical framework of tino rangatiratanga to describe my reality in a way that makes sense, through my creative practice I lay myself bare; I un-weave myself through artwork as a means to acknowledge why my perception of self exists as it does, to find the version of me that I refuse to see. Even though my mahi looks like abstract self-debased performance acts, and the technicoloured zeros and ones of digital image and video, I know it as mahi raranga. If raranga is my methodology, then surely it must grow from te pa harakeke? I can translate a whakatauki about te pa harakeke, as a means to convey its symbolism and describe its relevance to contemporary Māori concerns, but my knowledge of te pa harakeke comes to me from the elegance of life as a weaver. It is a knowledge that doesn’t come from books, but through considered actions which interconnect the concrete and conceptual worlds around me. Raranga teaches me that I exist as part of a social reality, without te pa harakeke and raranga my occurrence is only a valueless vacuum of vapid ventures to and from nowhere.

**Raranga as methodology: The practice of knowing culture.**

Raranga is a cyclic Māori creative practice that progresses through cumulative and fluid stages. It enables a responsive and reflexive interpretation of knowledge through an affirmation of relationships, both apparent and hidden. Māori creative practices ‘conscientise’, as described by Brazilian educator and philosopher Paolo Freire, to disrupt the perception of “knowledge [as] a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing” (1996, p. 53). However, through raranga practice a person becomes both the facilitator of knowledge as well as the recipient. Raranga can be thought of as an advance through the stages of:
• Intent
• Karakia
• Harvest
• Preparation
• Whakapapa
• Mahi raranga
• Resolution
• Karakia
• Intent

**Intent**

A commitment to a desired outcome of the raranga process requires a projection of an end result. It is important to acknowledge raranga as inherently biased as it causes a self-reflexive critique of hegemonic assumptions already held; raranga enables ethical accountability; it constructs its own stories and helps give desired intentions perspective. When responsive thoughts cause the intended outcome to evolve, raranga activates ways to seek other outcomes through its practice; specifically within the karakia, harvest, preparation, whakapapa and mahi raranga. Raranga enables a means to reframe expected intentions. At this stage raranga affirms a person’s relationship to a worldview.

**Karakia**

A karakia clarifies intent and enables a physical and psychological space for the raranga practice to emerge. Karakia clears obstructions, which can include internalised negative feelings about a person’s ability to simply know. When barriers to intent are realised, then karakia acts as means toward acknowledgement and mitigation. Conversely, karakia allows acknowledgement of positive things that benefit raranga practice. Through this assertion, emphasis is put on the potential for positive results. Raranga practice affirms a person’s relationship to an intent.

**Harvest**

A harvest can be particularly arduous, because it involves an active and assertive collection of material toward a desired intent. It requires a consideration of all factors that make knowledge useful toward intended outcomes. A harvest requires alertness to ways that environmental factors can influence knowledge; sometimes environments and contexts for knowledge can affect perception and responsiveness. The harvest process hones skills that emphasise the ways knowledge can harm. Alertness during the harvest ensures integrity of intent. The harvest affirms a person’s relationship to all others who could be affected by the desired intent.

**Preparation**

Different types of knowledge require specific forms of preparation in order to become useful. Knowledge can shift depending on how it is prepared; over-preparation of knowledge can make it difficult to use, as can under-preparation. Preparation requires responsiveness, so that knowledge is useful toward desired intentions. This could be construed as changing knowledge to suit desired ends, but in reality it is an acknowledgement that all knowledge has its own embedded intent; knowledge is latent potential until it is used to tell story. A singular perspective of knowledge is negated through preparation. Preparation affirms a relationship between knowledge and people.
**Whakapapa**

Once knowledge has been prepared it must be organised systematically to affect the desired result. A firm whakapapa is like a strong foundation and ensures the quality and functionality of mahi towards an intent. The creation of a whakapapa allows a means to identify and describe patterns that become part of raranga practice. Patterns are crucial in that they help knowledge make sense; patterns can be reinterpreted through raranga, but the practice of raranga is what enables this to happen. Of all the raranga stages, the whakapapa design is the most focussed. A cohesive and clear whakapapa ensures accountability to stories that enable useful knowledge. Whakapapa affirms the relationship between knowledge and utility.

**Mahi raranga**

Raranga affirms relationships. It enables a straightforward means to interpret and use knowledge with direction; raranga empowers ara, or pathways of intent. Mahi raranga is a form of focused assemblage that allows for fluidity, as it encourages receptivity to innovation and improvisation. Often, the previous stages enable mahi raranga to happen intuitively. Mahi raranga allows for ways to integrate and manage tensions that arise during raranga practice; it ensures a means to balance and clearly define intent. Mahi raranga allows a relationship between knowledge and practice; it helps a person to understand the value of their intent.

**Resolution**

Raranga needs to be resolved because when things are unresolved they cause barriers and forms of entrapment. Assumptions and conclusions are clarified through the process of resolution, as knowledge simply cannot make sense without formal resolution. Resolution allows a means to identify clear purpose. On beginning raranga, a person projects ideas about the perceived function of knowledge they engage with, however, raranga practice helps interpret knowledge potential. Resolution is a means to problem-solve the ways that knowledge can apply toward an initial intent, but also other intents. Resolution enables a relationship between knowledge and purpose.

**Karakia**

A final karakia to conclude raranga practice is very important. Raranga integrates knowledge with a person’s sense of self, and in this way, knowledge can limit a person’s desire to know more and grow. Detachment from raranga practice helps a person to recognise achievement, but also a way to resolve any new intent that emerges. A final karakia acknowledges the physical and psychic space created for the initial intent to be explored, and affirms the ara toward that space. Karakia allows a perspective where final outcomes are understood as valuable in relation to raranga practice. In the final karakia a person affirms their relationship to the things they value.

**Intent**

Through raranga practice, new ideas and potentials form. The resolution and the karakia, in particular, help identify new knowledge that might be valuable. Intent gains clarity through the cyclic nature of raranga practice, which allows for the continuous pursuit of knowledge. Raranga practice resolves questions, but also hones an ability to discover more questions. Raranga affirms relational value; it empowers an ethical approach to research, because throughout, perceived positions of power are negotiated and aligned. The raranga process affirms a person’s relationship within te pa harakeke.
**Goodnight Kiwi: The inevitable conclusion**

Raranga lets us gain primacy over our realities, and in this way, experience a Māori methodology of subjective engagement. Raranga allows a means to know ourselves as an integral part of a cultural whole and is the underlining creative process that enables symbols for value to exist. This is important because as Māori creative theorist Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal explains, our traditions have been filled with “ample evidence . . . of the objective symbol” (Royal, 1998, p.21); objective symbols allow us with methods to recall the visceral nature of subjective experiences. Through raranga, we become perceptive to taonga, not simply as objects or keepsakes, but as symbols of purposeful knowledge which solidify uniqueness and value within the social setting. Māori historian and tohunga Rev. Māori Marsden gives insight into why knowledge becomes valuable; he describes the Māori concept of taonga as enabling value because rather than being solely ‘good’ for us as individuals, taonga enables us a relational vantage of reality (2003, pp. 42-43).

In this paper, rather than employ a well versed academic strategy that follows an intent to a desired conclusion, I engage in the practice of raranga. As an artist, I attempt to create something, an idea that can either be resolved, or processed in a manner that enables meaning. My raranga practice progresses through logical stages, but instead of a systematic manipulation of knowledge toward my intent, raranga reshapes my notion of self; raranga helps me become accountable to my intent. Through raranga I gain a perspective of my relationship to what I think I know, and how I am able to communicate the knowledge I learn. The practice of raranga becomes a form of agency, because my intent becomes only a small part of the knowledge I engage with; through raranga I am able to see how I relate to the ideas I interpret, and how those ideas relate me to worlds I inhabit. I am an artist, so my job is not to tell someone else what to think, but rather to allow a view of my reality, and enable ways to experience the world from the perspective of another.

I am in a space of conflict, because as an academic I feel like I have to follow a set of rules to prove the world I live in. However, as an artist I know that feelings cannot be proved, they are just sets of waves; shifting emotions that roll back and forth to affirm my social function; I impart experience regardless of firm realities. In this paper I posit raranga as the whakapapa of all creative forms of knowledge, but argue that because it is filtered through the lens of Māoritanga, creative knowledge through raranga practice becomes inherently relational. When Māori people practice raranga in the form of kapa haka, we internalise our gendered engagements on our own terms. Raranga helps us find sense in unstable spaces of cultural tension; it allows us to internalise ways to feel like we are good people. For me, a means to feel good in a world where my body and sense of self is enmeshed with far too many ways to feel bad, raranga offers the most subversive form of agency possible.
**Glossary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahua</td>
<td>Likeness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Haka</td>
<td>Traditions of Māori performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hineruhi</td>
<td>Ancestral figure who has come to signify dawn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kapa haka</td>
<td>Māori performance art group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korero</td>
<td>Talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahi</td>
<td>Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>Indigenous people of Aotearoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māoritanga</td>
<td>Māori culture, practices and beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa</td>
<td>Fortified village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pukana</td>
<td>Dilate the eyes, characteristic expression for emphasis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Raranga</td>
<td>Traditions of Māori weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ropu</td>
<td>Group or party of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takahi(a)</td>
<td>To trample, stamp or travel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tane</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanerore</td>
<td>Ancestral figure who personifies the shimmering air of a mirage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taonga</td>
<td>Things that are valued</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Arawa</td>
<td>Political grouping who trace their genealogy to Te Arawa waka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Matatini</td>
<td>National kapa haka competition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te Moana</td>
<td>Ocean</td>
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<tr>
<td>Te pa harakeke</td>
<td>The flax plantation (phormium tenax)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tikanga</td>
<td>Māori cultural practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tino rangatiratanga</td>
<td>Self-governance or good chieftainship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tohunga</td>
<td>Expert and spiritual agent for a Māori community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahine</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whakapapa</td>
<td>Genealogy or foundations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whakatauki</td>
<td>To utter a proverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whanau</td>
<td>Family group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wiri</td>
<td>Shiver of hands, characteristic haka movement</td>
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COURSE WRITING AS STORYWORK - EMBEDDING INDIGENOUS RESEARCH INTO THE CURRICULUM

FRANCES WYLD

Martu

University of South Australia

Abstract

Storywork as pedagogy is articulated through a set of principles documented by Archibald, and “these principles may act as a catalyst for examining and developing other storywork theories” (2008, p. 140). This presentation takes up the challenge and shifts into an Australian Aboriginal framework for developing curriculum. It bases itself in the understanding that Indigenous research and teaching are interconnected and follow the ethical principles of respect, relatedness and reciprocity (Archibald, 2008; Martin, 2008). Three examples of course writing will be used which connect to the presenter’s research interest of Aboriginal Storywork as an academic method. Wilson (2001) believes that research should begin with ceremony to make the intentions clear; curriculum development should also follow this belief. The writers ask themselves ‘what story wants to be told?’ and ‘who are the knowledge holders who should be heard?’ A place is also found within the writing for students to connect their own stories as a method of reciprocity and relatedness. Depending on the course content, stories can also become richly metaphorical, a method that fits not only with Indigenous knowledges but also has universal relatedness through the study of semiotics and myth.

Introduction

Storywork is defined by Archibald using the following principles: “respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy” (2008, p. ix). This paper is a discussion on how Storywork can be used within curriculum development and delivery. Kovach (2010) also uses this work noting that Archibald’s theory “reflects upon how stories capture our attention and tells us that stories ask us ‘to think deeply and to reflect upon our actions and reactions’” (2001, p. 1, cited in Kovach, 2010, p. 94). Both these scholars are deeply embedded in their own Indigenous knowledges but have a desire to transform teaching so that it becomes an ethical way of knowing. Indigenous knowledges and methodologies have entered into academia (Wilson, 2001; Smith, 2002; Arbon, 2008; Martin, 2008) and have become valuable as sites for decolonisation, but Indigenous knowledges still need to be protected (Battiste & Youngblood, 2000; Watson, 2007). The protection can be built into the teaching through the principles offered by Storywork. This paper uses three examples of curriculum development and delivery that use these principles, including a mainstream cultural studies course, an education course designed for future teachers of Indigenous students, and a postgraduate course on Aboriginal research methods and ethics. All courses are student centred with links to Freirian philosophy (1972) that has at the centre a desire to decolonise and end oppression within an ethical framework. And human-kind has always used stories to know themselves and the world, to find signification. We know that myths are all around us and we read to the world like a story (Barthes, 1972). Storywork is a site for students to find connection. The courses also connect to key thinkers much in the same way that Indigenous cultures honour Elders and other knowledge holders. This is a
personal yet theory based method that centres the Self. I start with a prologue, a device that Kovach (2010) uses to introduce and bridge the work to come.

Prologue

I am a Martu woman belonging to the Aboriginal People of the Pilbara Region of Australia. This heritage comes to me through my mother, a member of the Stolen Generations. My heritage through my father is Anglo. I would like to think that both sides have storytellers, and that I have a dual heritage with a single purpose; to teach through stories. As I write I know that Storywork stops me from being diluted like a metaphorical hybrid-being whose blood needs to be quantified by scientist, historian and anthropologist. I am not hybrid, I am whole, and I just work in a hybrid space. This holism embraces both heritages and keeps me strong. I want to add an extra R to the four R’s documented by Archibald – “respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility” (2008, p. 1). I want to add ‘resilience’. Storywork keeps me centred and I want to pass this method on to students. This is where I need to ask the indulgence of those who have taught me Storywork, I hope that they can understand that I have taken up the challenge of developing other Storywork theories, knowing that I work in a hybrid space, and that the challenge of living in two worlds has become the catalyst for mixing theories, ontologies and epistemologies to make a whole.

Aboriginal Research Methods and Ethics

The course in Aboriginal research methods and ethics is part of a post graduate program in Aboriginal studies. I inherited a good structure for embedding Aboriginal knowledges into the curriculum. The text book chosen is authored by Karen Martin (2008) and is one of a number of texts that represent a growth of scholarship in the area of Indigenous knowledges written by Indigenous peoples (Smith, 2005; Nakata, 2007; Arbon, 2008; Archibald, 2008; Kovach, 2010). The course aim encourages student development of research that benefits, yet remains ethical, for Aboriginal peoples and communities. The course developed alongside this emerging focus on Aboriginal philosophies, to be later held and re-written in 2012 as a master-class for students and fee-paying public participants. Associate Professor Karen Martin was the guest presenter. I put myself into an apprenticeship position over this two day class, filling in where needed, closely following Martin’s ethical, engaging Storywork teaching framework. It was the first time I physically became an apprentice to her but in truth I had been following her work for a number of years through reading her publications and attending conferences where Martin presented.

The framework used to teach Aboriginal research methods and ethics segues from non-Indigenous qualitative theory and in particular the work of Denzin and Lincoln (2000), who document the changes in qualitative methods to include a focus on the self as researcher, and a turning towards a more ethical and sacred discourse that “seeks to embed this self in deeply storied histories of sacred spaces and local places, to illuminate the unity of the self in its relationship to the reconstructed, moral and sacred natural world” (2000, p. 1052). They also speak of a “pedagogy of resistance, of taking back ‘voice’, of reclaiming narrative for one’s own rather than adapting to the narratives of a dominant majority, [which] was most explicitly laid out by Paolo Freire in his work with adults in Brazil” (2000, p. 1056). I want to speak more about the influence of the work of Friere in student-centred teaching but for now I want to take this cue from Denzin and Lincoln (2000) and take back the voices. The course readings may start with
non-Indigenous scholars as a segue from mainstream education but from this point on, in this section, the voices are Indigenous.

Cree scholar Shawn Wilson, in his paper ‘What is an Indigenous Research Methodology’ (2001), is also on the reading list for the course on Aboriginal research methods and ethics. Wilson explains the paradigm of moving into ‘Indigenous perspectives in research’, connecting methodology and epistemology, and naming four important aspects:

*One is ontology or a belief in the nature of reality. Your way of being, what you believe is real in the world, that’s your ontology. Second is epistemology, which is how you think about that reality. Next, when we talk about research methodology, we are talking about how you are going to use your ways of thinking (your epistemology) to gain more knowledge about your reality. Finally, a paradigm includes axiology, which is a set of morals or a set of ethics (Wilson, 2001, p. 175).*

Learning these perspectives is a good foundation for students but as Smith states, it can be “tricky ground” (2005, p. 85). Students are reminded of the course aims: that their research must be ethical; it must benefit Aboriginal peoples and communities; and they must seek permission from the peoples or communities they wish to study. I am cognisant of the words of Vine Deloria (1973):

_*Several years ago, an anthropologist stated that over a period of some 20 years he has spent, from all sources, close to $10,000,000 studying a tribe of fewer than 1000 people. Imagine what that amount of money would have meant to that group of people had it been invested in buildings and businesses. There would have been no problems to study* (1973, p. 136).

Deloria’s powerful storytelling is on the reading list alongside Smith’s (2005) as examples of voices that need to be heard by future researchers, and to continue the process of decolonisation. As currently more than half of the cohort in this course are Indigenous, the permission they will seek will be from their own people, within their own workplaces. They will have a responsibility to be ethical.

There are ethical guidelines in place according to university policy, and publications from government sources also dictate research methods (NHMRC, 2003). But a student chooses to take up the four R’s, it is not defined in policy, and to do this they must develop the paradigm adopted by Wilson (2001) that focuses on methodology, epistemology, ontology and axiology. To encourage this framework I have developed a student-centred pedagogy; I believe the first subject a student should study on this tricky ground is themselves. This method has its antecedent in anthropology as ethnography, or in this case auto-ethnography, which becomes the foundation for an undergraduate course, discussed next.

**Being and Belonging**

This course is named *Being and Belonging: Studies in Culture and Identity.* It is a core, first year subject and it might be mainstream but I include Indigenous pedagogies in the teaching and curriculum. Two of the methods used to understand theory are Storywork and auto-ethnography. These two methods bridge a divide between studies of the other and studies of the self. Students are asked to study the cultures that they are a part of; cultures that they are connected to. Studies of the exotic other are only permitted if the self has been examined first.
The method of Storywork is inspired by Archibald (2008) and Martin (2008). A particular feature is the inclusion of the four R’s and stories of Coyote, an archetype also known as Archibald’s “Trickster of learning” (2008, p. 35). I will not re-tell the stories here, it is best to read it as Archibald has presented it. What I will say is that the story ‘Coyote searching for bone needle’ is a reminder to students that in looking for an example of culture in obvious places – such as looking for the other or the exotic – is easy because it is different to student’s own ontology. To know one’s own culture I get students to use auto-ethnography, a method described by Richardson and Adams St Pierre as ‘Writing: A Method of Inquiry’ (2005). For Richardson and Adams St Pierre writing stories and personal narratives can “evoke deeper parts of self, heal wounds, enhance the sense of self – or even alter one’s sense of identity” (2005, p. 965). This method stories the self, helps one understand one’s ontology and sense of belonging, it is a very valuable exercise for studies into culture and identity.

In a student-centred pedagogy the voices of students need to be heard, to know they are valued and that student and teacher are in a relationship of respect (Wylde, Baylis and Sparrow, 2010). This prepares them to embrace the principles used by Storyworkers and documented by Archibald, previously mentioned as “respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, inter-relatedness, and synergy” (2008, p. ix). It could mean that they too become Storyworkers using Trickster as teacher (Archibald, 2008), learning to listen to the world and connecting to signs and signification. It shines a light on a ground that perhaps was left in the dark, was tricky, or was so hybridised that an identity could no longer be seen, it brings humanity together. We should never feel diluted occupying a hybrid space but should aim for holism.

‘Being and Belonging’ uses a British text (Longhurst et al., 2008); it uses the language of the coloniser. This was a well-thought out decision based on using the stories from the birth place of cultural studies. It is a text strong in theory and I wanted students to become strong in mainstream theory so they could occupy this hybridised space with me. I wanted mainstream theory strong so that Aboriginal culture wouldn’t be studied later as the exotic by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. I wanted all cultures to find their place.

Longhurst et al. (2008) also include semiotics as a method used within cultural studies and here I want to find inter-relatedness between the science of signs, signification and the character who revels in the use of metaphor: Trickster. Trickster was used by Archibald (2008) and can be seen in the stories of other cultures (Gates, 1988). Archibald notes that “Trickster is a transformer figure, one whose transformations often use humour, satire, self-mocking, and absurdity to carry good lessons” (2008, p. 5). Trickster knows how to read the world, to tell a good story with clever use of language. Trickster is an archetypal and mythical character. I connect this to semiotics and the work of Barthes (1972) who wrote about the system of sign, signifier and signified. Barthes took this system to a third place by introducing the element of myth, a type of language that is stolen then restored (1972). Sometime over the past year a few of my colleagues have also discovered Trickster as a teacher in their own synergistic ways, researching within different disciplines. As noted by Archibald, Trickster travels the world like the hero of a picaresque tale. Life is an adventure with a student-centred storying of the self using Storywork. It is a clever use of myth and metaphor which is something that Indigenous people have always understood. They are our teaching stories and that is why this method also belongs in cultural studies.
Teaching and Learning in Aboriginal Education

The irony of writing this course on teaching and learning in Aboriginal education is that I will never teach it. I used a Storywork method to place teaching and learning in Aboriginal Education with the 4 R’s and outside a deficit model. This course is taught to pre-service education students, the cohort will be around 400 per year. I inherited a structure for this course but asked to write it alone so I could sit within an intuitive space to bring it to fruition. In the past I have taught within the discipline of education before realising that cultural studies and Indigenous knowledges was a better fit for my work. Tricksters don’t always belong in teaching others how to nurture the Indigenous students they will one day have the privilege of teaching. This work requires the modelling of a student-centred pedagogy where the self has moved into a mature lifehoo – a place that says who are the voices I should be listening too, the leaders in the field? A little digging into this puzzle unearthed an email that I had received advertising a new text in Aboriginal education. At the time I ignored it because it didn’t add to the immediate tasks I had in front of me. But tasks and priorities can change in an instant, we adapt. The current chosen text was good but had not been written by an Indigenous person. In identifying this new text I immediately rang up the publisher who rushed a copy to me so I could re-start the writing of this course. In receiving my copy – edited by someone I hold in high regard with contributions from leaders in education – I found to my delight that before each chapter the authors had written an auto-ethnographic story based on their experience as an educator and as an Aboriginal Person or Torres Strait Islander Person. The concluding chapter author states that teaching Indigenous students is a privilege (Buckskin, 2012) and that is the type of positive talk we need in Indigenous education. This connects to the course aims which can be storied as the ceremony spoken of by Wilson (2001), to make the purpose clear and strong. Martin’s work on Aboriginal ways of knowing and ways of being is a good place for students to start to understand Aboriginal culture and how it relates to teaching:

To know who you are in relatedness is the ultimate premise of an Aboriginal worldview because this is the formation of identity. This is acquired through being immersed in situations, contexts of people and other elements which lead us to come to see and to come to know, and then be a part of relatedness through change and past, present and future. A child is therefore guided, or parented, through various stages of lifehood, fulfilling the expectations and conditions, the roles, rites and responsibilities of relatedness (Martin, 2005, p. 28).

I mentioned at the beginning of this section that this is a course I will never teach but I chose to write it; I wanted to guide it as a parent would guide a child to fulfil expectations. I wanted to make sure it was not written as a deficit model. I wanted to communicate to students that we make a difference for the next generation together and that students are valued as part of dialogical action and cooperation as documented by Paolo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972). Freire called for an “unveiling of the world” to counter-act the “mythicising practises of the world” (1972, p. 136). This calls for praxis, for ethical treatment of others which relates to Wilson’s work on axiology (2001), Martin’s work on relatedness (2005, 2008), and to Archibald’s
Storywork principles (2008). We see beyond the grand narratives that enabled colonisation and the damaging myths that continue to be perpetuated. We begin to look at the stories we tell each other and ourselves. We become an active member within a dialogue for change.

**Conclusion**

I am reminded, through the work of Archibald, that the challenge is to keep the “spirit of storywork alive” (2008, p. 147). To do this the storyteller has to also be a story-listener, to unveil the myths that harm and celebrate the ones that heal. There is synergy in the world, we work together. I didn’t write the courses mentioned in this paper alone, I worked under the guidance of those who have gone before me. Ontologically, Storywork sits within me like a place of calm. I tell my own story using auto-ethnography and I ask students to find relatedness by storying themselves alongside mine to then find their own voice. I also teach another course that was not a subject of this paper, it is a history course. I didn’t write it and I have been teaching it for about 5 years. I have noticed that my delivery of this course is not as strong as the other two. Many times I have felt unwell as I deliver a lecture. I realise in this conclusion that it is because I do not use Storywork pedagogy. In the past I have included Aboriginal stories, some as myth, some as truth, some my own, but most are borrowed. It may include some of the principles of Storywork but it does not reflect all. A few years ago the course name was being changed; I came up with the humorous title of ‘Aboriginal People and Myth Conceptions’, but did not use it. I realise in hindsight that this voice was Trickster giving me the opportunity to rewrite the course and transform the curriculum, and I think it is time I did this.

**References**


ENGAGING INDIGENOUS PEDAGOGY TO GROW CULTURALLY SAFE CLASSROOMS

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Abstract

With the launch of an Indigenous Education Policy late 2011 at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS), NSW, Australia, it became clearly evident that enthusiastic encounters of teaching and learning Indigenous studies were uncommon. As the newly recruited Professor of Australian Indigenous education, it was apparent that a paradigm shift was required quickly.

This paper explores some of the steps taken when a team of 3 took up the challenge of delivering a revamped subject under a new name: ‘Balancing Worldviews’. With two increasing student cohorts participating in this subject, their feedback encouraged us to reflect on what differences we had brought into the classroom. Pedagogical approaches such as decolonisation, growing a relational space, and critical reflective praxis were teaching learning strategies that the students emphasised as different, greatly appreciated and life changing.

The team, nudged by the students’ fervour, undertook a collaborative research project, which a number of students, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, actively contributed to during their holiday break. Their shared experiences and words of wisdom provide vital tools for building a safe learning environment in the classroom and the broader University. The collaborative research aimed to be inclusive of students’ concerns and issues for safe learning. The further investment and collaboration of students, we believe, can and will inform the necessary framework for academics to take up with new confidence a greater considered investment in the field of Indigenous Issues, and the uptake of UTS’s Indigenous Education Policy.

Theme

Wellbeing and innovation are two themes this paper speaks to, as our students raised that vulnerability was a key concern for all students undertaking Indigenous studies. Indigenous students frequently report experiencing racism within the university environment, which has detrimental impacts on their confidence, wellbeing and their opportunities to learn. Non-Indigenous students have also articulated their vulnerabilities because of their lack of knowledge of Indigenous peoples’ ongoing experiences of colonisation. The decolonising pedagogical approach provided all students with what they stated was an equal footing; they left their vulnerabilities at the door and grew knowledge through sharing together.

The Australian Context

Wellbeing and innovation: is it not innovative to focus on wellbeing in the classroom, and more broadly throughout Australia? We ask this question in the light of acknowledging that suicide is the ‘leading external cause of death for Indigenous males and the second leading cause for females (Pink & Allbon, 2008, cited in De Leo, Milner and Jerneja, 2012, p. 136). This is not surprising in a country that has usurped once again the rights and integrity of Indigenous Australians – under the banner of the Northern Territory Intervention and now newly
camouflaged in the Stronger Futures legislation (Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory Act 2012, Social Security Legislation Amendment Act 2012, Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory (Consequential and Transitional Provisions) Act 2012). This is why conversations about social and emotional wellbeing that are innovative are truly necessary in these times.

Our research story is one of innovation

Students responded to the difference and welcoming approach in the classroom with innovations of their own, including: taking the initiative in sending detailed feedback about what they liked; offering to assist in future projects; putting into practice what they had learned in real life situations; and leading the research in directions of their own choosing. We were inspired by our students’ engagement to participate in a research project, exploring together the impact of our ways of teaching, knowing, being and doing on creating safe learning spaces.

Student emails

I just wanted to start off by saying I had a great time in this class. Usually Monday mornings my mind is never functioning and I hardly look forward to going to Uni, but I could not wait to come into class every time.

I would not even really consider it ‘class’ in the sense that it was not strict, regulated, nor boring, but it was a great environment to be able to share ideas, learn, and be surrounded by such an amazing group of my peers, as well as some of the most amazing professors I have had the privilege to have.

The subject had not been considered a success, by the faculty, due to longstanding neglect. We changed this story.

I wanted to write a letter to let you know how much I enjoyed taking this subject . . . The supportive environment that was created in our classroom was by far my best uni experience so far, and I hope every uni student gets a similar experience.

Students stated that they were inspired to discover the value of appreciating worldview differences and that there are many truths, not simply a single truth. They began to learn about and appreciate that there is another world, perhaps intrinsic and highly relevant, the inherent value of Indigenous knowledges, and acquiring new skills.

Analysing the past and the present from a different perspective or worldview was of immense value to me and is something I have already, and will continue to do throughout my studies. I think this kind of learning is what we are supposed to do at uni.

A safe learning environment

The university imagines itself as a learning centre in which teaching and research are core business, and fails often to appreciate that safe environments need to be created to enable these core ideals to occur.

Just engaging with all of us personally I think, more so than any other class I’ve experienced. It definitely felt like the safest one.
The students learning this way of knowing, being and doing in an Indigenous studies class enabled them to clearly articulate the values and experiences they shared in the classroom.

_The supportive learning environment that was created in our classroom was by far my best uni experience so far and I hope that every uni student gets a similar experience. No discussion was off limits and everyone was encouraged to contribute to discussion which was very robust in every class. No one was made to feel like their ideas and thoughts weren’t important. Some very sensitive and emotional topics came up and they were not shied away from but discussed with respect._

**The students**

The students were Indigenous, non-Indigenous and International. As this subject is an elective, it was confirmed that students chose this subject knowing that they did not ‘know it all’ in relation to Indigenous Australia. Our classroom provides us with an ever changing cohort who bring with them inspirations, experiences, knowledges and conflicts that we acknowledge and work with each semester. The class commenced with the sharing of stories of who we were and why we were there. The students responded to this sharing with their own stories.

The team also satisfied the student’s yearning for knowledge and, perhaps most importantly, we built an environment that was focused upon a safe space for peer learning.

**Why I chose this subject**

_I always knew that the injustice was there, but this laid it out._

_When I was 18 years old I remember reading about the [Northern Territory] Intervention in the newspaper and wondered what was going on. I thought the newspaper wasn’t telling the whole story, because at some level the story seemed to be missing information and didn’t make sense._

**Peer Learning**

_You allowed us to talk when we had something to say, and you allowed everyone to have a perspective on it . . . It wasn’t like any one way was right. It was more like there are a lot of different views out there. I really like that everyone could talk._

_I felt from the outset of this subject it was all about sharing._

**What did we do that was different?**

The wellbeing of our students was central to the way we grew the teaching and learning space. Our teaching was different in that we recognised that we are all learners in this classroom. We facilitated and shared knowledges, as did the students.

We utilised an Indigenous teaching, sharing, learning paradigm, which was underpinned by community protocols for respectful learning and incorporated decolonising methodologies, Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing, relational learning and critical reflective praxis.

Students reflected that the learning environment was different in that:
• Rules were set up that said everyone was respected;
• Inclusivity meant everyone could participate;
• Insights came from experience not just theory; and
• We were helped to understand that we have all been colonised.

_Indigenous Pedagogy does make a difference_

_The way in which the course was commanded and taught was great and I feel that I have gained so much, not only becoming aware of current issues in Australia surrounding Indigenous peoples but also understanding the importance of promoting different ways of knowing, being and doing which is something that I think every student should learn in order to utilize in all aspects of their lives and career paths. I think that one of the main ways in which negative attitudes and institutional racism can be broken down is by instilling the value of many truths in the schooling curriculum, especially since the youth is the future and has the ultimate power to shape the path of an equal and respecting society._

The students also reflected upon the relationships that were built during the semester with their peers and lecturers, along with a stronger sense of their own positioning. Decolonising pedagogies were recognised as a vital ideology in the space that enabled the shifting of their vulnerability, and being able to voice concerns from many perspectives. This was an important safe space for students when exploring tricky and traumatic historical stories.

_Decolonisation_

Decolonisation created new spaces of engagement through healthy dialogue. Our decolonisation model is where we built relationships and where people realised that they were connected at many levels.

Decolonisation praxis in our classroom meant:

• Illustrating the power differentials
• Emphasising the ongoing maintenance of colonisation throughout all dominant organisations such as governments, health services, universities, and legislation
• Providing and not obscuring the vital context of the issue or circumstance being investigated
• Deconstructing old myths and revealing practices used to problematize Australian Indigenous peoples in the past and currently
• Examining hegemonic practice and oppressive policy
• Recognising, respecting and utilising Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing for every country
• Providing balanced stories (Sherwood, 2013)
Racism in Australia

During anti-racism week in NSW we had a number of classic racist attacks against Aboriginal Australians within the sports arena. These outbursts sadly were observed by the media and non-Indigenous commentators as over-sensitivity, and those who enacted the racism as ‘good guys’.

Classrooms are not, and never were insulated spaces, free from the concerns of the world, as this last semester of teaching highlighted. Racism in sport and in the media made headlines in Australia earlier this month, with a teenage sports fan calling an Indigenous AFL player an ‘ape’. The response to this racism was a significant barometer of just how far Australia has yet to go, for while it drew outrage from some, other Australians were seemingly surprised to learn that such a comment was racist.

Now with Reconciliation we know that racism is everyone’s problem.

Entrenched habitual and institutional racism has a profound impact on the daily lives of Indigenous Australians. Our research showed that at universities students experience both individual and institutional racism.

**Student’s experiences of racism**

I dropped out of that class. I just didn’t go. It wasn’t like a formal thing, I just stopped going.

I dropped out of the class because it was so traumatic.

It feels pretty crap because there’s like, I don’t know, how many people are in these classes? There’s like 30 people with this, maybe the majority of them got this view, and it’s just like okay, I’m just going to sit here with my head down. It’s crap.

We were concerned about the student stories of experienced racism, and that for many this was their first opportunity to speak about them. These concerns were raised further within the university. Importantly we learnt from this brief consultation that racism does not simply deter students from accessing education, it causes injury and harm. This knowledge was also shared with the Diversity and Equity Unit within the University.

Student participants highlighted the need to have spaces to safely discuss racist experiences in classrooms. In the past students said they had felt vulnerable and disempowered by their perceived inability to be heard and listened to around issues to do with racism and discrimination. Students made it clear that to understand the quality of experience that promotes a safe classroom environment it is critical to understand how students experience unsafe classrooms. In so doing students used their own sense of agency to shape the discourse around the creation of safety, providing insiders’ statements and perspectives on the negative impacts of racism.

Research in Australia has shown that ‘self-reported racism was associated with poor social and emotional wellbeing outcomes, including anxiety, depression, suicide risk and poor overall mental health’ (Priest et al., 2011, p. 546). This does not mean however that avoiding exploring the issue of individuals’ experiences of racism does not have a negative impact.

We learnt and shared most importantly that providing a safe space gave students the opportunity to explore what had not been safe, what had made them feel vulnerable. Creating
safe spaces for promoting students' well-being is as important as providing educational resources and technology for students to access and build harmonious learning encounters.

**Relational Learning**

A strong basis of our teaching praxis and classroom environment is relational learning. This approach is initially modelled through lecturer to student, and then through peer to peer, with the lecturer stepping out of the teaching role and shifting to facilitate a collective relational learning environment. This is a different model of learning from “the western paradigm [which] attempts to remove relationships from the pursuit of knowledge in order to maintain objectivity” (Dumbrill & Green, 2007, cited in Overmars, 2010, p. 90). This obsession with objectivity enables the pursuit of one truth, with everything else falling into a ‘wrong’ space. (Overmars, 2010). We wanted to shift the dominant way of learning that focuses on one truth only. We encouraged the students to participate and gain greater insight through readings, discussion, dialogue, and lectures.

*The conversation flowed, people were willing to speak.*
*There was a sense of closeness. I learnt everyone’s name. That had never happened before.*
*We shared stories, our side projects, what was happening for us.*
*Choice, we were given flexibility, we were able to choose the topic of interest to ourselves*
*It was the least racist class I’ve ever had. People felt like human beings.*

**Changing our approach in education**

Students’ sense of positive wellbeing is vital to their learning and as our classrooms mirror the uncertainties left unsaid and undone in society, students are at risk of harm – as the students we worked with shared with us. Critically, ‘institutional racism results in a systemic failure of the organisation to meet the needs of Aboriginal peoples’ (Hunter New England Health Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Strategic Leadership Committee, 2012, p. 63). We know that racism is acknowledged as a determinant that impacts on the health and wellbeing of Indigenous peoples across the world (Priest et al., 2011, p. 546); and that “personal experiences of racism have a dramatic and negative impact, contributing to heart disease, premature births, hypertension and mental illness for those affected” (Reconciliation, 2008, p. 1). Our educational spaces must not enable racism to be experienced by students or staff.

**What did students say was different?**

*It was the least racist class I’ve ever had, people felt like human beings.*
*Openness – nothing was off limits but it was respectful.*
*The class taught me to think in many different ways, not just to theorise many ways.*
*It challenged me. I had never had spirituality brought into the classroom.*
*The first reading on Balancing Worldviews had a profound impact on me. I talked to everyone about it. I still think of it.*

*There was a sense of closeness; I learned everyone’s names. That had never happened before.*
*Students talked to each other in this course. That usually doesn’t happen.*
When one student tried to say there was only one scientific reality, many class members disagreed and said everyone has a right to their truths. They said diversity is a good thing. This made the class safe, so other students could be brave.

I really liked having such a huge international student contingent. Just that diversity, that balance, it was really a harmonious learning environment.

**Conclusion**

We approached this project with the intuition that something different and innovative was occurring in our classroom. Our research subsequently revealed the glaring absence of Indigenous experience and worldviews from both secondary and tertiary education. For many students, previous attempts to include Indigenous content in their education had been superficial, or resulted in their exposure to racism, with injurious impacts on their learning experiences.

This research highlighted the importance of creating safe learning environments. It was crucial that all students believed that they were able to speak freely within respectful boundaries. Relational learning also humanised the classroom. For many, this was the first time that they felt a personal connection to the classroom. Finally, it also became apparent that racism should not be treated as a mere aberration. Rather, universities have a responsibility to own and respond to racism that is embedded in institutional cultures and practices.

_I think that this course and the way it is taught should be put into every degree of study. I wish that I had more classes that made me feel so comfortable to bring up my own thoughts, and made me feel like I can actually make a difference._

**References**


Legislation

*Social Security Legislation Amendment Act 2012 (Cth)*

*Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory Act 2012 (Cth)*

*Stronger Futures in the Northern Territory (Consequential and Transitional Provisions) Act 2012 (Cth)*
TEACHING OF ORAL LITERATURE AS FOUNDATION FOR MORAL REGENERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract
This presentation aims at looking at how learning and teaching of indigenous knowledge (IK) through oral literature can be refocused for moral regeneration. This is an ongoing study that will be conducted with Grades 10 - 11 learners, teachers and parents, especially traditional leaders who are the custodians of moral values. The study will employ eZiko: siPheka siSophula, a critical theoretical framework founded on the principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory. This research will illustrate the seven philosophical assumptions that underpin eZiko. These are: African/relational ontology, epistemology, axiology, teleology, cosmology, ideology and logic, which provide lenses for learning and teaching of oral literature for moral regeneration. Indigenous foundations will also assist learners to adopt collective and communal spirit that connects them to family, communal and cosmic values for psychological and spiritual purpose in life. These foundations are opposed to western individualistic thinking which tends to alienate Africans from their ancestral knowingness. Findings based on this study will be useful to refocus learning and teaching of oral literature to moral regeneration and ethnic consciousness.

Introduction
The modern world is becoming more and more rootless and traditional beliefs and values are being eroded. "The result of all this is that people are losing the sense of belonging" (ibid, p. 15). The deepening spiritual crisis (Mosha, 2000) in South Africa, and Africa, is a matter of great concern. Spiritual crisis reveals itself through moral decay. There is a deterioration in African moral values, which manifests itself in loss of hlonipha ethics (respect and reverence) (Bongela, 2001). This respect is for oneself, other people and the spiritual world. Respect and reverence are similar to treating others, both young and old, and ancestors, with dignity. Reverence prevents one from engaging in unacceptable moral behaviour. And when one behaves in a respected manner, he is said to have dignity (Mkonto, 2007).

The current moral and cultural degeneration demonstrates a strong need for reconnection of Africans to their cultural philosophies and ancestral knowingness. They need to be re-educated on the pillars of their culture, which are rooted in the African worldviews. Mbiti (1989, p. 219) puts emphasis on the above view as he claims that:

*The traditional solidarity in which the individual says ‘I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am’, is constantly being smashed, undermined and in some respects destroyed. Emphasis is shifting from the ‘we’ of traditional . . . life to the ‘I’ of modern individualism.*

There is a need for the restoration of family, community and spiritual values. Children need to be immersed into the African spirituality and community values. This immersion will help them develop meaningful concepts like the African maxims, *isandla sihlamba esinye* (people help one another); *unyawo alunampumo* (be careful of the way you treat strangers because you might
need them in future); *isiqhelo siyayisa ingqondo* (usuality conquers the brain); *isizwe sifa ngomcinga omnye* (one rotten potato spoils the whole bag); and *igqabi aliwi kude enthini* (one behaves according to what he observes from the people around him). Once children are raised in an interconnected manner (among the family, community, and the school), there is a chance that they will grow up with relational teleology (directedness, intended goal) that guides them in life.

Redirecting African children’s lives is not an easy task, as they have been absorbed into the Eurocentric individualistic worldviews, which illustrate themselves through greed, violence and lack of respect for elders (Mabovula, 2011). There is a strong call for an education that teaches from within, and not from without. That means education needs to connect the child’s mind, body and spirit. Mosha (2000, p. 181) contends that as a way of doing this, “indigenous African education tries to empower its people to come closer to each other and to respect everyone.” Hence this study suggest the reconnection of the child with the family and community through the learning and teaching of oral literature at school.

**Socialization of an African child through oral literature**

The ancestral wisdoms, the African family, indigenous education and spirituality are societal systems that have always been the bedrock on which Africans anchored their cultural and moral values and other ways of living. These systems have relied and drawn on *uMwazi lwemveli* (indigenous knowledge - IK), which has surpassed and stood the test of time. Unlike other knowledge systems, the African IK has not been transmitted through literary tradition; rather it has been transmitted from generation to generation through oral tradition (A-Magid, 2011). This oral tradition is rooted in ancestral knowingness, African worldviews, philosophical foundations/assumptions, and cultural values and virtues. “As humans we stand on the shoulders of our ancestors… We need the accumulated wisdom of those who have gone before us” (Mosha, 2000, p. 165). This oral tradition has been acquired through the understanding of the elements being (ontology), theories of knowledge (epistemology), values (axiology), and language (rhetoric) (Mittwede, 2012), experienced and expressed through a people’s folklore.

Folklore includes, but is not limited to, indigenous maxims, that is, *izaci namaqhalo* (idioms and proverbs); *amabali emveli* (folk stories); *amaqhina* (riddles), *ingoza nemixhentso yakwaNtu* (traditional song and dance); and *izibongo zmomthonyama* (traditional praise poetry). These were artistically created in order for societal systems to use them as part of socializing processes and practices. Letseka (2000, p. 189) affirms that “There is ample evidence to show that myths, folktales, proverbs, songs and drums have always played an important educational role in traditional African life.” The function of the socializing process was to mould children’s character; instil in them a sense of responsibility and accountability; promote a positive African identity. This positive African identity has a potential to enhance cultural and moral values that are rooted in the African worldviews and ancestral knowingness. Thus in the African context oral tradition was a form of entertainment and a foundation for imparting cultural and moral values to children and youth.

Each form of folklore had a contribution in moulding the behaviour of the young. African folk stories were the first stage of African character-building. These stories’ emphasis was not just moralising, but unravelling the world and exposing the child to societal relationships, nature and wisdom (Afolayan, 2004). Sityana (1978, p. 60) asserts that “Kudala kwakukho izifundo ezazisenziwa ngamahengwazana ezazibizwa ngokuba ziintsomi. Ezi ntsomi zazifundisa
umntwana womXhosa akwazi ukucinga ekukhuleni kwakhe, kuba zazinobu buchule obuyilwa ngumuntu ngentelekelele yokshukumisa iningqondo zabantwana bezizukulwana ngezizukulwana, bacinge nzulu.” [In the olden days there were lessons conducted by grandmothers, called folktales. These folktales taught the umXhosa child to be able to think and reason when they grow up, as they had a technique that is created by one with creativity, of provoking the minds of the children to think deeply, from generation to generation.] Goduka (2000, p. 77) goes further to say that iintsomi “represent a central feature of the intellectual and spiritual training of the African child.”

Amongst the teachings of iintsomi is the cause and effect – that every bad behaviour has its consequences. Therefore, iintsomi help nurture the behaviour of a child into becoming well-mannered (Scheub, 1975). iintsomi were also used to teach the young about discipline, respect, honesty, humility, and many other values and norms of the Africans (Magona, 1990). For instance, Intsomi kaNomvume noNogqwashu teaches children to respect everyone, irrespective of their looks and nature. It teaches about the value of every individual in the society. Intsomi kaMaginyinyathi neemphondo teachers that salvation might come from the members of the community who are often disregarded and considered insignificant.

Idioms and proverbs are succinct axioms that encapsulate the ancestral wisdom and transfer it to the living (Afolayan, 2004). Goduka (2000, p. 76) concurs with the above when she notes:

> Idioms and proverbs feature prominently in virtually all traditional African cultures and play an important communicative and educational role. A basic idea underlying idioms and proverbs is that such sayings provide succinct, easily remembered summaries of important ideas and experiences that are part of the shared cultural knowledge of indigenous communities. Examples of proverbs from indigenous African contexts abound, and many of them provide us with insight into (both) indigenous education, and cultural, social and spiritual values and mores.

Idiom and proverbs are used to express wisdom that has been established through, among other things, reflection, experience, observation and general knowledge (Mbiti, 1991). Mbiti (ibid, p. 63) claims that idioms and proverbs “are very concentrated in the sense that they put a lot of thoughts, ideas, reflections, experiences, observations, knowledge, and worldviews, into a few words.” For instance, the following proverbs are cautioning against stubbornness: *isala kutyelwa sibona ngolophu* (misfortune befalls those who do not lend an ear when being warned against something); *igugu lingaba likhumbi umbombo uyaqhosha* (pride comes before a fall); and *isiziba siviwa ngodondolo* (experience is the best teacher) (Mesatywa, 1979).

Riddles are a way of sharpening children’s (and elder’s) mind into being conscious of the environment surrounding them. Both the creator and the respondent of a riddle need to think deeply before asking the question or responding to a riddle (Moropa and Tyatye, 1993). In concurrence, Sayo et al. (2000, p. 5) state that:

> Iqhina qashi qashi lidla ngokuba yintetho esekuhleni xa uyijongile okanye uyiva. Lye ibhekiselele kwinto okanye isiganeke esaziwayo nguwonke-wonke, kanti eyona nyaniso yalo ikwekwiwe ngala mazwi anga esekuhleni. Ubani osombula iqhina kufuneka aphuhlise ukuba kubhekiselewe entweneni na ngala mazwi anga akafihle nto. Kywe kufuneka maxa wambi lowo unika impendulo acacise ukuba kungani na ephendula ngolo hlobo aphendule ngalo nje.
[A riddle is usually a statement whose meaning could be taken as obvious. It talks about a generally known aspect or incident, whereas its real meaning is metaphorically hidden in the 'obvious' statement. The person solving the riddle needs to reveal what is meant by the statement. Sometimes it is necessary that the respondent explain why he or she has chosen to give a particular answer.]

The latter part reveals that the person solving iqhina is not only taught to be a fast thinker, but also to reason in his or her presentation. As this game needs observant people, the competition part (where the first person to give the correct answer is the winner) also teaches the competitors not to rush into giving answers, but to be critical and ready to support their ideas.

African traditional songs are a way of guiding the young and the old on the right path of life. Like all forms of folklore, these songs have a specific role to play in a society. Satyo et al (2000, p. 81) give the following uses of folk songs: “Kuthi ukuba kuyiwa edabini batsho bahlupheizeke abayayo, bayilahle intaka. Kuthi ukuba kukho onga anganyangeka kwingulo ethile asuke atsho ukuyinokoza ukuze yahlukane naye okanye aboniswe eyona ndlela iyiyo yokwenza into.” (When troops are leaving for a battle, songs are used to give them courage. If someone wishes to be cured from a certain illness that person keeps on repeating it through a song until he or she is cured from it or the ancestors show him or her the right way of doing whatever he or she was doing wrong.)

The last function reveals songs, especially spiritual songs like traditional healers’ songs, and ritual songs, as one way of connecting with the ancestors.

Praise poetry is the rock on which the nation stands. Through praise poetry a people “celebrate their cultural heroes and commemorate significant events of the past to provide models and archetypes for the present and for posterity” (Afolayan, 2004, p. 214). Imboni (the traditional praise poet) is a professional whose main job is to keep panegyric legends, victories and glorious qualities (Finnegan, 1970). Praise poetry, especially panegyrics, relates the accomplishment of certain individuals in a clan or family. These poems are recited in order to promote the importance of that particular person or thing being praised (Noah, 2007). Genealogies also form part of traditional praise poetry. They are

"important by reason of their role in African traditional religion. Since they are concerned with ancestry and in a society where commerce with the ancestors is widely believed in, genealogies are not confined to the domain of memory or to the silence of pages. Thus, prayers and invocations are often addressed to relations already in their graves (Noah, 2007, p. 166)."

This means that the praising of the ancestors is a way of invoking them, connecting the living with those who lived before. Noah’s explanation reveals a strong connection between traditional praise poetry and spirituality, which is “the pillar to which the philosophy of life of a society is anchored” (Luthuli, 1981, p. 26). Children and elders are made to understand that the African society is a firmly rooted tree.

All the above forms of folklore enforce unity, ancestral and communal relationships because no one can perform them alone, without an audience. And the living get the knowledge and wisdom they have from their forebears. Folklore is a strong pillar of solidarity and social cohesion.
Why do Africans need moral regeneration?

African children enjoyed being socialized through, among other things, oral literature until the African communal life was disturbed by the arrival of Western missionaries with Eurocentric education and religions. These missionaries introduced Africans to a new kind of education, which had nothing to do with the African worldviews, and everything to do with European ones. Western missionary education and religion elevated Western worldviews, while marginalizing and denigrating African education and religion that was rooted in indigenous cultures, languages and worldview. Africans were compelled to follow the Western ways. That was done through labeling African ways as barbaric, ungodly and backward. For the indigenous people to be able to be fully-fledged members of the missionary society, they had to renounce their African ways, and adopt the Western ones (Cloete and Madadzhe, 2004; Madolo, 1998; Ngewu, 1995). As the maxim, Kungaf' intak’ endala amaqand’ ayabola (When societal systems breakdown, moral decay among children and youth escalates) suggests, when Africans became disconnected from their worldviews, they lost touch with their cultural pillars and identities. They ended up becoming the dark-skinned humans with white mentality that we see in the African society today.

The impact of colonialism manifests itself in Africans as they look down upon their cultures. This shows that there is a need for decolonization of the minds of the Africans. There is a need for rediscovery and recovery; deconstruction and reconstruction (Chilisa, 2012), and transmission of African moral values entrenched in African indigenous knowledge, particularly oral literature.

The role of the school in moral regeneration

African children spend their formative years at school (playschool, Grade R to Grade 12). These years are the most critical for children to acquire philosophical foundations of the deep narrative of their history, cultural values and ancestral knowingness that shape the African lenses through which they view their world. Although families are involved in shaping children’s lenses, most of this work is performed in the classroom (Whitehead, 1967; Luthuli, 1981). Mbti (1989, p. 220) asserts that:

The fact of children and young people having to live away from home in order to attend schools or universities tend to weaken family solidarity. The education of children is increasingly being passed on from parents and the community to teachers and schools.

School then becomes a place where a child is supposed to learn more about his or her language, spirituality, ways of knowing, traditional teachings, values, morals/character, belief system, and many other pillars of his or her culture. An education, like ours (African), that ignores African traditional beliefs, attitudes and practices lacks in the understanding and moulding of African behaviour (Mbti, 1989). Mosha (2000) asserts that the current schooling dwells more in teaching a child how to live with books, instead of teaching him how to live with people. He further maintains that the teaching of the child should be from within, and not from without. That means culture and spirituality should be counted as part of education. For education to be fulfilling its goal, it must liberate learners from the self-hate which is resultant from apartheid (in the South African context), and equip them with skills that enhance their self-realization (Mphahlele, 2002).
The school needs to build on family and community values in order for education to be effective. Mqhayi (1981, p. 61) writes:

Umuntu lo uyafana nomthi; xa uwususa kwindawo obukuvo, ufuna ukuwumilisela kwenye indawo, ubulumko busekuthini uwumbe neengcambu kakhule uze ude uthi, ukuba unakho, uthabyrinthe nomhlaba lowo valoo ndawo ubukuvo; uye kuwutyala ke. ... Kodwa isiyatha, esisuka umthi siwugawule esiqwini (sic), kanti sizimisele ukuzuza iziqhamo kwakuwo wakuba utyalwe kwenye indawo, siya kukha sive ukumanana singanuka sibuzo umbuzo ongenamphenduli, othi, “Aziz lo mthi wathini na, le nto waba yinto enje?” Yonke ke indalo injalo.

[A person is like a tree; if you uproot the tree from its original position, because you want to plant it somewhere else, it is significant to carefully dig the tree with its roots, and if possible, take its soil as well; and transplant the tree . . . But a fool, which chops the tree on the stem, while intending to get fruit from it when transplanted in another place, will keep on asking an unanswerable question, “I wonder what happened to this tree, that it is like this (not bearing fruit)?” That is nature.]

Mqhayi’s words put emphasis on the need for the child’s education to be interconnected with the cultural pillars, as they are the yardstick on which its success should be measured. The above words reveal the need for Africans to learn their culture in order to know themselves. Oral literature is the best source of this knowledge. Mazrui (2009, p. 54) asserts that:

*Wisdom begins when we understand ourselves. Wisdom matures when we aspire to get higher human standards. How we treat strangers in our midst is the ultimate measure of our humanity. As Africans, we need to respond to our ancient parents of Africanism.*

**Conclusion**

Families, the community (including spiritual groups) and schools need to hold hands in this long journey of rediscovery and decolonization of the African mind. Currently, “the parents assume that schooleachers will provide the necessary moral and intellectual formation, whereas teachers may assume that moral education is the responsibility of families and spiritual institutions” (Mosha, 2000, p. 164). If they work together, these ideas will change, and the left hand will know what the right hand is doing. There is a need for the revival of performance of oral literature at homes and in communities in order to beef up what the children learn at school.
References


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A MĀORI BUSINESS EQUATION FOR A SUSTAINABLE MĀORI TOURISM DEVELOPMENT FROM A KAUPAPA MĀORI PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

This paper discusses the emergence of a Māori business equation for a sustainable Māori Tourism development that embraced and ensured the protection of Tikanga and intrinsic ontological values of Māori. A deep case study of a Māori Tourism entity operating in the Far North revealed the emergence of a Māori Kaupapa which fundamentally was adopted as their core philosophy and lead the economic driver as an equation for economically sustainability and financial success in tourism industry.

The case study discusses the cultural underpinnings that enabled this Māori entity to survive in the competitive environment of the cruise ship and inbound tourism in New Zealand.

The Whakapapa, Mātauranga Māori and qualities of tino rangatiratanga empowered the leadership of this business entity to hold fast to the commitment of a Māori economic business equation.

This paper also discusses Tāpoi Poutama as a Kaupapa Māori analytical framework for Māori Tourism applied to identify the levels of significance that this Māori tourism development applied in a commercial setting.

Māori Tourism

When compared to other research within social sciences, Māori tourism as a specific research topic generally appears to be in an infant stage. However, Smith (1997) indicates that research ‘about Māori, by Māori, for Māori’ is gaining more demand, experience and diversity. Tourism in New Zealand is a highly competitive industry for Māori and others, where, according to McIntosh (1999), Māori are choosing to play an increasingly active role in participating and providing cultural tourism experiences as a product for tourists who visit New Zealand.

Māori tourism needs to be a sustainable activity in order to gain a successful long-term strategy. According to McIntosh (2004), Māori tourism provides a symbiotic relationship between cultural survival and economic success. Trevor (1993) describes this business as an engendered catalyst for change that Indigenous people can assimilate, while minimizing the negative impacts of tourism.

This paper provides an insight to the notion that a Māori tourism business can culturally and appropriately embrace tourism as a business whilst simultaneously engaging a Māori business equation and applying epistemological, ontological, cosmological and sensitive cultural components of a Māori worldview or kaupapa Māori perspective (Shirley, 1997). This insight is provided through a reflective approach to a researched case study with a perspective on sustainability of a Māori tourism business, with an applied kaupapa Māori research methodology.

Māori tourism, according to McIntosh (1999), is the prime ingredient to New Zealand’s competitive edge in the tourism industry. However, although Māori tourism is the prime
ingredient, there remains a need to further articulate the actual ingredients of authenticity that are core elements of Māori tourism as a sustainable and authentic tourism product and service. The unique Māori cultural experiences that a Colmar Brunton (2004) report identify are a subset of specific experiences gained by tourists that are valued as an authentic Māori cultural experience. Māori tourism, according to Colmar Brunton (2004), includes Māori art exhibitions; exhibits of Māori history; sites of importance to Māori history; Māori cultural performances (events that showcase the Māori way of life including powhiri, haka and hangi); Māori concerts (onstage music performances); marae visits; and staying overnight on a marae. There remains the challenge, however, to clearly identify the value, ranking and economic benefit that Māori tourism contributes to the New Zealand tourism industry, in that there has not been any work commissioned in this area for over ten years.

The authenticity and inclusion of Māori cultural tourism experiences requires a greater definition of how Māori epistemology and ontology as core elements are infused into a Māori tourism experience as a cause for cultural authenticity. Butler and Hinch (2007) claim that indigenous authenticity in a tourism setting is achieved when the cultural experience is controlled by the Indigenous people. However, Ryan and Aiken (2005) warn of the impacts that occur when others commodify Māori tourism. Further more Ryan and Crotts (1997) note that in order for tourists to have a deeper appreciation of authenticity, Māori tourism requires the need for others to gain an understanding of Māori cosmology, epistemology and ontology. These key foundational cultural aspects are unique and vital to an authentic Māori tourism experience.

Māori tourism is claimed by Tahana et al. (2000) to be an activity that the people of Te Arawa o Rotorua had engaged in before the arrival of the Pākehā or European settlers. Their research claims that Te Arawa entertained visitors from other iwi (tribes) who sought relief in the thermal healing waters that Te Arawa were custodians of. Te Awekotuku (1981) further adds to the claim that the Māori people of Rotorua were one of the first to provide Māori tourism as a commercial sustainable experience, with increasing numbers of tourists seeking to view the Pink and White Terraces which were destroyed in the 1886 eruption of Mount Tarawera. A Colmar Brunton (2004) report demonstrates that more Māori were engaging in Māori tourism ventures. Furthermore, there has been an increase in Māori tertiary education providers offering specific studies towards cultural tourism studies.1

Taiamai Tours, a local Māori tourism experience, was the case study that was researched. Taiamai Tours are located in the Northland region of New Zealand, primarily situated on the shoreline, south of the Waitangi grounds near Paihia in the Bay of Islands. As a company, it was formally registered as Taiamai Tours Heritage Journeys Ltd on the 21st of August 2009, and has employed up to 80 personnel over the first 5 years of operation. Taiamai Tours operates an independent website2 and is internationally marketed through major tourism distribution channels. Taiamai Tours was a prime Māori tourism entity to research, as it had never been researched before and was claimed to deliver an authentic Māori tourism experience that had also gained the highest recognition from the cruise ship tourism shore expeditions in New Zealand.

Taiamai Tours brands their tourism experience as an interactive waka experience where the local Māori history and stories of their heritage are shared during the excursions upon the open water.

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2 http://www.taiamaitours.co.nz
Testimonies of past customers noted that the Taiamai experience changed the way they now view Māori, because they gained a deeper understanding of Māori people and their tribal heritage, customs and culture through discussion, observation and actual experiences of the Taiamai hapū of the far north of New Zealand.

The Taiamai Waka experience was formulated on an ancient whakataukī (proverbial saying):

\[
Ko \text{ te herenga o ngā waka, e whakawhitiwhiti korero, e whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro, e ū ko te māramatanga.}
\]

Where canoes are tethered together, thoughts are provoked, dialogue is exchanged, and enlightenment comes through.

The founders of Taiamai Tours believe that ‘Māori’ tourism should be owned and operated by Māori. Moreover, Taiamai claim to provide an authentic Māori tourism experience which includes te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori, and tikanga Māori through kawa (protocols) and powhiri (formal welcome ceremonies) on their independent Marae, before launching into their Waka experience which includes kawa, traditional chants, kai (food) and manaakitanga (hospitality). The brand name ‘Taiamai’ derives from a pre-European tribal name that identified the Māori descendents from the far north of New Zealand. This is a people enriched with a deep history of Māori tribal wars and included wars against the early Pākehā (European) settlers to New Zealand. Mihaka’s ancestral lines are from a people who assertively resisted, yet eventually signed both the Declaration of Independence on 28th October 1835 and the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

As a family business, Taiamai Tours is not exempt from the challenges met by most small to medium size enterprises, with limited resources being stretched to meet the burgeoning demands of a business surviving in a seasonal index timeframe. Taiamai Tours has the largest privately owned fleet of Māori waka, which include both single and double hull canoes, as well as traditional sailing waka for an exclusive clientele. However, the more common waka used in the larger tours are both the forty foot single and catamaran Māori waka vessels that, according to the owner, offer more stable control on the open water. These vessels can manage up to forty passengers at a time.

Taiamai Tours maintain their right to practice their traditions under Article 2 of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, and are exempt from abiding by normal conditions of the Bay of Islands maritime laws. However, Taiamai Tours voluntarily practice the codes of the maritime requirements, abiding by a written charter to which they comply to standards that require the use of life jackets and a water safety induction process. Taiamai Tours not only drills their passengers in paddling their waka correctly and uniformly, but also performs these safety inductions before any embarkation of their passengers onboard their waka. As part of the requirement of the QualMark for Tourism New Zealand, Taiamai Tours also completed safety certificates in St John’s First Aid and general safety training.

Taiamai Tours provided an understanding that the distinctive significance that a Māori business equation from a Māori perspective can provide sustainability to Māori tourism. In this context this became evident by researching Taiamai Tours, who deliver an enriched, authentic Māori tourism experience in the far northland of New Zealand. This paper discusses a cultural framework to identify the levels of significance of Māori epistemology and ontology that informs the underpinnings of a Māori perspective on sustainability.
Kaupapa Māori Methodology

The aim of the research was to apply a Kaupapa Māori research methodology as an approach towards gaining qualitative research data. It has been argued among Māori scholars that there is a need to develop and apply a research paradigm that appropriately respects and addresses the cultural sensitivities, the cultural and Indigenous ethnological parameters of being Māori in an appropriate research context. Smith (1999) argues for a process of decolonization from a purely Western approach to research as a beginning to understand the true value of gaining a clearer reflection of Indigenous people, and of Māori in particular.

The collective statements of Māori researchers such as Bishop (1999), Nikora (2007), Henry and Pene (2001), Spiller et al. (2011), and Smith (1997) reinforce the notion that the preferred researcher for Māori is undeniably Māori. Notwithstanding Bishop's (1999) admonition that Kaupapa Māori is an Indigenous theory, he insists that work done with Māori be initiated by Māori for the benefit of Māori, in order to represent Māori without prejudice. The legitimacy of Kaupapa Māori research methodology has evolved in terms of respecting key Māori values, and, as Bishop and Glynn (1999) insist, Kaupapa Māori researchers must be accountable for the consequences of their work. This adds to the importance for Māori scholars of articulating a clear case and paradigm for Kaupapa Māori as a research methodology.

Kaupapa Māori has its origins in a history that dates back thousands of years. Mereana Taki (1996) notes that ‘kaupapa’ (strategy) is derived from key words and their conceptual bases. Māori scholars (see for example Smith, 1999) have begun the task of articulating useful anchor points to assist in guiding researchers through the fundamentals of a Kaupapa Māori research methodology. These ethical protocols include:

- Aroha ki te tangata – showing compassion to participants;
- Kanohi kitea – being seen in person;
- Titiro, Whakarongo, Kōrero – looking, and listening, before speaking;
- Manaaki ki te tangata – giving hospitality to participants;
- Kia tūpato – being cautious and careful;
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata – not trampling on the mana of participants;
- Ngakau māhaki – not causing offense (Smith, 1999, p. 11).

Such protocols are provided to ensure a degree of safety and respect for the respondents and their culture, ontology and environment. In addition to these recommended guidelines, particularly for researchers who are not grounded in te reo Māori (Māori language) and mātauranga Māori (cultural knowledge), an additional recommendation is to engage the services of a knowledgeable kaumātua (elder), to mentor and provide protocol guidance throughout the research process. However, as argued by Bishop (1999), there is a need for researchers to understand that these are a minimum set of protocols to adhere to when applying a Kaupapa Māori research methodology. Much more is required, including koha (a gift), the importance of whakapapa (identification and relationships based on genealogy), manaakitanga (hospitality), and so on. But when Kaupapa Māori is applied correctly, it protects the cultural sensitivities of Māori and has proven to be an effective research methodology, particularly when gathering sensitive data from respondents in an Indigenous/Māori cultural environment.
In addition to specific aspects of tribal tikanga (customary law) and kawa (protocols) however, Hopa (1988) informs us that there are dialectal aspects in te reo Māori and tribal variance and diversity with tikanga and kawa that need to be carefully considered when applying a Kaupapa Māori methodology. More importantly, sage advice offered by Smith (1999) is that Kaupapa Māori is more about the methodology as opposed to the method. In other words, from a cultural perspective, tikanga Māori and protocol are paramount during the entire research exercise.

There are some basic guidelines that have been articulated by Māori academics and higher institutions that provide a basic framework for researchers to abide by when adopting a Kaupapa Māori methodology. Kaupapa Māori is still evolving, however, as academic researchers (Māori and non-Māori) refine the development of this research approach. Pihama and Cram (2002) argue, for example, how the Freirean (1994) notion of oppressed peoples overcoming dehumanisation has been accessed by Māori through the application of Kaupapa Māori as a methodology.

In relation to the current research study, a Kaupapa Māori research methodology allowed both the researcher and the respondents to communicate in te reo Māori (Māori language) during the entire research process. This enabled respondents to express a deeper meaning of Māori perspectives of sustainability for Māori tourism enterprises, while preserving the group’s mana (self-empowerment) during the entire process.

A Māori Business Equation - Tiaki Te Taonga

The underpinning philosophy of sustainability of Taiamai Tours has been a whakataukī (proverb) handed down from generation to generation. In addition to their upbringing immersed in tikanga Māori, the concept emerged from a hui (meeting) with the founder of Taiamai Tours and his kuia, kaumātua and tohunga (elders). This hui was also the time that the founder sought approval to use the name Taiamai for the company and was advised by the people not to worry about a business strategy, marketing plan or anything else. The strategic direction for Taiamai Tours came from their kaumātua, who instructed: “Tiaki te Taonga. The elders emphasised their whakataukī (decision) by translating it into English: “Look after the Taonga and, in turn, the Taonga will look after you.”

These words of council rendered a deep challenge in the mind and heart of Taiamai Tours to look after the Taonga (precious resources). This proverb literally means to look after and care for the rare and precious things of the world and they in turn, will provide for you. There is a need for balance, or tau utuutu, in the universe. This proverb appears to be such a simple yet powerful underpinning statement and philosophy that provided the foundation for an Indigenous cultural philosophy that embraces the Māori notion of Tohua Te Ao (looking after the world in a sustainable way).

The impacts can be adverse for whānau when the philosophies of Tohua Te Ao are ignored or abused, such as through pollution in a river, which feeds into the sea and causes a ripple effect that damages the peoples’ ability to gather seafood for whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribes), iwi

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3 HRC Adopted Guidelines for Māori research ethics

(the tribe), kaumātua (elders), tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren). The oceanic ecology begins to fail when we do not look after the Taonga.

Taiamai Tours’ commitment towards respecting the Taonga affects the way in which they market and communicate information about their tour. Taiamai believe that Taonga (of all kinds) should never be sold. Taiamai claim that all they are selling is a plastic seat on a Waka. The cultural aspects and mātauranga Māori are not for sale and although they are a part of the overall Waka experience, they are not separate or scheduled components of a tourism agenda.

Compatibility of a Māori Business Equation with Sustainable quadruple bottom line

Tiaki te Taonga is argued to be a valid Māori business equation which has led Taiamai Tours to a sustainable business. Tiaki te Taonga is an important philosophy that Taiamai see as encompassing manaakitanga (hospitality) and kaitiakitanga (stewardship) towards caring for the manuhiri (visitors). Māori tourism is about putting their manuhiri first and the money last. Taiamai Tours accepts that there are costs in marketing the business in a cultural way, but this is a cost that they are prepared to bear and they are not willing to change, because they must be in control of their tikanga Māori (Māori philosophy) and their own future.

All the business choices of Taiamai Tours were made applying this formulation. For example, ultimately, the decision to purchase life jackets came down to a basic need to protect the passengers – who are considered as taonga. Similarly, the development of double hull canoes was to stabilize their waka to protect their tourists – who are their taonga.

Applying the fundamental formula of ‘Tiaki te Taonga,’ in the form of a business equation has led Taiamai tours to make positive contributions to Far North society across time. Using a 'Quadruple Bottom Line’ (QBR) lens of social benefits – that is, benefits classed under economic, social, ecological and cultural performance criteria (see, for example, Hikuroa et al., 2010; Foley, 2008) – it is argued that by embracing Tiaki te Taonga, Taiamai’s business philosophy can be seen to be compatible with the very latest developments in thinking about business sustainability.

As fundamentally as accounting equations in business claim that assets minus liabilities equals owner’s equity remains true, so equally does the Māori business equation, Tiaki te Taonga – look after the taonga and the taonga will look after you and your business.

Taiamai Tours explain that wholesalers and marketers of their product get frustrated when attempting to commodify their Waka Tour. They want to include a pōwhiri (traditional Māori welcome), karanga (official call by a female leader), a haka (Māori war dance) and other Māori cultural components, but are instructed to remove them. Taiamai Tours believes that these cultural components occur as a natural flow of their cultural protocols as Māori, and are not necessarily scheduled or itemised components of the Waka Tour experience.

Taiamai Tours feel that they need to change the minds of the marketeers of their business. They feel that the marketeers try to market Māori culture like a shopping list, rather than accepting that Māori culture is driven by wairua (spirituality) and is subject to change as the wairua dictates, not as schedules, time and money dictate. Taiamai Tours believe that imagery and pictures can demonstrate an experience without having to imply that integral and sacred aspects of their Māori culture are for sale. In other words, the boundaries between that which is subject to business transaction, and that which is not, must be carefully prescribed. Kaupapa Māori provides a key means for determining and enforcing this boundary.
The need for Māori academics to develop new research paradigms to support the recent acceptance and practice of a Kaupapa Māori approach as a research methodology has required Māori to draw largely upon expert knowledge of ontology and epistemology. Smith (1999) argues that this requires a process of decolonisation for Māori from Western methodologies. Evidence of these new analytical and research paradigms can be found throughout academia as more Māori scholars develop and publish their theories. For example, the ‘poutama’ is symbolic of the stairway to heaven that Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi (the Māori God the forest) ascended to receive the baskets of knowledge, which are found in tukutuku (woven lattice) panels on the walls of a Whare Whakairo (carved ancestral meeting houses).

Māori scholars have published conceptual views of the poutama tukutuku patterns as a meta-map or framework to demonstrate a logical formula to express progressive levels of priority within their philosophies where each step of the poutama systematically increases to a new level. For example the ‘Pōwhiri Poutama’ paradigm was developed by Durie (2007) as a model to represent the levels of learning and development within the discipline of psychology. In the field of education, Hawera et al (2009) discuss ‘Te Poutama Tau’ as a model for identifying the different levels of teaching reciprocity for Māori education.

‘Tāpoi’ is a Māori expression for sightseeing that in post-European times evolved into the noun for tourism. One could assume that the combination of the terms ‘Tāpoi’ and ‘Poutama’ could provide a figurative expression of the Poutama pattern being used to identify the steps or levels of key themes and priorities of Māori tourism from a Māori perspective.

In this sense, it is the writer’s choice to apply ‘Te Tāpoi Poutama’ (a Māori Tourism Evaluation Framework) as a paradigm and framework to systematically analyse and identify the priority order of key themes that have emerged from the research through a Kaupapa Māori research methodology. This occurs by analysing the data within a cultural paradigm of te reo Māori, tikanga Māori, Māori ontology, mātauranga Māori, Māori epistemology, tino rangatiratanga and whakapapa to measure the level of significance of the key themes. This framework has worked effectively in studies in Māori health where Herewini and Tiakiwai (2011) applied this philosophy to examine and prioritise the levels of Māori education. The Tiaki te Taonga Kaupapa Māori analytical process is discussed in the following section.

**Tiaki Te Taonga: A Kaupapa Māori Analytical Process**

In a similar approach to Herewini and Tiakiwai (2011), the data analysis for this study required location within a Māori worldview as the most appropriate method to analyse the significance of each key theme elucidated from the data. The Tāpoi Poutama paradigm presented these key themes and was discussed in chapter four. These cultural methods are emphasised by Smith (1999) when she states that it is not just about the methodology, but the method as well when undertaking a kaupapa Māori research methodology. Tāpoi Poutama (see Figure 1, below) demonstrates the levels of significance from a Māori world view. Although some items may have a lower cultural value in a Māori world view, they are all a part of the whānauangatanga (relationship) through an ontological whakapapa (genealogy) that Barlow (1994) claims is cultural interconnectedness.
Figure 1: Tāpoi Poutama - Analytical Framework for Māori Tourism

The analytical process requires all of the data to be categorised into a list of key themes and to evaluate these themes within cultural principles of te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori. The cultural principles are then calibrated into a value ranking sequence. Those attributes of the data that do not relate to te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori are assessed to have a lesser value in terms of cultural significance.

The final strand of this kaupapa Māori analytical process is a relationship value test by valuing the themes of the relationship with Te Kauwae Runga (Celestial lore) being of a higher value versus Te Kauwae Raro (Terrestrial lore) being a lower level. Traditional analytical tools existed before European contact where Māori used wānanga, which are discussed by Marsden (2003). This analytical method requires a high degree of knowledge of te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori, attributes in which the researcher has been grounded as a child.

Key themes that emerged from the research data were analysed to reflect some levels of significance in terms of influencing and informing a Māori perspective of sustainability for Māori in tourism. These themes were processed using a Kaupapa Māori analytical process to validate the levels of significance towards the thesis:

- Tiaki Te Taonga - The fundamental underpinning philosophy for Taiamai Tours is that the primary goal of their organisation is to look after and care for the Taonga or precious resources and the universe will respond accordingly.
- Tohua Te Ao – Asserting their role as guardians of the environment is a responsibility that is paramount in all their planning and activities.
- Mahi Tāpoi – Embraces the role of being a consummate host in providing a safe, hospitable, authentic, cultural, sustainable experience for manuhiri/tourists.
- Te Oranga Pūtea – economic sustainability is important too.
- Te Hau Pūtea – making a profit is a goal of Taiamai Tours, but must never be at the expense of any of the values mentioned above it.
Conclusion

This paper reports on a deep case study of how Māori principles may be embraced to develop a Māori business equation, which also supports business sustainability. The Tāpoi Poutama framework in Figure 2, below, demonstrates how the Māori business equation formulates a Māori perspective of sustainability in Māori tourism. The framework provides a system for identifying the different levels of cultural significance that Taiamai Tours placed on cultural values that underpin sustainability from a Māori perspective. The Tāpoi Poutama moreover demonstrates that Taiamai Tours placed the highest value on caring and protecting for the Taonga (precious resources), that includes natural and environmental resources, tourists, sacred cultural resources, vision and goals, and the people directly and indirectly connected to the business. A holistic approach is fundamental to sustainability.

Figure 2: Tāpoi Poutama Framework, a Māori perspective of sustainability for Māori in tourism

The second level of cultural significance as a result of the Māori business equation that influenced a Māori perspective on sustainability was on practicing the philosophy of Tohua Te Ao in all business planning and tourism activities. Tohua Te Ao to Māori is to ensure that the environment and world they live in is sustainably cared for and protected for future generations to draw on.

The third level of cultural significance identified through the Māori business equation that influenced the Māori perspective of sustainability was on providing an authentic cultural tourism experience infused with the daily use of te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori, authentic apparel, tā moko, whakapapa, history and protocols. All of these facets need to be carried out without compromising the sensitive cultural aspects of tikanga Māori – they need to be done right. Sustainable financial wellbeing of the company is also important to Māori in tourism, however it only rated second from the bottom as a primary goal.
The least important perspective for sustainability for Māori in tourism was profit. The case study of Taiamai Tours provided sufficient data to demonstrate that the Māori culture and Tikanga have not been compromised by strategies for profit. Therefore, profit remains at the bottom level of significance in terms of a Māori perspective of sustainability in Māori tourism.

The Tāpoi Poutama provides a cultural framework that reflects the levels of significance that informs and underpins Māori perspectives of sustainability for Māori in tourism when engaging a Māori business equation. It is hoped that the ideas sketched herein provoke thought and stimulate discussion on the uniqueness, development and potential of this equation across Māori business, and business theory more generally.

References


SUSTAINABLE TRIBAL ECONOMIES IN A TIME OF CLIMATE CHANGE

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Abstract
In this paper we explore how Māori tribal organisations are responding to calls by other Indigenous peoples to become more sustainable in a time of climate change. From a close examination of iwi Environmental Management Plans, we move to a specific case study in the Bay of Plenty area: Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara. Ultimately we suggest that many tribal organisations are seeking to respond to climate change and transition to becoming producers of their own food and energy needs, and are often articulating these responses in relation to specific local resources and contexts.

Introduction
Calls for fostering sustainable and tribal economies in response to climate change by Vandana Shiva (2008) and Winona LaDuke (2009) amongst others, have inspired discussion in Māori communities including at a 2011 conference hosted by Ngāti Awa and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature where LaDuke was a keynote speaker. For some, these discussions connect with more long standing Māori critiques of the effects of colonisation on managing the environment and land in Aotearoa New Zealand and Māori aspirations for self-determination (Hutchings et al., 2012; Coombes, Johnson & Howitt, 2012). The more long standing calls by Māori for greater determination over Māori resources have commonly contained a presumption about the need to act (Walker, 1990). Dominant narratives about climate change and the imperative to act have now to a large extent been bundled in with these long standing conversations. In their article about Māori organics, Hutchings et al. (2012) argue that the looming effects of climate change are simply another reminder of the need for Māori to pursue organic farming methods, and that the negative effects of climate change can be counteracted with an assertion of “rangatiratanga with regard to food production” (Hutchings et al., 2012, p. 133).

If long standing Māori conversations to maintain their kaitiakitanga with mana whenua are being combined with the concerns other peoples are voicing about climate change, how are tribal organisations articulating and acting upon these? What are the ways in which Māori tribal organisations can be seen to be transitioning to living economies in the sense of using renewable energy and attempting to provide work and food for their members, as well transitioning to becoming producers of their own energy and food needs? In order to answer these questions we examine 23 iwi Environmental Management Plans, which are a way of accessing the positions of a number of iwi across the country. While this provides a useful broad picture, in order to explore the issues in more detail, in the second part of the article we discuss a specific case study.
Responding to LaDuke’s call for more sustainable tribal economies, we used the case study to determine the kinds of proposals for sustainability being pursued in the context of a small hapū.

**Research with Māori**

From the outset we were mindful of a number of ethical factors for conducting research with Māori. Being mindful of the contributions of Kaupapa Māori methodologies (Smith 1999; Irwin 1994), the case study that we selected for this research was one that two of the three members of our team are affiliated with. This brought together a number of factors: it enabled two of the team to combine research on and with their own hapū with requirements to conduct research as academics at a university. This desire stems from very practical needs to combine areas of interest in a time scarce world. As well as having prior connections to those partnering in the research, the project also aimed to contribute to the community involved, making it what Adam Gaudry describes as “insurgent research” (Gaudry, 2011). Throughout the research regular contact was maintained between the research leader, Maria Bargh, and the hapū through the governance body, Te Runanga o Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara. The Runanga approved the survey, met the research team, and participated in the interviews.

In terms of the research methodology we also drew on the work of economic geographers Jenny Cameron and Katherine Gibson who have argued for an assets based community development perspective. Cameron and Gibson noted that the model often used for analysing communities and conducting their strategic planning was the Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats (SWOT) analysis. Cameron and Gibson argue that rather than focussing on community deficits, it is more productive and inspiring to document and emphasise the assets that communities have (Cameron & Gibson, 2001). Elsewhere Gibson-Graham and Roelvink (2011) argue that by creating new articulations of the ‘economy’ and ‘communities’ then more productive and different economic development strategies are envisaged and possible. The kind of ‘action research’ envisaged by Cameron and Gibson fits well with an asset based approach, as well as having strong similarities with philosophies articulated by Kaupapa Māori researchers who aim to be part of transforming their own communities (Bishop, 1998).

The first of the main methods for collecting information was a close analysis of Environmental Management Plans that have been lodged by iwi with local councils around the country. The close analysis of tribal Environmental Management Plans sought a national overview of how Māori are considering climate change and the associated issues of whether, or how to foster local energy and food production.

**Iwi Environmental Management Plans**

Since the Resource Management Act was passed in 1991 there has been a greater awareness at central and local government levels of the necessity to include Māori in resource management decisions. Both the Resource Management Act 1991 and the Local Government Act 2002 encourage local government to provide opportunities for Māori to engage in local government and resource management planning. While these mechanisms have their shortcomings, in some places Māori are now able to play more of a role in resource management decisions than previously. One of the mechanisms that is increasingly being used by Māori is the lodging of environmental
Responding to LaDuke’s call for more sustainable tribal economies, we used the case study to determine the kinds of proposals for sustainability being pursued in our team’s activities. This brought together a number of factors: it enabled two of the team members to contribute, and the research that we selected for this research was one that two of the three members of the team were interested in. While these mechanisms have their shortcomings, in some places they have been successful in encouraging local government to provide opportunities for Māori to engage in local government and resource management planning. Since the Resource Management Act was passed in 1991 there has been a greater awareness at central and local government levels of the necessity to include Māori in resource management planning. While these mechanisms have their shortcomings, in some places they have been successful in encouraging local government to provide opportunities for Māori to engage in local government and resource management planning. Since the Resource Management Act was passed in 1991 there has been a greater awareness at central and local government levels of the necessity to include Māori in resource management planning.

The first of the main methods for collecting information was a close analysis of Environmental Management Plans that have been lodged by iwi with local councils around the country. The close analysis of tribal Environmental Management Plans sought a national overview of how Māori are engaging in processes concerning climate change in order to secure the future wellbeing of their tribal areas. By creating relationships between the environment, ecosystems, governing bodies and other tribal organisations, a number of Māori organisations have shown they have thought deeply about the impacts of global environmental trends. Though Māori may not be major contributors to the creation of climate change, many realise their need to prepare for, and be aware of how global environmental shifts impact their people and environments.

A total of twenty-three environmental documents, written by various Māori iwi throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, have been used in this study to determine Māori thoughts and positions on climate change. Eleven of these documents are specifically Environment Management Plans lodged with councils, and the remaining twelve are policy documents relating to tribal environmental matters that are aimed at council and government readership. Howev, because they all are directed at government, whether or not they have officially been lodged as such, we describe them all in this article as ‘Environmental Management Plans’.

A number of documents deal solely with one specific resource, such as a body of water or, in the case of Ngai Tahu hapū, policy over the use of Pounamu (Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 2009; Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu, 1999; Te Runanga o Ngāti Kahu ki Tauranga Moana, 2011; Te Runanga o Raukawa, 2000). It must be understood that these plans are written to inform councils of Māori tribal standpoints. In this respect, the audience dictates what is included in the Plan. Therefore, elements which may be tribally important, may not be necessary in addressing council motivations and hence are given less emphasis in these documents. However, the formats of the majority of the Environmental Plans reflect one that is driven by Māori perceptions of environmental relationships. Cultural safety and tribal abilities to have control over their own environments and resources are key themes shown throughout all documents, and express the uphill battle many tribal organisations have endured in order to have government recognise their rights to self-determined management of their tribal territories.

Specific concerns around climate change

One of the significant categories that was analysed was where reference was made to climate change. In looking for specific mention of climate change in the iwi Environmental Management Plans, six documents (Hauraki Māori Trust Board, 2004; Ngāti Hine, 2008; Ngāti Tuwharetoa Māori Trust Board, 2003; Te Runanga o Ngāti Kahu ki Tauranga Moana, 2011; Ngai Tahu ki Murihiku, 2008; Te Taumutu Runanga, 2003) showed that climate change was a term and concept that was specifically important to their view of their tribal environments. The remaining 17 documents did not use the term ‘climate change’ specifically but, as explained below, did still have concerns that were related. The specific categories used within Plans were climate change, coastal erosion, native planting and water quality, fuel and energy and egnetic engineering, while overarching themes within these documents were education, planning and monitoring, environmental degradation, tribal self-determination, cooperation and collaboration.

A number of the six Plans that specifically mentioned climate change acknowledged the need to liaise with other groups, particularly other indigenous peoples and government bodies, in order to increase tribal knowledge and the knowledge of tribal abilities to deal with climate change.
and social purposes. The changes brought on by a warming climate caused by human interference balance of cultural and spiritual values in the environment while using resources for commercial From an environmental and spiritual perspective, Māori see the world as a unified whole, where all elements including tangata whenua, are connected. Emphasis is placed on maintaining the balance of cultural and spiritual values in the environment while using resources for commercial and social purposes. The changes brought on by a warming climate caused by human interference directly affect this balance. (Ngai Tahu ki Murhiku, 2008, p. 68).

A number of tribal organisations have made commitments to ensure climate change is addressed in their areas. Hauraki look to keep informed on climate change issues through “participating in discussions between indigenous peoples internationally and the government domestically,” while supporting transport and energy alternatives which have less negative impact on the environment (Hauraki, 2004, pp. 16-17). Ngāti Kahu “accept their part in reducing their carbon footprint” and seek to ensure that government decisions have Ngāti Kahu input. Ngāti Hine (2008) looks to hone threat identification and preparation methods to combat climate change, and to work “proactively with all agencies and individuals who are also seeking positive and pragmatic solutions and responses to climate change.” Included is Ngāti Hine’s plan to fell exotic forests and replant native forests, which have been argued to absorb more carbon than exotics over long periods (decades), (Kennett et al., 2010) to lessen their carbon footprint. Additionally, they look to place climate change concerns within their business practices and focus on “local markets to ensure low ‘food miles’”.

While examining these Plans produces significant insights we also consider that specific local examples will produce further and different questions and answers. In the next section of this article we therefore examine a case study of a hapū, Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara to determine the kinds of specific issues that they are experiencing, in particular the way the hapū is already, or is seeking to be sustainable.

Case Study: Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara

The area of land with which Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara have longstanding connections is located in the central north island of Aotearoa New Zealand; it begins in Rotorua and stretches south to Horohoro and further to the south-west, close to Tokoroa. The land at Horohoro was the first in the country to be used in the late 1920s for a Māori Land Development Scheme. The Scheme had mixed success but demonstrates the constant aspiration of the people to put the land to the best possible use known to them at various times. Currently the Runanga is investigating the feasibility
of a micro-hydro operation next to the traditional meeting house and exploring the potential for the geothermal resources which exist under their tribal lands.

Changes made by local authorities in the Bay of Plenty to cap the amounts of nitrogen flowing into Lake Rotorua have also encouraged the hapū to place a greater emphasis on exploring land use changes. In the past much of the land has been used for agriculture (sheep and beef farming), however other options, particularly horticulture, are now being considered.

There are approximately 1,642 people registered with the Runanga as Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara, with around 30% living in the Bay of Plenty area, around 60% within the rest of New Zealand, and a significant proportion, around 10%, living overseas in one particular country, Australia.

**Gathering Perspectives on Sustainability and Climate Change**

Two methods – interviews and a survey – were used to gather information about the current state of sustainability for the hapū, and the people’s aspirations. From the interviews we sought to hear about projects that the hapū was working on and what strategies were already being employed for sustainability and climate change. The survey aimed at getting a broader picture from members of the hapū about what members saw as assets that are able to be developed to support the hapū into the future. Given space constraints only the interviews will be discussed here.

**Interviews**

Five individual interviews were conducted with key leaders within the hapū: the Chair of the Runanga, Eru George; the deputy Chair, Robyn Bargh; the farm manager for the Lands Trust, John Vercoe; a long standing elder and member of the Marae committee, Hariata Paikea; and historian and long standing Marae committee member, Bob Young. These leaders present a range of views, from those on the very small Post-Settlement rūnanga, to a farmer who experiences environmental issues within his daily work, to elders who have worked tirelessly for many decades on the persistent tasks required for the practical functioning of a marae, such as fixing water pumps and cleaning the buildings. Approval was received from the Victoria University Human Ethics Committee (RM #18977) as well as Te Runanga o Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara. The interviews were filmed and transcribed. Clips of the interviews were included in a video which was provided to the hapū as a way of reporting back some of the elements that emerged from the research (George & Bargh, 2011). The video was filmed by Robert George, a member of the hapū, which further supported the research methodology around ensuring some reciprocity with the hapū.

From the interviews a number of key themes emerged. All those interviewed referenced their comments in relation to the future. Many of them spoke about the importance of sustainably maintaining the collective resources of the hapū and the need to be innovative in light of climate change, whether this was to grow different kinds of crops or develop energy production. Robyn Bargh argued that:

> Climate change is inevitable and it is happening and it is happening fast. I think what we can do is ensure that we make use of the renewable energies that we have. We do have lots in terms of water, wind and perhaps geothermal. I think in terms of climate change, we are fortunate in that we have our land and it is something that people can go to. I mean at least
we will have some resources that the hapū can use and return to into the future (Bargh, 2012).

Here Bargh sees climate change as a key impetus to further investigate which resources are best utilised for energy and how these can support the tribe. Similarly, Bob Young argues:

As climate changes in other parts of the world it will probably have an effect on supply of food from other countries too and in New Zealand. And there could be an increasing role for local production… it is largely a matter of being alert to the fact that we will need to change gradually over the next few years (Young, 2012).

One of the steps being taken by farm manager John Vercoe, in response to a greater awareness of the effects of conventional chemical farming on the land, is to farm using biological methods. Vercoe argues:

I made a shift from conventional farming to biological. Just it sort of more fits with how Māori have been with their lands over the years… I think if you look after your soils and your land, everything else is a roll on – you start mucking around with the biology in the soil and then you run into problems (Vercoe, 2012).

As Vercoe suggests, biological farming draws on knowledge from pre-industrialised societies and seeks to reintroduce these practices in response to the degradation of the environment from forms of farming that have contributed to climate change. The philosophy of biological farming is one which supports a greater attention to sustainability and in particular to reducing waste. Vercoe argues, “Sustainable farming, I think is being able to recycle your nutrients instead of adding stuff all the time… everything is in a cycle” (Vercoe, 2012).

The importance of relationships between people was also pointed out as being vital to the success of any ventures for the hapū, whether these be the maintenance of traditional cultural practices or energy and food production. To illustrate the point, Hariata Paikea described the importance of unity in relation to the practices of the traditional meeting place, the marae. She argued that for significant occasions where guests are being welcomed, those conducting the formal speeches during the ceremonies are reliant on people in the kitchen ensuring there is food ready to complete the ceremonies. Here the important and interdependent role of those ‘out the front’ and those ‘at the back’ is also reminiscent of the broader interdependence of economic and environmental health, the wellness of the people and the land (Paikea, 2012).

Considering the information gathered from Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara in light of the earlier readings of the Environmental Management Plans suggests that like other larger tribal organisations, Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara are concerned with some of these issues but others do not appear to be as salient. Climate change, fuel and energy and self-determination were important but others, such as genetic engineering, were not mentioned, despite genetically modified trees having been grown in Rotorua over the last 10 years. One way of considering this situation is simply that the practicalities of a small hapū mean there are only so many people to be able to write submissions or letters or devise projects on particular matters and only the most pressing issues can be dealt with. Although the hapū is part of the wider tribal organisation, Te Pumautanga o Te Arawa, which completed a Treaty settlement with the Crown in 2009, this has not produced immediate monetary gain and therefore economic development, and finding funds to maintain the existing limited capacity of the hapū organisation is a pressing and urgent necessity.
Some of the challenges that remain for Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara however are how to ensure any benefits from re-localising food and energy production and sustainability can be provided to all members. With around 10% of the hapū living in Australia and many living outside the Bay of Plenty area the hapū needs to consider how these people might be able to contribute to sustainable tribal economies or be recipients of its benefits. For example options for working with other organisations to provide either food or electricity credits of some kind to members too far away to receive actual food or electricity might be considered. This challenge will require more research and innovative thinking as developments are pursued in the future.

**Conclusion**

In this article we have argued that iwi are paying close attention to the ways that they can respond to climate change. The way their responses are articulated is often inextricable from the more long standing environmental, economic and political concerns that tribal organisations face.

Ngāti Kea/Ngāti Tuara are a very local example but they highlight they ways that a small hapū is working with and around economic development discourses of “unlocking potential” (Penn, 2013; Te Puni Kokiri, 2011) as well as the aims to be sustainable in a time of climate change. The careful negotiation of how to ensure a sustainable tribal economy by balancing renewable energy projects and biological farming with the needs of its members, local, national and international, is part of what we have outlined here. Tensions between types of economic development and kaitiakitanga appear to be more easily worked through when the type of economic development is based on small scale activities and fits with a discourse of responding to, or counteracting climate change, such as renewable energy and biological farming.

Although Māori responses to climate change are bundled together with the more long standing arguments that seek simply ‘Māori control over Māori stuff’, that does not mean that Māori are simply ‘inward’ looking. Māori discussions are very much cognisant of more international conversations about global matters, particularly in Indigneous communities, and calls to action such as those presented by Shiva and LaDuke.
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Tahinga-Tainui, (undated) *Tahinga-Tainui Iwi Environmental Management Plan.*


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<th>Year</th>
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AN INTRODUCTION TO MAPPING THE MAURI OF ANCESTRAL LANDSCAPES

ANNE-MARIE JACKSON

Ngāti Whātua, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Wai, Ngāti Kahu o Whangaroa

HAUITI HAKOPA

Ngāti Tūwharetoa

SAMANTHA JACKSON

Ngāti Whātua, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Wai, Ngāti Kahu o Whangaroa

Abstract

We aim to recapture our intellectual traditions as Māori and ensure our cultural survival by weaving together the strands of whakapapa, whenua and whānau through ancestral landscape mapping. While mapping ancestral landscapes is simply connecting tangata (people) to whenua (land), our innovation is in combining a traditional Māori approach with high technology. This fusion will (re)capture the stories, songs and exploits embedded in the landscape by generations of ancestors. ‘When we can know our ancestral landscapes – we can know ourselves’ is a crucial health and well-being conceptualisation. In this paper we will outline our proposed research “Mapping the Mauri of Ancestral Landscapes”.

Introduction

As indigenous peoples, there is an on-going loss of our intellectual traditions through the marginalisation of how an indigenous world is presented (International Labour Organization, 2009). This loss impacts upon the survival of our histories, genealogies, places and people (International Labour Organization, 2009). World-wide, there are moves towards the reclamation of those intellectual traditions embodied, for example, in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2008). This is similarly the case for Māori – whereby we are in a process of recapturing our intellectual traditions to ensure the survival of our whakapapa, whenua and whānau.

For Māori, our intellectual traditions are reflected in our ancestral landscapes. It is widely-recognised that Māori have an intimate connection with the ancestral landscape (Panelli & Tipa, 2007; Selby & Moore, 2007) which plays a crucial role in positive conceptualisations of health and well-being (Jackson, 2011; Panelli & Tipa, 2007). The nature of the connection is based upon whakapapa, a shared genealogical connection of both people and the land, to the primordial parents, Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) (Durie, 2003b; Marsden, 2003; Roberts, Norman, Minhinnick, Wihongi, & Kirkwood, 1995). The ancestral landscape is captured in a lattice of finely woven stories about whenua (tribal lands), awa (rivers), moana (sea), wāhi tapu (important places), marae (ancestral Māori meeting houses) for example, and is governed by a complex set of spiritual and cultural values (Durie, 2003b; Kawharu, 2000).

There is a plethora of literature that examines the multiple facets of Māori health and well-being. This literature has a number of foci including: contextualising the debates of Māori health in New Zealand (Ajwani, Blakely, Robson, Tobias, & Bonne, 2003; Blakely, Fawcett, Atkinson, Tobias, & Cheung, 2005; Ministry of Health & University of Otago, 2006); Treaty of Waitangi and health
(Boulton, Simonsen, Walker, Cumming, & Cunningham, 2004; Kingi, 2007); various health models, such as Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985; Pistacchi, 2008; Rochford, 2004) and Te Pae Mahutonga (Durie, 1999, 2008), Ngā Pou Mana (Henare, 1988), Te Whake (Love, 2004; Pere, 1997, 2008); issues of racism and well-being (Kearns, Moewaka-Barnes, & McCreanor, 2009); colonisation and effects on health (Durie, 2003a; Panelli & Tipa, 2007; United Nations, 2009); health, well-being and economic success (Pihama & Penehira, 2005); by Māori, for Māori (Hand, 1998); the links between health and the environment (Panelli & Tipa, 2007) and; within international indigenous peoples’ health literature (Durie, 2003a, 2004; United Nations, 2009).

In this research we utilise Panelli and Tipa’s (2007) model which makes links between health, well-being and the environment explicit. Panelli and Tipa’s (2007) understandings of well-being resonate closely to this research where the foci are more toward the environment and resource centric approaches. For example, Panelli and Tipa (2007) outline that their interests are focussed on an approach which takes into consideration the environment, places, whenua, maunga, awa, and how socio-cultural relations emerge and are nurtured in certain places. Included in this conception of well-being and the environment are ecological approaches which “encompass the cultural and spiritual significance and dynamism of specific local ecologies” (Panelli & Tipa, 2007, p. 453).

Today many Māori are disconnected from their ancestral landscapes and thus their intellectual traditions, those aspects of Māori health and identity that sit at the core of being Māori. This disconnection between people and place has contributed to the over-representation of Māori in numerous negative health statistics (Ministry of Health, 2010; NZQA, 2012; Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Some of the underlying reasoning behind the disconnection is due to colonisation (Reid & Robson, 2006). Colonisation is the replacement of one set of worldviews, values, practices, landscapes, language and power with another. The statistics are evidence of the impact of colonisation on Māori through the destruction of the ancestral landscape, the shredding of Māori intellectual traditions and thus the negative impact upon Māori identity, health and well-being. Some of the consequences of on-going colonisation are poor educational achievement, poor health and poor socio-economic status of Māori. As outlined by United Nations ‘Special Rapporteur’ on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, at the end of his visit to New Zealand in 2005: “all these issues are considered by Māori the result of a trans-generational backlog of broken promises, economic marginalization, social exclusion and cultural discrimination” (United Nations, 2009, p. 26).

One way to address the issue of a lack of connection to Māori identity is to reconnect with Māori intellectual traditions. How we can recapture our intellectual traditions as Māori and ensure the survival of whakapapa, whenua and whānau now and into the future is through mapping ancestral landscapes (Hakopa, 2011). Mapping ancestral landscapes is simply a matter of connecting tangata (people) to whenua (land). It is concerned with (re)capturing the stories, songs and exploits embedded in the landscape by generations of ancestors. The numerous place names cemented in significant sites are important signposts to understanding our unique history, appreciating our cultural heritage and connecting tangata to whenua (Te A. Davis, 1990; Te A. Davis, O’Regan, & Wilson, 1990).

Mapping technologies such as geographic information systems (GIS) are widely recognised around the world for their ability to manage large amounts of disparate land information layered in purpose-built databases and to produce maps of that data (Berry, 1993; Wright, Goodchild, & Proctor, 1997). Indigenous peoples around the world have found many uses for GIS in managing
their land assets; Māori are no exception. What is vital for Māori though, is to ensure that the mana of whenua is reflected in the data collected for use in GIS (Hakopa, 2011). The idea of (re)capturing the mana embedded in the whenua is a relatively new approach to using GIS and other tools. To engage youth and kaumatua in the data collection phase, we will use modern tools, such as smart phones, iPhones, iPads and tablets coupled with GPS, to provide an avenue for connecting whānau and whenua in a creative, innovative way. It will also imbue youth with the mana of their whenua and the mana of their ancestors.

The proposed research area is within the ancestral landscape of Ngāti Whātua in Northland where Anne-Marie and Samantha Jackson both whakapapa to. We propose to work within the ancestral landscape of one marae within Ngāti Whātua. The specific location is Te Houhanga-a-Rongo Marae. We have selected Te Houhanga-a-Rongo Marae because this is the primary marae of Anne-Marie and Samantha. Both, under the guidance of their whānau, have been asked to research further into the stories of Te Houhanga Marae for the descendants of Te Houhanga Marae, as documented in Te Houhanga-a-Rongo Marae Hoeroa Meeting Minutes (16/1/2011). Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Whātua have also indicated their support of this research (30/7/2012).

**Aim of Research**

The aim of this research is to recapture our intellectual traditions as Māori by weaving together the strands of whakapapa, whenua and whānau to ensure our cultural survival.

Te Houhanga-a-Rongo Marae is located within a complex series of stories, which fragment the way the landscape is seen and experienced. Ultimately we aim to make sense of those stories through mapping and see how they can have a positive impact for our whānau through re-engagement with our ancestral landscape. The re-engagement will be through physically hīkoi (walking) important sites, including maunga (mountains), as well as through wānanga and staying at the ancestral marae of Te Houhanga-a-Rongo. We will unpick the complex arrangement and stories to recreate the landscape as a reflection of those ancestors, from a Māori worldview.

**Methodology**

We will employ a methodological framework that is at the interface (Durie, 2004) between Māori and non-Māori approaches, as well as develop Kaupapa Māori scientific techniques. We will utilise Kaupapa Māori theory and methodology (Hakopa, 2011; Jackson, 2008, 2011; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999) and we will draw upon Kaupapa Māori approaches to scientific research (Cram, Smith, & Johnstone, 2003; Hakopa, 2011; Harris & Mercier, 2006).

**PHASE 1: Setting the Kawa (Ground Rules)**

In order to successfully carry out excellent and ethical research with Māori, the kawa must be agreed to by all involved. Thus, PHASE 1’s objective is community consensus, where we will identify the what, where, how and who, through hui and wānanga with whānau from Te Houhanga-a-Rongo Marae. We will build upon existing relationships, support and consultation throughout PHASE 1. The kawa will also be maintained throughout the entirety of the project.
**PHASE 2: Data Collection**

During PHASE 2 we will identify data types and develop coding system for each type, then collect the data. Data types include waahi tapu/tuturu/noho, place names, marae, awa, kāinga, pā/ritual/battle/peacemaking sites and songs and stories about these places as appropriate.

*Smart Phones, iPhones, iPads.* To collect the data we will trial the video recording, voice recording and photographing elements of these technologies and link this data automatically using global positioning system (GPS) or the map biography method. Alternatively if the 3G network is available we will use smart phone technology for video/audio and photographs which have GPS capability.

*Wānanga.* We will hold two two week wānanga at Te Houhanga-a-Rongo Marae in Northland, one prior to, and another following the physical engagement with the ancestral landscape. We will video record, voice record and take photographs throughout the wānanga as permitted.

*Hīkoi.* We will physically engage with the ancestral landscape through the hīkoi (walking) of maunga, awa and wāhi tapu. During the hīkoi, kaumatua (elders) and pakeke (senior family members) will guide and re-tell the stories of the places to those involved. During this physical engagement with the ancestral landscape we will trial the aforementioned methods for collecting data. These trials will enable us to specify the most effective data capture methods in future applications. At this stage we anticipate a minimum of approximately 20 people to be involved in the project with an age range from children through to kaumātua.

*Interviews.* Through interview techniques we will explore key themes, capture songs, stories, whakapapa and kōrero about the ancestral landscapes. We will follow accepted standards for practice (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) (informed consent, open-ended questions). Discursive analysis (Fairclough, 2005; Jackson, 2011, 2013) of the emergent themes and categories in the narratives provided by participants will be facilitated through the use of NVivo 10.0, a qualitative research database that is populated from complete transcripts of interviews to consolidate understanding across coding. This methodology allows for the development of explanation and understanding of the social world of the study participants from their own perspective. Interviewees will check the transcript and amend or withdraw any material they do not wish to go further, and then a bound version of the transcript will be returned to the whānau. Conclusions drawn from the collected qualitative research will be presented to participants for feedback and approval prior to publication outside of the community to ensure ethical practice.

*Archival Research.* We will also build upon our collection of historical data and gather further historical maps, topographical maps, manuscripts, information, texts, photographs, video-recordings about the ancestral landscape of Ngāti Whātua from a Te Houhanga-a-Rongo perspective. Furthermore, we also have access to Te Houhanga-a-Rongo Marae archives.

**PHASE 3: Data Processing**

During PHASE 3 we will process data collected in PHASE 2. This includes translation of data collected in Māori, transcription of narratives, and reviewing transcripts, working journals and maps. We will design a database that will reflect the type of data collected in Phase 2 and organise that data into distinctive layers (for example waahi tapu/tuturu/noho, place names, awa, marae, pā/kāinga/battle sites and so on), digitise the data (as required) and produce digital maps (ArcGIS). Any oral data (kōrero) will be entered into the database at this stage.
PHASE 4: Dissemination

An essential element of working successfully with Māori communities is appropriate dissemination and regular updates of research. This will occur collaboratively and throughout the duration of the research, primarily through hui, newsletters, posting to the already established closed Te Houhanga-a-Rongo Facebook page, email and phone calls. In PHASE 4, we will produce and verify maps with the community and report back to the whānau from Te Houhanga-a-Rongo Marae through a dissemination hui at a time suitable to the marae.

Conclusion

Our research addresses fundamental questions about what our intellectual traditions are as Māori, what it means to be Māori, and what it means to be indigenous. This project represents a novel foray into the blending of Māori and non-Māori approaches with the introduction of GPS technology. We believe this project has the potential to offer a unique way to engage Māori about what it means to be Māori.

References


DEEPENING ECOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP THROUGH CRITICAL INQUIRY INTO ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY: TE AO MĀORI MEETS SUSTAINABLE SCIENCE

Dr Lewis Williams

Ngāi Te Rangi

Abstract

Indigenous worldviews are gaining prominence within education, science and sustainability efforts. A key problematic for sustainability practice however, is the impact of reductionism on human consciousness. Therefore, work aimed at the decolonization of human perception (or critical onto-epistemological inquiry — the critical study of one’s own reality, and its implications for ecological relationship) is significant. Drawing on Kaupapa Māori research and Intuitive inquiry this paper illuminates the partial decolonization of the researcher’s Life-World and deepened sense of ecological relationship. Focusing on ‘the dreaming’, it integrates her visceral experiences of the land, and Indigenous constructions of reality through interviews with Ngai Te Rangi koroua and kuia, and Woodland Cree Elders in the Tauranga Moana and Saskatchewan respectively. Methods drawn on include auto-ethnography, phenomenology, reviews of cultural and tribal historical texts, and qualitative research with elders in Aotearoa. Key findings include elders perspectives on the significance of Mauao, Ngai Te Rangi’s mountain, for tribal well-being; processes underpinning the partial decolonization of the researcher’s Life-World; and the significance of ‘the dreaming’ and Te Ao Māori for sustainable science.

Introduction

Every iwi (tribe) will have its maunga (mountain), its awa (river), its mana (divine authority), its people, its whenua (land). And that’s the whole essence of who you are (Williams et al., 2010, p. 2).

The words of this Ngāi Te Rangi elder signify a fundamental truth for many in Indigenous societies: a human person does not stand alone, but shares with other animate and, in the Western sense, ‘inanimate’ beings a relationship based on the shared essence of life. This reality contrasts with major tenets of Western, modernist science, which continue to predominate in scientific inquiry with a resulting over-emphasis on shallow or techno-rationally driven approaches to sustainability (Lange, 2012). A second and perhaps even more fundamental implication of materialism’s far reaching influence, is that many of us now inhabit a life-world that is very much a contracted experience of reality – that which we can physically apprehend defines the limits of our experience. For many – indigenous and non-indigenous peoples – this habit of mind has “severed the deep empathic links our ancestors had with the earth, their kin and with other beings” (O’Hara, 2006, p. 112). In this vein, as ecologist Richard Borden articulates, perhaps a key problematic of sustainability is no longer whether “nature can absorb the impact of humans.”

1 This term is commonly associated with Australian Aboriginal Dreamtime. As used here is refers to states of consciousness that are broader than sleeping-dreaming states and engage with both metaphysical and material realities.
Rather, increasingly, the question has become: “Can human consciousness comprehend our relations with the living world?” (Borden, 2011, p. 48).

Given the ecological imperatives of our times, and the limited impact of sustainability efforts based on Cartesianism (Williams, 2012), a vital and collective journey for humanity’s future appears to be ‘re-cognising’ in an epistemological sense: the reality of our interconnectedness. The objectives of this paper therefore, are to: 1) position this inquiry of ontology and epistemology, and its attendant Indigenous (Te Ao Māori) and shamanic construction of ecological relationship, as an integral and legitimate area of sustainable science; and 2) to illuminate the transformative process of my own deepened ecological reality, briefly considering the implications of critical ontological inquiry within educational practice.

My own positioning as a White, Indigenous (of Māori and Scots descent, born in Aotearoa) woman who grew up apart from her Ngai Te Rangi roots have been vital in informing this research. Healing the ravages of the colonization of my own Life-World has been important; like many others, much of my earlier education has been implicitly grounded in a reductionist reality. In this sense, the research described here draws on and extends the research concept of “self as human instrument” (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p. 183) to include not only the researcher/educator’s social and cultural locations, but the underlying terrains of ontology and epistemology. While seemingly subtle, the latter are ultimately influential and subject to influence within processes of knowledge construction.

**Te Ao Māori: An Indigenous and Shamanic Approach to Ecological Relationship**

Mauri is the shared essence and binding life-force energy (present at birth and enduring until death) that gives rise to unity in diversity and impels the cosmic process forward (Marsden, 2003). Māori academic Ranginui Walker (2004) locates mauri within a tripartite framework of existence which includes wairua (spirit) and tinana (physical reality). Wairua is the “spirit, soul, or quintessence of a person” (Māori Dictionary, 2012). Tinana, the physical nature of existence, is imbued with mauri and wairua. Within a Māori Life-World, this underlying cosmology along with the significance of place, of landscape, whakapapa (genealogical lineage), and the spirits of a place, are definitive in terms of shaping a person’s essential being.

Wairua is multi-dimensional (pertains to people, land, ancestors, and human creations such as language), and relational (being related to everything in existence connecting Te Ao Māori, the earthly Māori world and Te Ao Wairua, the spiritual world) (Valentine, 2009). As the medium between the spiritual and earthly worlds, it is a person’s wairua that is active in the dreaming and visionary dimensions of reality; a person’s wairua leaves the physical body to engage with the larger cosmos (Valentine, 2009). The introduction of the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) in New Zealand meant that Māori cosmology, epistemology, and ontology – the ability to apprehend and fully inhabit one’s life world or sacred ecology – was driven underground. This form of exile, both spatial and spiritual in nature, resulted in the colonization of life-world for many. This semi-barren terrain constitutes my early dreams, described later in this paper.

The Māori cosmological framework outlined here aligns with other Indigenous worldviews that conceive the fundamental reality of the universe as a continuum, a unitive field or fabric of energy or consciousness that is beyond time, space, and all forms, and yet within them (Metzner, 1997, p. 4). This reality is implicitly shamanic: we are at all times embedded in this unifying energy of consciousness with the potential to “attune with, identify with, and communicate with any and
every other life form, object or being in the universe” (Metzner, 2005, p. 12). This relational worldview sees things in a more than human-to-human context, involving “human beings, animals, plants, the natural environment and the metaphysical world of visions and dreams” (Fixico, 2003, p. 2). It is an inclusive notion of kinship that in Donald Fixico’s (2003) words “involves more accountability on the part of native people for taking care of and respecting their relationships with all things” (p. 2).

The Dreaming and the Indigenous Life World

Within Indigenous societies, dreaming experiences are commonly regarded as valuable sources of knowledge and human innovation (Moss, 1992; Tedlock, 2006; Wallace, 1958). In my own tribe, and Māori culture more generally, moemoeā (dreams) or matakite (foreseeable future) – specifically envisioning the future – was highly regarded as an important source of divination (Stokes, 1980). Similarly, in speaking of his Plains and Woodland Cree ancestors of Canada’s Northwest, Neil McLeod (2007) remarks that, “in the old days people knew how to listen to the world; they relied on dreams for knowledge through spiritual beliefs and practices” (p. 31).

Cultural anthropologist Barbara Tedlock (2006) conceptualizes ‘the dreaming’ as a sort of “crossroads location” (p. 20), halfway between the world of the senses and the world of intuitive understanding. This location in consciousness signifies a departure from the normal waking state in which one only perceives through the senses, to encompass a form of ‘inner vision’ or ‘seeing’; referred to by eco-psychologist Stephen Azienstat (1995) as the “World Unconscious”. These experiences often occur in our sleeping, dreaming states because of our lack of ability to tune into the broader psychic ecology by day.

Glen Aikenhead and Herman Michell (2011) position this inner seeing within the field of sustainable science in their work on bridging Indigenous and scientific ways of knowing nature. According to Michell, a Woodland Cree, this empirical knowledge is manifested in different forms, which range from practical day to day activities to revelatory knowledge that engages with metaphysical reality in the form of visions and dreams (Herman, 2005 in Michell & Herman 2011). It is through dreaming that we come to know the nature of the multidimensional universe, our obligations to the earth, and to all of life (Moss, 1992).

Deepening Relationality: Sustainable Science

Sustainable Science represents an increasingly broad and burgeoning number of holistic approaches to inquiry inclusive of Indigenous and more recent developments within Western Science, sometimes referred to as the “New Science” (Lange, 2012). Epistemologically, Indigenous approaches to science are articulated within the Indigenous and shamanic worldview outlined earlier. Rather than seeking to control natural reality, Native Science focuses its attention upon inner natures, the rich textures and nuances of life (Cajete, 2000). In the latter vein, Lee-Anne Broadhead and Sean Howard (2011) argue that:

*The most advanced science in [I]ndigenous cultures is practiced by the healers and the shamans—men and women with a particularly strong connection to what [Lakota scholar Vine] Deloria [Jr] called the energetic mind undergirding the physical world* (p. 310).
Culture or knowledge is an emergent property, resulting from a complex process containing multiple interactions with the physical and metaphysical environment. While rationality per se is significant within this process, it is not the overriding emphasis (Aikenhead & Michell, 2011; Broadhead & Howard, 2011).

The emergence of the ‘New Science’, a more recent paradigm within Western Scientific approaches is significant in terms of the potential for closer alignment between Western-based and Indigenous approaches to human-environmental relations. Predicated on relativity theory, quantum physics, complexity and chaos theory, and deep ecology, the New Science represents recent, emergent knowledge from the physical and biological sciences as well as mind and consciousness studies (Lange, 2012, p. 199). As Lange (2012) iterates:

At the subatomical level, matter and energy are interchangeable as either particles or waves affecting each other synergistically and emergent with the act of human observation . . . thus matter and mind co-emerge as an intimately interlinked system within a larger bio-sphere . . . Potentially we have access to this transpersonal consciousness based on our holistic or expansive self [Life World] which connects to the world through the collective unconscious as is usually available to us through dreams, deep meditation, prayer and conscious breathing (p. 199).

Considering the implications of the New Science for sustainability, Lange (2012, p. 200) adds:

Our constant, though not necessary conscious dance with other minds and the world around us should give us a new sense of responsibility . . . It reinforces our sense of oneness with nature and the universe.

Inquiring into the alchemy of being: Intuitive inquiry and Kaupapa Māori Research

Intuitive Inquiry and Kaupapa Māori research share an emphasis on holistic approaches to knowledge and the value of epistemological sovereignty; both have the potential to be deeply transformational methodologies.

Kaupapa Māori research’s defining principal is tino rangatiratanga or self-determination, which is essentially about power and control resting within Māori cultural practices and worldviews; disruption of Western hegemonic framings of Māori realities is an essential aspect (Mahuika, 2008). In its final analysis, Kaupapa Māori research is a manifestation of Māori cosmology (Henry & Pene, 2001) founded upon:

The collective (whanaungatanga), interdependence between and among humankind (kotahitanga), a sacred relationship to the gods and the cosmos (wairuatanga), and an acknowledgement that humans are guardians of the environment (kaitiakitanga), combining in the interconnection between mind, body and spirit . . . Kaupapa Māori emphasises interdependence and spirituality as a fundamental component of intellectual endeavour and knowledge construction (Henry and Pene, 2001, pp. 237-238)

Ironically, in part due to the colonization of my own Indigenous being, this paper draws on elements of Kaupapa Māori research rather than positioning it as the overarching methodology. However, given my own identity, the epistemological imperatives inherent in a journey of re-

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2 See the later discussion under Intuitive Inquiry regarding “radical empiricism”.
claiming a deepened sense of relationality, and the emergent Ngāi Te Rangi cosmology that I now inhabit as a result of this research, Kaupapa Māori research occupies a significant position in this process.

Through its reintegration of the inner, subjective, intuitive, and spiritual with the outer, external, sensory, and more ‘objective’ ways of knowing, Intuitive Inquiry (Anderson, 2000) establishes an intimate dialogue between the knower and that which he or she is attempting to know. Consonant with values in Māoritanga, it re-establishes knowledge not as the accumulation of facts, but as the integration into our centre, of different ways of knowing that include and transcend the world of our five senses (Cajete, 2000; Royal, 2003).

Intuitive Inquiry (Anderson, 2000) consists of a forward arc and a return arc. The forward arc, ‘entering the circle’, consists of two cycles: ‘the claim of the text’ followed by the ‘development of the interpretive lens’. In the first cycle, the research topic ‘surfaces’ from repeated study of a text that particularly resonates or has some ‘claim’ on the reader. Such a text should interrupt our everyday discursive realities, perhaps with the ‘potential [over time] to explode the conceptual frameworks we inhabit’ (Anderson, 2000), as did the dream ‘Looking Back’, which I later describe.

The development of the interpretive lens is accomplished through engaging the emerging research topic with a variety of other texts (in my case, with my initial dreams in Aotearoa and then my visceral relationship with the landscape and dreamscape of Saskatchewan, together with the Cree life-world discourses to which I was exposed), formulating one’s onto-epistemology over time, structuring subsequent research questions and methods. During the ‘return arc phase’ the researcher collects original textual data bearing on the topic. This was achieved through interviews with Ngāi Te Rangi elders, further analysis of a report produced as part of a research project I had undertaken with Cree elders from Sturgeon Lake First Nation (SLFN), Saskatchewan, and consultation of other texts. Using the hermeneutical lens developed, the researcher then analyses the new texts as a means for modifying, reorganizing, and expanding his or her understanding of the research topic. This was achieved through the triangulation of ethnographical data, various historical, social, and cultural texts, and elders’ narratives from both countries.

The incorporation of ‘the full domain of being human, including experiences generally thought of as spiritual and mystical’ (Anderson, 2000, p. 4) is an invitation to confront modernist hegemonic conceptualizations of validity. It incorporates Ralph Metzner’s (2005) notion of ‘radical empiricism’, which through its emphasis on systematic observation gives equal ontological priority to inner subjective and outer external experiences; and Melani Meyers’ (2003) ‘triangulation of meaning,’ which emphasises ways of knowing through body, mind, and spirit.

The dreaming experiences recounted here are embedded in tribal historical accounts and elder’s narratives of human-environmental well-being (Williams, 2012). Whilst it has not been possible

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3 To illustrate a particular point within the conclusion I have drawn upon other research with Indigenous women in Canada. My approach to this later research emerged as a result of the hermeneutical lens / Ngāi Te Rangi cosmology developed here.

4 Observations made in modified states of consciousness, such as those that occur in mystical or visionary experiences or dreams, meditation etc. are currently excluded from materialist reductionist science. Radical empiricism includes these.
to recount these here, these have been significant aspects of my journey of onto-epistemological inquiry and deepening ecological reality.

Tales of exile

Lewis’s story

I am Ngāi Te Rangi and whakapapa (genealogy) back through my mother, Shirley Williams some 20 generations to the Mataatua waka. In 1865, our ancestral lands (including our sacred mountain Mauao) were confiscated by the colonial government. It was in the wake of this spatial and spiritual exile (Mcleod, 2007) that my family left for Auckland. My ancestral inheritance has been fragments, feelings, conversations, and … dreams. These dreams were of many things Māori; including knowledge pertaining to my own tribal history that I had no way of knowing at the time.


I am walking onto the Marae (meeting place) in search of the casket of my tupuna Jane Sellars, daughter of Ruawāhine Puhī, Ngāi Te Rangi, and John-lees Faulkner, Pākehā trader. I enter from the back. There is a group of rangatahi (youth) standing around. I walk by and look to them expectantly; they do not see me. I can see no coffin. I walk into the wharekai (dining house) where there are some wāhine (women). Again they do not see me, do not greet me. I am invisible. I wander outside, feeling bleak. I look about. I had expected to see Jane laid out in her coffin in all her finery. I see no one, I see nothing . . . I am nothing.

I’m now on the wildest part of the Marae, the grass all long and overgrown. And then I see it. A coffin, lying in the long grass, in a state of disrepair, completely closed, one lid folded over the other, dusty, cobwebbed, long forgotten. I am long forgotten . . . to my iwi and myself. I wake. I feel a deep despair (Adapted from Williams, 2012, p. 105).

Tales of Transformation

The land continues to call: Saskatchewan, Canada, 2003-2008.

I went to live and work in Saskatchewan, a sparsely populated province in the heart of the Canadian Prairies. Here, the change in the energy of the land was palpable, which my dreams reflected. My dreaming life continued and intensified. By night, brown bears, polar bears, coyote, snakes, and buffalo continued to visit. I felt grateful for their medicine and became more aware of their presence by day as well. I was also increasingly exposed to a number of North American Native discourses (Cajete, 2000; Nelson, 2008) that spoke of the land as being deeply animate, alive, resonant, conversational; a land that was populated by animals, spirit beings, and dream helpers, as well as people. Discourses, ceremonies, and my research with SLFN elders gave me a language for my experiences. During this time I began to write my way home—figuratively and literally into the soul of my Indigenous being. My longings for my own tribal lands grew.

The beginning of 2009 marked the beginning of my return home in a physical sense. After climbing Mauao one day, Aunty Maria, a Ngāi Te Rangi kuia (woman elder) spontaneously took me with her to a tangihanga (traditional Māori funeral) being held over three days at the Tutereinga Marae.
A reunion and a healing: February 2009

I enter the wharenui (meeting house), kneel by the coffin, and exchange whakapapa (genealogy) with the whanau (family). Hearing murmuring behind me, I turn around. The koroua (male elder) is addressing me speaking in te reo Māori, the mother tongue of my ancestors. I don’t know what he is saying. At first my body is numb to his words—125 years have passed since my great, great grandmother, my ancestor, walked these lands, since my family really knew these lands as their tūrangawaewae (a place to stand). His words start to go through the numbness . . . something in me is stirring.

Deep in my body some intelligence is recognizing what he is saying, taking him in, taking all of this deep within. My body straightens, alert, energy rising up through my spine. My body is listening deeply, re-membering. My wairua (spirit) is being called forth. I am being called home. (Adapted from Williams, 2012, p. 111)

I return to Saskatchewan and take time to absorb the many things of my trip back home. I reformulate; my being somehow re-organizes itself (an onto-epistemological deepening that is somehow embodied). I prepare to go back for a longer time. I am energetically connected. A week or so before my departure for Aotearoa, I have the following dream.

The elders sing—May 2009

I dream I am in a meeting room. There are two tables. I sit at a one table with Pākehā middle-aged people. It feels stale. Next to me some Māori women begin to gather. More and more Māori come and gather at this table. The lights are dim. A woman with a baby is right next me. She’s youngish. She turns to me and says, ‘Look, the elders are going to sing’. I turn and look. The elders are gathered and they begin to sing to us in the most beautiful tones. I am now completely surrounded by Māori. I do not understand what the elders are singing, but again my body, my spirit, does. Some sort of transmission is occurring. I feel their waiata (song) go deep within me. The harmonies are so rich; their message has a pure, calming effect on me. I feel completely at home.

I am ready to return home. (Adapted from Williams 2012, p. 112)

Tales of Recovery and Re-visioning

Today, the Ngāi Te Rangi tribe numbers over 12,201 people; of these, 42 percent remain in the area. By contrast, SLFN today consists of 2,188 band members, over 72 percent (1,578) of whom live on the 9,209.5 ha. reserve. For both, treaty claims and the re-establishment of traditions in ways relevant to contemporary times remain a priority. These are more than about land and language and resources; they represent the recovery of a deeper Life-World—a world that for many has also become the ‘world unconscious’ (Aizenstat, 1995).

In spite of land confiscations and other oppressive colonial practices, Ngāi Te Rangi and SLFN elders remember a life during the twentieth century that was in close relationship to the land and still in relative harmony with many of the tribal traditions. Kuia Ngāroimata Cavill, Ngāi Te Rangi has fond memories of growing up on the land. They lived off wild pork and seafood and grew vegetables. Ngāroimata remembers the land and sea as being bountiful (Williams, 2010, p. 16). Similarly, Elder Mike Daniels, SLFN, talks about the land as being the provider:
My late grandfather and grandmother, Minohoween and Peyasewasini, those old people lived off things that grew in the earth. That is where they received their life. They took medicine [from the earth]. The old lady would heal anybody that went to see her (SLFN, 2006)

**Mauao: A Ngāi Te Rangi view of well-being**

Despite the confiscation of the Maunga and surrounding whenua (land), subsequent “development,” which came to the Tauranga moana area, and continued to erode traditional ways of life and being, Mauao remains intimately bound with the lives of local iwi:

> **Mauao is a taonga which has immeasurable value, and which symbolizes the endurance, the strength and the uniqueness of each iwi. For each of them, Mauao is a link between the metaphysical and the physical worlds, and between the past and the present, and the future.**

(Williams et al 2010, p. 7).

Our Koroua and Kuia share a number of perspectives about Mauao that speak of a worldview of deep interconnectedness; well-being is the result of harmony and balance between the human and non-human worlds. Their narratives and other work consulted (Stokes, 1992) speak to four inter-connected concepts related to well-being: mana, tapu, mauri, and whakawhanaungatanga. In various ways our elders speak of Mauao as whanaunga or kin.

Ngāroimata experiences a strong sense of well-being when she is in physical proximity to Mauao: “I feel so good when I am up there, because he is a part of me and I am a part of him.” She later adds, “I feel like its [Mauao] the sacred part of my life. And anything happens to it, happens to me” (Williams, 2010, p. 25). Mauri is present in the stories of Ngāi Te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui with the arrival of the waka (canoes) and the implanting of the mauri into Mauao and surrounding areas. It is because of the “mauri and spirituality along with all the other reasons that Mauao is designated sacred or waahi tapu (sacred site)” (Williams, 2010, p. 25). Ngāroimata speaks of Mauao as being ‘alive’. Speaking about the need for Council to return the Maunga fully to local tribes Maria Ngatai says: “What they’ve (Council) given is just the top ... but it [Mauao] grows from the bottom” (Williams, 2010, p. 24). These narratives speak to Mauao as a living being, deeply connected to local tribes, not only through the historic implanting of the mauri of the new arrivals, but to the mauri that both imbues the Maunga and his people, knitting them as one.

Despite the Crown’s confiscation and disregard for Mauao, for local iwi, the maunga (mountain) is sacred. The lore of tapu (sacred) removes a person, place, or thing from ordinary secular association or use. Tapu is also closely related to the flow of mana, an extraordinary presence and spiritual authority pertaining to humans and other beings. Mana flows through a person, manifesting from the atua (gods). For mana to flow, tapu must be observed. As waahi tapu, the use of Mauao for the everyday, secular activities undermines the mana of the maunga and, by extension, the mana of the iwi of Tauranga Moana. It does so because not only does this inhibit the expression of the fore-mentioned qualities of tapu, mana, mauri and whaka whanaungatanga, but also because Mauao is in part the essence of who Ngāi Te Rangi are. The health of Mauao and the well-being of the iwi of the Tauranga Moana are linked through the active exercise of whakawhanaungatanga (the act of relating to and caring for one’s kin). When this is fully supported by the Crown, tapu is able to be observed correctly, the mauri of the maunga is nurtured, and mana through a mauri that is strong and vibrant is able to flow freely.
**Dream: February 2010: ‘Mauao calls’**

I’m sleeping in Toronto, on what I call the ‘concrete slab’. In my rented apartment, on the ninth floor, concrete on concrete, all the way down. It is in a sense ‘modernity epitomized’ – devoid of Life-World.

However, I find myself suddenly, as if transported, thousands of miles across the ocean, standing in front of Mauao. The maunga of my ancestors, my maunga draws me in. He looks healthy. He is vibrant. He has no language in the human sense, but I feel his being through every pore of my skin. I know him – I am empathically resonant to this exchange. I wake feeling quite refreshed.

I am reminded of Fixico’s (2003) words about Indigenous ‘see[ing]’ in a linear world:

> It is like living one’s dream that seems so real while you are sleeping. It is acceptance of the fact that a relationship exists between a tangible item like a mountain and a dream (p. 3).

**Conclusion: Transforming Relationality**

The initial gateway into a deepened knowing of my Life-World was a dream. The dreaming continued to act as a significant portal—both as a medium for accessing and revealing the “energetic mind that undergirds the physical world” (Deloria in Broadhead & Howard, 2011) and eventually accessing the Indigenous Life-World cosmology pertaining to Mauao offered to me by my Ngāi Te Rangi elders. The few windows articulated here into my experiences, which led to the reconstitution of my Life-World, represent an intuitively based form of inquiry that enabled me to probe beyond my habitual onto-epistemological framings of relationality.

Spirit, body, and mind were all integral to this process which can be seen as the result of my movement back and forth through states of Exile, Transformation, and Recovery. My experiences were informed by spirit, emotion/affect, rationality and my visceral, felt, embodied way of knowing. My initial dream, my experience of exile, came from a place of wairua or spirit. This dream was vital in pushing me to probe below the surface and understand the untended casket of my Tupuna as a metaphor for the unexplored Life-World terrain of my ancestral and ultimately epistemological lineage. The experiences/dreams that informed or shaped my transformation included night time dreams, but were also of a broader dreaming quality that incorporated sleeping and waking states that again enabled me to probe beneath the layers of apparent reality to other levels of inter-subjectivity that led me to experience my wairua being called up through my being by the Koroua at the tangihanga. These embodied and intuitive ways of coming to know were also present in my participation in Cree ceremonies, or climbing and sensing into Mauao and the culture, land, and soulscape of Saskatchewan. These same states were similarly drawn on throughout the recovery phase, ultimately leading me to recognize my deep connection to the maunga of my ancestors, as reflected in my final dream.

In particular, the dreaming has been presented as a valid form of inquiry and one means of augmenting a deeper sustainability. Because of the Ngāi Te Rangi part of my identity and epistemological lineage, this has been mainly articulated within a Ngāi Te Rangi and Māori Life-World framing based on a “tripartite nature of existence” (Walker, 2004). Here, wairua plays a significant role in engaging with the collective fabric of universal consciousness and energy, and ultimately the sacred collective knowledge that includes but transcends human consciousness. For me, my dream of Mauao was very much an exchange between two living presences; a deepening of relationality as a result of my intuitive inquiry.
My point here is not to prescribe a particular cosmological framework other than the suggestion that our reality is a deeply interconnected and resonant one. Rather, I am more broadly emphasising the importance of on-going inquiry into the nature of reality and our relationship to it; in this case the medium has been dreaming. As Indigenous researchers and activists, our intentional engagement with critical ontological inquiry is important in continuing to claim a deepened and more connected sense of Life-World. As an Ojibwa woman articulates:

*The experiences we have in our dreams are really important… They help us nurture our relationship with the land and the animals… that’s part of the whole cosmology that we’re part of. And I think it’s really important for us to listen to that and to honour it… when we have these dreams about trees or animals or rocks… that we look on it as an opportunity and a relationship that’s forming… Its part of our health* (Williams et al., 2012a).

Our realities have also been colonized; bringing such other ways of knowing into science and maintaining academic legitimacy is challenging. Yet I believe we must attempt it. Te Ao Māori and other indigenous cosmologies have many gifts not only for indigenous peoples but could, and perhaps already are proving a potent force for inculcating a deep and embodied sense of sustainability in the general populace today.

**References.**


DISASTER RECOVERY: AN APPROACH TO ASSESSING THE RESTORATION OF MAURI TO ITS PRE RENA STATE

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Abstract

The grounding of the Rena impacted severely on the mauri of Otaiti and the surrounding environments of Maketu, Motiti and Papamoa. The 5 October 2011 disaster has had significant environmental impacts that were experienced in anthropocentric terms as impacts upon social, economic, and cultural well-being of Te Arawa ki tai (Ngāti Pikiao, Ngāti Makino, Ngāti Whakaue, Waitaha, Tapuika, Ngāti Whakahemo, and Ngāti Rangitīhi). The Rena Long-Term Environmental Recovery Plan goal is to ‘restore the mauri of the affected environment to its pre-Rena state’. The stated goal of mauri restoration is significant as this positions the environmental recovery in conceptual terms aligned to the aspirations of the indigenous peoples of the affected area. The reference to mauri facilitates the recognition of important meta-physical considerations not otherwise included in conventional impact assessment and monitoring.

The challenge then is in giving relevance to meta-physical impacts within a scientifically defensible analysis. The mauri-meter provides an innovative approach to assessing the impact upon the mauri of the four dimensions of environmental, cultural, social and economic well-being. The impact upon mauri is determined as the change in life supporting capacity, and is measured both qualitatively and quantitatively. The participatory action-based research approach has significant relevance for indigenous communities impacted upon by disasters as it empowers indigenous wisdom in the decision making processes regarding the recovery strategies to be adopted. The conceptual basis of the Mauri Model resonates with other cultures and thus the framework used may have relevance in other cultural contexts.

Approaching the disaster restoration challenge that is the Rena involves research that broaches all of the conference themes requiring a response that is; innovative in advocating the relevance of indigenous wisdom in the face of constrained scientific understandings of knowledge; inspirational for the impacted communities, assisting their recovery processes and empowerment; and focused on the facilitation of enhanced well-being of the communities and their ecosystems of origin. The motivation for this research is thus embodied in the thematic descriptions He Manawa Auaha, He Manawa Toitoi, He Manawa Ora, and reflects the aspirations inherent in the conference conceptual basis, He Manawa Whenua.

Introduction

Aotearoa New Zealand (ANZ) is dealing with the aftermath of New Zealand’s worst environmental disaster, the Rena grounding on Otaiti, which occurred on 5 October 2011. ANZ is the largest island group in the Pacific Ocean and has a growing international reputation as a clean, green environment with beautiful scenery. This reputation was marred recently when the MV Rena ran aground and the subsequent oil spill and release of containers and container debris became a significant environmental disaster. The Ministry for the Environment prepared the Rena Long-Term Environmental Recovery Plan (MfE, 2012). The plan’s goal is to “restore the mauri of the
affected environment to its pre-Rena state”. The goal of mauri restoration is significant as it positions the environmental recovery in conceptual terms aligned to the aspirations of the Indigenous Peoples. The reference to mauri facilitates the recognition of important meta-physical considerations not otherwise included in conventional impact assessment and monitoring. Figure 1 indicates the location of the MV Rena.

Figure 1. MV Rena, Bay of Plenty, North Island, Aotearoa New Zealand

Mauri is the life force or life supporting capacity of the air, water or soil. The framing of the response in terms that resonate with the beliefs and values of the Indigenous Peoples of ANZ is relevant to the theme of Water Related Disaster Solutions. There is also relevance to all of the sub themes, as the grounding has impacted marine water quality; the response, including the definition of the long-term recovery strategy, has been community led; and the solutions adopted present opportunities for capacity building in many contexts, demonstrating innovative disaster mitigation and adaptation. A holistic decision making framework has been adopted that already existed before the Rena grounding that has been adapted to this disaster response context.

Historic Relevance of Indigenous Knowledge to Resource Management in NZ

A significant influence on the original drafting of New Zealand’s Resource Management legislation was the succession of successful claims brought by Indigenous peoples, resulting in a rethink of many significant infrastructure projects that were shown to be poorly considered in the Tribunal’s findings. The wasted effort in the conception and design of large infrastructure projects that were contextually flawed highlighted an opportunity to improve the relevant legislation. A consistent theme of indigenous opposition reported by the Tribunal introduces a spiritual and cultural perspective of the environment that hitherto had not been considered in decision making. Indigenous concepts raised in the Tribunal hearings included:

- The retention of intrinsic values / mauri
The mauriOmeter (Figure 2, below) provides a determination of absolute sustainability. Different worldviews can best be included in a collective and inclusive decision making process. Prioritisation of indicators used in decision making. It is possible therefore to determine how into the drivers of different worldviews, and how these drivers influence the selection and indigenous values and beliefs in engineering decision making processes that are typically.

The Mauri Model Decision Making Framework (Morgan, 2008) was created to empower (kaitiakitanga) are coupled with systems thinking, a means of defining the absolute sustainability impacts then exists. When the indigenous concepts of mauri and its active enhancement (kaitiakitanga) and manaakitanga (people) are coupled with systems thinking, a means of defining the absolute sustainability of decisions is provided.

Mauri is variously explained as a binding force; the power of the gods (Barlow, 1991); existing in all things; and the intrinsic value of ecosystems (Durie, 1998). Mauri is the fusion that makes it possible for everything to exist, by holding the physical and meta-physical elements of a being or thing together in unison. When actions impact negatively upon the mauri of something, this essential bond is weakened, and can potentially result in the separation of the physical and meta-physical elements resulting in death or the loss of capacity to support life.

Methodology

When mauri is defined as the life supporting capacity of the air, water and soil, effectively the attractive force between the physical and spiritual attributes of something, the theoretical basis is created for relevance in terms of New Zealand law, and a means to measure and evaluate impacts then exists. When the indigenous concepts of mauri and its active enhancement (kaitiakitanga) are coupled with systems thinking, a means of defining the absolute sustainability of decisions is provided.

The Mauri Model Decision Making Framework (Morgan, 2008) was created to empower indigenous values and beliefs in engineering decision making processes that are typically dominated by Cost Benefit Analysis. The Mauri Model uses two assessments to provide insights into the drivers of different worldviews, and how these drivers influence the selection and prioritisation of indicators used in decision making. It is possible therefore to determine how different worldviews can best be included in a collective and inclusive decision making process. The mauriOmeter (Figure 2, below) provides a determination of absolute sustainability.

Figure 2. mauriOmeter Assessment (Morgan & TeAho, 2013)
Until 2011, the relevance of Indigenous knowledge to disaster response had not been explored. Research is now progressing to improve understanding of the options to facilitate the restoration of mauri impacted by the Rena stranding on Otagi. The research provides insights into the further development of the Mauri Model as an assessment tool in its application to disaster response decision making and other resource management contexts. The research increases the capacity of Indigenous peoples to make contributions based on their own knowledge in a way that can effectively influence decision making processes. This means positive change to local government and central government decision making from the Indigenous perspective. The research adds a strengthened decision making context able to incorporate culturally relevant knowledge previously ignored in decision making based solely on a western scientific perspective. Previous applications of the Mauri Model have included contexts of assessment that have helped anchor and inform this research process (Fa’aui et. al., 2013):

- Following the Christchurch earthquake in September 2010, four final year research projects evaluated the implications for wastewater and water supply infrastructure replacement options (Fa’aui et. al., 2011). This work indirectly assists with understanding the disaster response component of the research.
- The Mauri Model was used by two summer research interns to investigate the restoration of Okahu Bay within the context of long term development impacts not dissimilar to the albeit short term impacts caused by the Rena grounding (Fa’aui, 2012). This work informs the application of the Mauri Model from a marine/estuarine perspective.
- The Mauri Model has been used to evaluate the remediation of contaminated sites such as Rotoitiipaku at Kawerau (Slade & Hikuroa, 2011) and the impacts of Fracking on the Blood Reservation in Ontario (Rehu, 2012). This work provides insights into how different remediation strategies can be assessed holistically to ensure that evaluation of options is based on all four mauri dimensions.

These applications have provided opportunities to develop new uses for the Mauri Model especially relevant to the Rena disaster recovery. The scope of topics to be included in seminar discussions adds accidental and intentional water pollution, alongside disasters caused by climate related extreme events and incidents of infrastructure failure. The impacts of these events are pervasive and far reaching often causing significant loss of life, environmental and economic degradation. Many countries are facing the challenges of recovering from disaster events and the opportunity to share experiences and successful responses will be invaluable in enhancing future strategies.

**Results and Discussion**

Although the Government response privileges Indigenous Knowledge in the framing of the response strategy to include consideration of mauri, the consideration of environmental impacts in isolation is inconsistent with Indigenous values and beliefs. Rather the Indigenous peoples think of themselves as an inseparable part of their ecosystem of origin. In this regard, the methodology adopted to address the challenge of holistic recovery is potentially of relevance to international contexts (Morgan et. al., 2012), as the Mauri Model DMF incorporates assessments of economic, social and cultural dimensions of mauri as well as ‘environmental’.

- The response strategy adopted in the long-term strategy creates a number of challenges not previously addressed in assessment work using the Mauri Model. The first challenge
was to accurately determine the pre-Rena state of mauri. Acknowledging that the state of mauri of the any ecosystem is not static then requires some means of determining the state of mauri at a point in time.

- The assessment of impacts upon mauri over varying timeframes is also difficult. Thus once the pre-Rena state of mauri has been quantified, the next challenge is to determine the interim impacts upon mauri during the relatively short 24 month ‘clean-up’ phase of the disaster response.

- Predicting mauri trends for different long term solutions is challenging in terms of establishing cause and effect relationships that justify the distribution of opportunities in a way that is equitable for the Indigenous peoples affected by the Rena disaster. The remaining challenge is therefore the selection of mitigation strategies for an effective long-term recovery.

In a community led process, it is vitally important to set aside sufficient time and resources to determine the pre-Rena state of mauri, during the ‘clean-up’ phase, and also to generate sufficient enthusiasm for the community to participate in long-term strategy discussions, albeit nearer the end of the ‘clean-up’ phase, at a time when the community are drained, physically and emotionally exhausted through their unwavering commitment to the immediate disaster response.

Summary results of the research into the pre-Rena state of mauri, and the ‘clean-up’ phase are now presented. The challenge to accurately determine the pre-Rena state of mauri was addressed by assessing the trends in mauri for each of the four dimensions over the period of 100 years prior to the Rena grounding. The resulting dimension trends and overall mauri trend are shown in Figure 3 (below) and the mauri state is reflected by the y-axis score (0.22 overall) immediately prior the Rena grounding event. The 0.22 mauri value is established as the pre-Rena state and all later assessments are evaluated against this baseline as shown in Figure 4 for the change in mauri in the ‘clean-up’ phase.

**Figure 3.** 100 Year Mauri Analysis pre-Rena State (Fa’au & Morgan, 2013)
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Figure 3. 100 Year Mauri Analysis pre-Rena State (Fa`aui & Morgan, 2013)

The mauriometer results that provide the basis for Figure 4 are provided in Table 1 below. The cumulative impact upon mauri is measured in mauri years \( MY \) either positive or negative, and is the sum of the polygons confined between the baseline and overall mauri for each time interval. The cumulative impact upon mauri during the clean-up phase is therefore:

\[
MY = 0.5 \text{Yr x } ((-1.58-0.22) + (-1.50-0.22) + (-1.21-0.22) + (-0.79-0.22)) = 2.98 \text{ Mauri Years}
\]

Table 1. Clean-up Phase MauriOMeter Analysis

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Soc2</td>
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Conclusion and Recommendation

The research has thus far achieved the definition of the pre-Rena state of mauri (Fa`aui & Morgan, 2013), and applied this within the clean-up phase of the disaster recovery to quantify the impact upon mauri of the Rena grounding ecosystem disaster. The impacts are considered to be broader than the narrow western scientific definition of environmental impact, but rather have been calculated assuming that the mauri impact is experienced across all four mauri dimensions, particularly in terms of the Indigenous people’s perspective.

The cumulative impact on mauri of the Rena grounding over a two year period is calculated to be in the order of three mauri years. The long-term recovery phase must therefore establish mauri enhancing initiatives across all four mauri dimensions that result in a cumulative net increase of three mauri years in excess of the 0.22 state of mauri baseline previously established. The challenge of achieving this outcome will depend on the long-term solution proposed, as the Government is currently considering options that either remove the remaining wreck and debris or leave it in place.

Otaiti is listed as a significant natural feature in Regional planning documents for the Bay of Plenty, primarily because of the high importance of the reef in cultural terms to the Indigenous peoples of that area. Returning the mauri of this ecosystem, inclusive of its Indigenous peoples, to its pre-Rena state is an interesting and complex challenge yet to be overcome, but one that will depend entirely on the involvement and support of the local Indigenous community. Our research approach is considered unique in that it seeks to empower the voice of Indigenous peoples in disaster response contexts in a way that is meaningful and useful to an often disempowered and voiceless minority.

Approaching the Rena disaster restoration challenge, is necessitating research that: must advocate the relevance of indigenous wisdom in the face of constrained scientific understandings of knowledge; is inspirational for the impacted communities assisting recovery processes/empowerment; and focuses on the enhanced well-being of the communities and ecosystems of origin. The motivation for this research is thus embodied in the thematic descriptions He Manawa Auaha (Innovation), He Manawa Toitoi (Inspiration), He Manawa Ora (Wellbeing), and reflects the aspirations inherent in the conference conceptual basis, He Manawa Whenua (a pool of knowledge that is situated in the heart of the people).

Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge the commitment of Te Arawa Ki Tai, and the other Iwi impacted by the Rena grounding. Kia kaha, kia māia, kia manawanui, kia matāra!
Conclusion and Recommendation

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References


HEALTH

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DEVELOPING AN IPAD TO ASSIST IN HEART FAILURE SELF-CARE AMONGST INDIGENOUS AUSTRALIANS: FLUID WATCHERS PACIFIC RIM

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Abstract

This paper describes the development and trialling of Fluid Watchers Pacific Rim: an iPad application designed to provide monitoring and self-care for Indigenous Australians with heart failure. The project is based on evidence that IT-supported education can be successful in decreasing re-hospitalisation and improving self-management skills. This project is the first demonstration that an iPad application can be developed to provide health care support for Indigenous Australian patients.

In this paper, the authors describe an Action Research methodology, which involved health experts, an IT team and Indigenous heart failure patients in three cycles of development. They also describe the steps they took to ensure community participation and ownership of the project.

The Fluid Watchers Pacific Rim trial provides positive initial findings which suggest that Indigenous heart failure patients enjoy using the application and improve their knowledge and self-care. The authors are currently developing a Randomised Control Trial to fully evaluate the application.

Introduction

Heart failure is the leading cause of hospitalisation and a significant burden to the health care systems of Australia, the USA and New Zealand (Clark, McLennan, Dawson, & Wilkinson, 2004;...
Massie & Shah, 1997; Riddell, 2005). Australian estimates suggest that heart failure is experienced by 2% of the Australian population, with 13% of patients aged over 65 years. The Australian Indigenous community experiences a particular burden with heart failure: Indigenous people with heart failure experience a death rate three times higher than the non-Indigenous population (AIHW, 2003).

This paper outlines the first phase of a project focused on heart failure self-management within the Indigenous Australian community. Fluid Watchers Pacific Rim involved the design and testing of an iPad heart failure self-management teaching application (app). The app is particularly focused on fluid-level monitoring, and is designed to be specifically engaging and interactive for an Indigenous audience.

The first phase of the project had two aims: to involve Indigenous patients and community health workers in developing the app; and to evaluate the app’s effectiveness – both in teaching heart failure knowledge and self-care behaviours (such as fluid-level monitoring), and in the satisfaction and user-friendliness of the software. This paper reports on the methodology of the first phase and the processes used to develop the app.

The first phase of the project provides preliminary data that will inform a larger project involving a pragmatic Randomised Control Trial (RCT) to test the app in a powered sample (currently in the project planning stage). The project team includes researchers and clinicians from Queensland University of Technology (QUT), Flinders University, Ipswich Hospital, Royal Brisbane Hospital, Central Queensland University and Kambu Aboriginal Medical Service.

Throughout this paper, we use the term ‘Indigenous Australians’ to refer to both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

**Current Evidence About Successful Approaches to Self-Care Education for People With Heart Failure**

The evidence demonstrates that people with heart failure who effectively manage their symptoms through lifestyle modification and adherence to medicine regimens will experience fewer hospitalisations (Jaarsma, Halfens, Huijer Abu-Saad, Dracup, Gorgels, van Ree, J., & Stappers, 1999). Yet even though the evidence highlights that self-management support can add value, approximately 50% of patients experience minimal benefit from self-care interventions (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2003). There is insufficient available evidence about the efficacy of self-management support, particularly in relation to the most valuable types, elements, modes and intensity. Even less is known about heart failure self-management strategies relevant for Indigenous Australian populations.

Within the overall context of self-management for heart failure patients, fluid management is a key component of symptom monitoring and management (HFSA, 2006; Krum, Jelinek, Stewart, Sindone, & Atherton, 2011). Current guidelines recommend that fluid retention is monitored by daily weight checks (Heart Foundation Australia, 2008). If a patient gains 2 kilograms of more over 2 days, with associated ankle, hand and/or abdominal swelling, then the patient is advised to activate their fluid action plan and/or seek medical advice (Heart Foundation Australia, 2008).

There is good evidence that simple fluid monitoring can prevent the life-threatening consequences that result in emergency hospital admission for acute decompensated heart failure and pulmonary oedema (Caldwell, Peters, & Dracup, 2005; Jaarsma et al., 1999; Spaeder, Najjar,
Gerstenblith, Hefter, Kern, Palmer, Gottlieb, & Kasper, 2006). Unfortunately, the literature suggests that fluid monitoring is not widespread. Fewer than half of all heart failure patients report having bathroom scales, and many patients (especially women) are hesitant to weigh themselves daily because of the social stigma associated with overweight and obesity (Clark, Yallop, Piterman, Croucher, Tonkin, Stewart, & Krum, 2007).

A specific fluid monitoring program, Fluid Watchers©, was developed with a rural patient group in the USA. The program demonstrated improved heart failure knowledge and self-care behaviour, plus fewer re-hospitalisations and reduced mortality (Caldwell et al., 2005; Dracup & Zegre, 2009). Fluid Watchers© is based on self-care and adult learning theories (Knowles, 1980; Jaarsma et al., 1999), and focuses on the signs, symptoms, causes and consequences of decompensated heart failure and the importance of self-management. The self-management strategies in the Fluid Watchers© program include: teaching patients to keep a diary of daily weight and develop a fluid retention action plan; addressing perceived barriers to implementing the action plan; and providing a script to use when calling a health care provider if symptoms worsen (Caldwell, Peters, & Dracup, 2005).

This project draws on the American Fluid Watchers© project to develop a self-care intervention for Indigenous Australians with heart failure. This is the first project of its type developed specifically for Indigenous Australians. The key aims of the Fluid Watchers Pacific Rim intervention are to ensure that Indigenous Australians with heart failure become more confident in differentiating between fluid and adipose weight gain during daily self-monitoring; and to encourage them to respond with early action.

Using Technology to Aid Self-Management

The available evidence from systematic reviews and meta-analyses suggests that self-management programs assisted by information technology and telephone follow-up can be highly effective on outcomes such as mortality, hospitalisation, heart failure knowledge, medication compliance and cost effectiveness (Clark, Inglis, McAlister, Cleland, & Stewart, 2007). These interventions show improvements in quality of life, reduced costs and good levels of patient acceptability. Improvements in prescribing, patient knowledge, self-care and functional class are also observed (Clark et al., 2007).

Research indicates that computer-aided programs with user-friendly interfaces such as simulation, animation, image and voice can be efficient tools for educating patients and improving self-management skills (Clark et al., 2007). Patients who receive technology-based education tend to engage and learn effectively, as they experience a sense of empowerment as self-directed learners. As a result, patient involvement in self-care and decision making tends to increase.

For the Fluid Watchers Pacific Rim project, we developed an iPad app that would be a fun and convenient IT tool, and would also increase patients’ involvement in their own self-management. The iPad app combines the standard characteristics of computer-based teaching tools (simulation, animation, image and voice) with the capability to create a self-avatar and use the touch-screen interface. Through the iPad app, we will be able to collect and evaluate statistical evidence of learning and outcomes. In addition, the portability of iPads is a great benefit to health care workers in communities and in clinics. We set out to develop education and self-monitoring materials that would be engaging, interactive, easy to navigate, and usable (for patients, carers and health care workers within both hospital and community settings).
Methodology

This first phase of the Fluid Watchers Pacific Rim project had two key objectives:

1. To involve Indigenous patients and community health care workers in the development of a heart failure self-care iPad app
2. To evaluate the effectiveness of the iPad app on (1) heart failure knowledge, (2) self-care behaviours, and (3) satisfaction and user friendliness of the software.

This project is informed by the understanding that cultural sensitivity is essential for effective heart failure management across different populations (NHMRC, 2005). Interventions need to be adapted to the cultural backgrounds, socioeconomic circumstances and health literacy of both families and communities (NHMRC, 2005). Populations that experience disparity in health outcomes need holistic approaches that seek to enhance health status and reduce barriers. In this project, we aimed to ensure that all aspects of the work involved cultural sensitivity, demonstrating respect for history, cultural beliefs and the social determinants of health (such as inadequate resources, education and poverty) (Anderson, Baum & Bentley, 2007; Boyle, Fredericks, & Tweede, 2013; NHMRC, 2003).

We adopted an Action Research approach to involve Indigenous people and community health care workers throughout the project. Action Research incorporates a family of research methodologies that occur in a natural setting with the primary goal being to solve real problems. Action Research has been extensively used in education settings to develop effective teaching strategies that use technology. It has also been used effectively with Indigenous Australian communities to bring about solutions or change (Fredericks, Adams, Finlay, Fletcher, Andy, Briggs Lyn, Briggs Lisa, & Hall, 2011; Walker, Fredericks, Anderson, & Mills, 2013).

The project was developed according to the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) guidelines for research with Indigenous Australians. On our project team, 40% of the CIs and AIs are Indigenous people, with the remaining members being heart failure experts. Ethics approval was received from the Queensland University of Technology (QUT) Human Research Ethics Committee, who confirmed that our project met the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (NHMRC, 2007).

Study Site and Size

The project is based in the city of Ipswich, to the west of Brisbane, in Queensland, Australia. In 2006, Ipswich City had a population of just over 162,000, with 34.3% of the population in the most socioeconomically disadvantaged quintile (ABS, 2011). Compared to the wider Queensland population, Ipswich has higher rates of physical inactivity, obesity, type 2 diabetes, mental and behavioural disorders, and deaths from coronary heart disease and stroke (ABS, 2011).

The project is focused on Indigenous people with heart failure who attend the Kambu Medical Centre in Ipswich, Ipswich Community Health Heart Failure Centre and West Moreton Health Service District.

In the initial stages of the project, we spent time talking with staff and the Board of the Kambu Medical Centre, to develop trust and engagement. We consulted with local Elders and presented education seminars relevant to our work. We sought to develop a relationship with Kambu Medical Centre that would provide a solid, ethical and trusting foundation for the trial and subsequent large-scale project.
Development Component of the Project

The development component of the project involved three cycles of action and reflection. Within each action research cycle, we sought feedback from three participating groups: medical experts, IT experts and heart failure patients. Feedback included aspects of design, images, language, health content and health literacy. Figure 1 shows an example of the IT team’s work on developing the avatar.

The third cycle resulted in the final version that was used in the trial. This is similar to the development approach using Action Research adopted in other health organisations (Fredericks et al., 2011).

Medical Expert Reviewers

The iPad app was reviewed during each cycle by a medical expert panel including a cardiologist, heart failure nurse practitioner, heart failure research academic and cardiac nurse. The medical expert panel focused on:

1. Integrity of the heart failure messages according to evidence-based guidelines;
2. Applicability of psychometric tools;
3. Appropriate language and images; and
4. Appropriate interactivity.

IT Reviewers

The IT team reviewed the app during each cycle to assess its workability and reliability.

Patient Reviewers

The iPad app was reviewed by 5 Indigenous heart failure patients and their carers, for usability and ease of navigation. The same patients reviewed the app during each cycle. The participants for this phase were chosen as a purposeful sample based on inclusion and exclusion criteria described by the Kambu Chronic Disease Nurse. Only people with heart failure who were clinically stable were approached to participate in the study.

Trial Component of the Project

We recruited 5 Indigenous people with heart failure to participate in the trial component of the project. The participants were chosen as a purposeful sample based on inclusion and exclusion criteria described by the Kambu Chronic Disease Nurse. Only people with heart failure who were clinically stable were approached to participate in the trial phase. There was no overlap in participants involved in the development component and the trial component.

The trial phase of the project aimed to evaluate: (1) heart failure knowledge, (2) self-care behaviours, and (3) user-friendliness of the software. To do this, we used before and after, validated questionnaires. These tools have been previously validated with other populations, but not with Indigenous people.

1. Heart Failure knowledge: The Heart Failure Knowledge Scale is a multiple-choice and yes/no, self-administered questionnaire (Simons-Morton et al., 1998). It consists of 6
items on heart failure, symptom recognition, diet, fluid restriction, medication and exercise. The scale provides a score of between 0 and 15 to measure heart failure knowledge.

2. Self-Care Behaviours: The Self-Care of Heart Failure Index Scale (Jaarsma et al., 1999) is used to measure self-care behaviour, including fluid and weight management.

3. User friendliness of software: A previously validated IT Satisfaction Survey (Clark et al., 2007) was adapted to measure the usability and ease of navigation of the app and to determine participants’ level of engagement and views about the app’s applicability (including their satisfaction).

Data Analysis

Data were analysed using Microsoft EXCEL 2007 and the PASW Statistics Program (Version 17 2011). Participant characteristics and summaries of questionnaire results involved descriptive statistics such as means, percentages or proportions. Outcomes of the research are reported as a percentage change in mean scores as shown through the before and after tests. Responses to open-ended questions were analysed using the method proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994) to identify emerging patterns and themes.

Results of the Trial Phase

The 5 patients involved in the trial phase included 3 males and 2 females, with a mean age of 61.2 years; 3 participants were NYHA (New York Heart Assessment) Class III. Four of the participants were married.

Overall, heart failure knowledge amongst participants improved by 13%, self-care behaviours improved by 3.2%, and satisfaction with the iPad app was 86.2%. Participants said that they enjoyed participating in the project. The outcomes of this pilot are encouraging, and more detailed results will be available soon.

Discussion

Fluid Watchers Pacific Rim is already delivering outcomes for Indigenous heart failure patients. The teaching applications developed through this project can be immediately used by hospital and health care workers who care for heart failure patients. They can also be used by patients themselves. The tools and materials developed in the project remain with the Ipswich community to achieve sustainability and reciprocity.

In the longer term, Fluid Watchers Pacific Rim will be fully tested for reliability and validity. The initial trial suggests that it provides a valuable tool for providing self-care and monitoring for heart failure patients in Indigenous communities.

The Action Research methodology used for this project can be applied in future projects that seek to develop health care tools for Indigenous communities. It involves an approach that can be used to develop future clinical trials that approach health care from a cultural perspective.

We anticipate that this project will lead to achievable and effective health gain for Indigenous Australians, beyond the life of the project. In addition to developing a practical tool for health
management, we have contributed to developing confidence and providing infrastructure for developing a culture of self-care for Indigenous people.

Conclusion

The Fluid Watchers Pacific Rim project has developed an iPad app to support self-care and monitoring for Indigenous people with heart failure. The people who participated in developing and trialling the app enjoyed participating in the project. They all showed improvement in knowledge and self-care. The outcomes from this small project are encouraging, and we are now working towards a larger trial.

Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge Kambu Medical Service and their patients who participated in this project. Acknowledgement is also offered to the Institute of Health and Biomedical Innovation (IHBI), Queensland University of Technology (QUT), Central Queensland University and the Health Collaborative Research Network (CRN) for funding.

References


MOTIVATIONAL INTERVIEWING AS AN ORAL HEALTH INTERVENTION FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD CARIES UTILISING A KAUPAPA MĀORI METHODOLOGY

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Abstract

Early Childhood dental disease is a significant health concern for Māori communities in New Zealand. In an effort to address the disparities of Early Childhood Caries (ECC) in Māori an HRC funded International Collaborative Indigenous Health Research Partnership (ICIHRP) research project is being undertaken in a partnership between the University of Otago and Waikato-Tainui. Parallel projects are being undertaken with Indigenous populations in both Australia and Canada. This is a randomised control trial investigating the efficacy of an intervention with Māori mothers/caregivers and their babies to reduce ECC. The Waikato-Tainui based programme is called ‘Te Mana o te Whaanau’. Motivational interviewing (MI) is one intervention method that has been successful in reducing ECC within indigenous communities in other parts of the world (Harrison et al., 2007). There has been little research done in New Zealand using MI with Māori populations and not in the prevention of ECC. This thesis will investigate the feasibility of applying MI to kaupapa Māori using a culturally appropriate framework. Within the context of ‘Te Mana o te Whaanau’, kaupapa Māori MI sessions will focus on tooth-friendly nutrition, oral hygiene at home, and the use of fluoride to protect teeth. All sessions will aim to improve oral health literacy of the participants. Analysis will focus on assessing the adaptability and feasibility of using MI within a culturally appropriate framework and developing a kaupapa Māori MI model for application in other settings.
Introduction

This study is about Oranga Niho o te tamaiti (child oral health). The research is being conducted within the larger randomised control trial (RCT) of the HRC International Collaborative Indigenous Health Research Partnership (ICHRP) funded project in Australia, New Zealand and Canada (Merrick et al., 2012; Kilgour et al., 2012). Evidence suggests that developing culturally appropriate interventions which utilise Indigenous frameworks and research methodologies may provide evidence which leads to more appropriate oral health initiatives for Indigenous children, reducing global oral health inequalities (Merrick et al., 2012; Kilgour et al., 2012; Parker et al., 2010). Ethical approval from Northern Y Ethics committee has been granted (NTY/10/06/051). The study is registered with the Australian New Zealand Clinical Trials Registry, ACTRN126100004222022.

Background

Child dental disease experience (Early Childhood Caries; ECC) causes profound suffering, frequently requiring expensive treatment under a general anaesthetic. It is associated with other chronic childhood conditions such as otitis media and nutritional disorders, and is the strongest predictor of poor oral health in adulthood. Despite ECC being entirely preventable, marked ECC disparities exist between Indigenous and non-Indigenous children in Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Early Childhood dental disease is a significant health concern for Māori communities in New Zealand (Koopu, 2005; Thomson, 1993, 2004; Broughton, 2000).

The literature suggests four ways in which ECC can be successfully prevented: (1) dental care provided to the mother during pregnancy (Caufield et al., 2005); (2) fluoride varnish application to children’s teeth (Weintraub et al., 2006); (3) anticipatory guidance (Nowak & Casamassimo, 1995); and (4) motivational interviewing (Harrison et al., 2007). Provision of comprehensive dental care to mothers during pregnancy reduces their levels of Streptococcus mutans, a micro-organism associated with ECC that can be transferred to the infant at birth (Caufield et al., 2005). The application of topical fluoride varnish has been shown to be efficacious in the prevention of ECC, with Weintraub et al. (2006) reporting little difficulty with compliance and no adverse events (Weintraub et al., 2006). Anticipatory guidance is a pro-active, developmentally-based counselling technique that focuses on the needs of a child at a particular stage of life (Nowak & Casamassimo, 1995). Motivational interviewing, on the other hand, focuses on strategies to move carers from inaction to action, with many possible paths to a solution provided (Harrison et al., 2007). To date there has been no single initiative reported within the published literature that has adopted all four of these intervention strategies.

The Waikato-Tainui based programme ‘Te Mana o te Whaanau’ is a randomised control trial (RCT) investigating the efficacy of an intervention utilising all four components, with Māori mothers/caregivers and their babies, to reduce ECC in the Waikato-Tainui rohe (Kilgour et al., 2012). Motivational interviewing (MI) is one intervention method being trialled in this RCT. There is little research done in New Zealand using MI with Māori populations or in the prevention of ECC. MI has been successfully integrated into many types of projects and programmes in Native communities in the United States, covering topics such as alcohol and substance abuse, diabetes,

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1 In 2012, ‘Te Mana o te Whaanau’ was first established and named within the larger ICHRP project by Raukura Hauora o Tainui provider, Waikato, New Zealand.
hypertension, and healthy lifestyle education (Hettema et al., 2005; Miller, 1995; Markland et al., 2005).

Past research with Māori communities has been challenged for being methodologically deficient for not engaging Māori meaningfully at every level of the research process (Cunningham, 1998; Smith 1999; Keefe-Ormsby et al., 1998 as cited in Blundell et al., 2010). Kaupapa Māori methodology is encouraged for those researchers working closely with Māori communities to bring about positive change (Kidd et al., 2013, Boulton et al., 2009; Bishop, 2005; Smith, 1999). Studies that apply Kaupapa Māori methodologies prove to enhance the research when engaging with Māori communities (Kidd et al., 2010, 2013; Kara et al., 2011; Boulton et al., 2009; Glover, 2000).

MI is a culturally adaptive model, in that it honours and respects (whakaute) the beliefs and core values of individuals, groups, organisations and communities (K. Bolton-Oetzel, personal communication, September 3, 2012). Bolton-Oetzel noted that the foundation of MI is to listen fully to an individual (or community, etc.) in order to gain a sincere understanding of the person sitting with us (we gain an understanding of their context, what values they hold, their thoughts, feelings, and behaviour, and what is important to that person). In a Māori context this is referred to as ‘hinengaro’ (Durie, 2003). MI is used as a way to understand where people are coming from, i.e. whakapapa (Te Rito, 2007), and also to talk about potential changes (behaviour changes, organisational changes, practice changes). Bolten-Oetzel explains that the MI practitioner does not suggest change, does not force conversation, and does not judge people based on their desire – or lack of – to change. In addition, if the person desires change, then the MI practitioner and the individual/community work together (mahi tahi) collaboratively – the practitioner is not an 'expert' – to define what the change will look like (K. Bolten-Oetzel, personal communication, September 3, 2012).

This study will investigate the feasibility of applying MI to Kaupapa Māori using a culturally appropriate framework; and develop a Kaupapa Māori MI model, in the context of an oral health intervention.

**Public Health Significance**

Establishing the efficacy of combining four previously successful interventions under a culturally appropriate framework, in reducing the burden of ECC experienced by Māori tamariki (children), is of high public health significance. The Kaupapa Māori framework can be used and adapted by other iwi in their interventions; and the ECC disease burden will be reduced with the potential for further ongoing reduction across the country.

**Study Design**

This study intends to investigate how MI fits within a Kaupapa Māori framework within the Waikato-Tainui rohe.

**Objectives:**

- To investigate and describe how MI fits within a kaupapa Māori framework;
- To investigate MI as an ECC intervention within the Waikato Tainui rohe;
- To interview key stakeholders within Waikato-Tainui about ECC and interventions; and
To identify the appropriateness of MI and its use by other indigenous peoples outside of New Zealand, including Australia and Canada.

**Methods:**

Te Niho Taniwha, a culturally appropriate framework from within Waikato-Tainui iwi, will be further developed and used to guide the application and analysis of this study.

As this study is part of the larger ‘Te Mana o Te Whaanau’ RCT, selection of the participants in the intervention is already underway and ethical approval has already been granted.

1. Conduct a literature review of MI in use in indigenous populations
2. Conduct Kaupapa Māori MI sessions for the mother-participants in the Intervention group when their babies are 6 months, 12 months and 18 months old. A selection of these sessions will be recorded
3. Analyse the recorded sessions for adherence to the MI process and to Kaupapa Māori and Te Niho Taniwha framework
4. Interview key stakeholders within Waikato-Tainui about ECC and interventions.
5. Examine the data using inductive thematic analysis to reveal key themes and topics
6. Assess the feasibility of using MI in a Kaupapa Māori setting

**Cultural Framework: Te Niho Taniwha model**

Waikato-Tainui sees “whaanau [as] the cornerstone of our tribal wellbeing and our collective purpose is to support whaanau with a determination to achieve social and economic independence, a diligence to succeed and, a pride and commitment to uphold their tribal identity and cultural integrity” (Morgan, 2010).

Waikato-Tainui uses Te Niho Taniwha as its cultural framework, as a way of organising values, thoughts and actions that guide and support the customs and way of life of a specific cultural group or groups. Te Niho Taniwha draws on a set of values, principles, philosophy and practice that are iwi-derived and grounded firmly in Waikato-Tainui maatauranga (knowledge). With its strong foundation and three equal sides, the symbol of the Te Niho Taniwha shows strength and resilience, it also illustrates the elements needed to attain total wellbeing. Alone each niho (tooth) represents a fundamental element of the cultural framework, but together they represent the wellbeing as a people, as an iwi, as hapū and as a whānau. Together they mean much more than the sum of the individual parts.

**Methods**

**Interviews**

There are 100 participants in the intervention (timata) group who will receive a MI interview by myself (the whaea researcher) at 6, 12, 18 months of babies age. The interviews will be conducted according to tikanga (protocol) principles of manaakitanga (hospitality, kindness), āwhinatanga (nurturing), te kawa o te marae (customs, law) under the korowai (cloak) of Waikato-Tainui. Venue, date and time will be agreed by each participant at a place convenient to them. Whānau tautoko (support) will be provided if the participants request this to happen. MI sessions will be electronically recorded or notes taken. A consent form will be given to the participant for the recording purposes and will be kept confidentially secured at the Waikato-Tainui College for
Te Niho Taniwha, a culturally appropriate framework from within Waikato-Tainui iwi, will be further developed and used to guide the application and analysis of this study. Te Niho Taniwha model represents a fundamental element of the cultural framework, but together they represent the foundation and three equal sides, the symbol of the Te Niho Taniwha shows strength and resilience, it also illustrates the elements needed to attain total wellbeing. Alone each niho (tooth) represents a fundamental element of the cultural framework, but together they represent the foundation and three equal sides, the symbol of the Te Niho Taniwha shows strength and resilience, it also illustrates the elements needed to attain total wellbeing.

Methods

The analysis of MI is already underway and ethical approval has already been granted. As this study is part of the larger ‘Te Mana o Te Whanau’ whanau [as] the cornerstone of our tribal wellbeing and our collective purpose is to support whanau with a determination to achieve social and economic wellbeing as a people, as an iwi, as hapū and iwi within Waikato-Tainui rohe. The kaupapa (purpose) of the hui (Kidd et al., 2010) will be to engage with participants through whakawhitiwhiti kōrero (discussion) to find out by whakarongo (listening) to what is being said and to see if Te Niho Taniwha can be used, developed, or kept or to see if there is a Kaupapa Māori model for MI that can be used for ECC. In addition, forming a kaitiaki roopu (stakeholder group) about ECC in Waikato-Tainui is an intended outcome. Engaging with iwi and hapū will occur through my own networks and working at Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development. This includes my own whānau, hapū and iwi networks; Te Puna Oranga, Māori Health Service, Waikato District Health Board; health professional networks; Māori community networks; Māori providers; Raukura Hauora o Tainui; and Waikato-Tainui work colleagues.

Dissemination

All participants at hui will be given the results of the study in a summary report. Other dissemination will include published articles in peer reviewed journals and presentations at conferences both nationally and internationally.

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Supervision

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**Canada:** Herenia Lawrence, Canadian Lead Named Investigator ICIHRP; Faculty of Dentistry, University of Toronto, Canada.

**University of Otago:** Professor Murray Thomson, New Zealand Named Investigator, ICIHRP; Department of Oral Sciences, Faculty of Dentistry, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.
Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development: Jonathan Kilgour, Research/Project Manager.

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Rangi Cooper Te-Koi, Te Pouarahi Kaupapa Rangahau, Raukura Hauora o Tainui.

Angeline Smith-Wilkinson, Raukura Hauora o Tainui (Waikato ki Tāmaki).

Glossary

āwhinatanga – nurturing
hapū – sub-tribe
hinengaro – mind
hui – meeting
iwi – tribe, nation, people
kaitiaki roopu – stakeholder group
Kaumātua Advisory Roopu – Māori Elders Advisory group
kaupapa – purpose
kaupapa Māori – Māori ideology
korowai – cloak
maatauranga – knowledge
mahi tahi – work together
mana – respect, authority
manaakitanga – hospitality, kindness
marae – community meeting house
mihi – greeting, acknowledgement
niho – tooth
Oranga Niho o te tamaiti – child oral health
rohe – boundary, district, region, territory, area
tamariki – children
tautoko – support
te kawa o te marae – customs, law
Te Mana o te Whaanau – Waikato-Tainui based programme, New Zealand ICIHRP project name
Te Niho Taniwha – Kaupapa Māori framework
tikanga – protocol
tīmata – to begin, start, intervention
whakawhitiwhiti kōrero – discussion, conversation
whānau/whaanau – family
whakapapa – genealogy
whakaute – honour, to respect, show respect

References


References


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THE CONSTRUCTION OF MĀORI IN HEALTH POLICY: A POLICY PROBLEM

ALISON GREEN

Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Ranginui

Abstract

Drawing on doctoral research, this presentation examines the construction of Māori in New Zealand health policy. An explanation is given for why the construction of Māori in health policy warrants attention, and the influence of Western medical discourse in health policy is investigated. Next, examples of the construction of Māori in a health and an education policy are compared. The health policy is a national ‘mainstreamed’ policy called the Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategy: Phase One, which was published by the Ministry of Health in 2001. The education policy, *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori education strategy 2008–2012*, is a national ‘targeted’ policy, published by the Ministry of Education in 2009. Problematising techniques in the Health Strategy are identified, as are situational factors affecting both policies, including an economic discourse which appears to positively influence the construction of Māori in *Ka Hikitia*. In conclusion, lesson-drawing from Māori education to health policy for Māori is possible, but may well depend upon unsettling Western medical discourses.

Introduction

The focus of my presentation is health policy and the problematising construction of Māori in health policy documents. This is an area of health policy research that warrants attention but has received very little. There have been a plethora of policy related studies since the 1990s reforms of the New Zealand health system. Most studies have focused on the effect of the reforms on the health system and the effect of post-reforms health policy on the health of New Zealanders (Davis & Ashton, 2001). A smaller number of studies have considered the effect of post-reform health policy on Māori health (Cunningham & Kiro, 2001: Kiro, 2001: Durie, 2005).

In an earlier study I proposed that the long history of racism and Western medical discourses about Māori obscure the negative construction of Māori in health policy (Green, 2011). Compared to health policy, the analysis of the construction of Māori in education policy is well underway. Pihama proposes the difference is a consequence of Kāupapa Māori theoretical and practical approaches which assist Māori to deconstruct and transform Māori education policy. Health policy, by comparison, may be more resistant to deconstruction and transformation because it is clouded by Western medical discourses (Pihama, 2010). This may explain why the problematisation of Māori in health policy is simultaneously evident and overlooked.

Social construction of Māori in policy

The social construction of Māori is the subject of studies spanning the fields of health services, health practices and health workforce development but not health policy. In the field of tobacco control the social construction of smoking is an important issue. The biggest health gains are made when health policy constructs smoking as an outcome of the determinants of health rather than the fault of individual smokers. When smokers are problematised and constructed as irresponsible people needing to take more responsibility and quit smoking, then tobacco control
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goes nowhere. However, health outcomes improve and smoking is reduced when health policy contextualises smoking and stays away from problematising and blaming New Zealanders who smoke cigarettes.

Unfortunately it is no surprise that people’s ethnicity makes a difference to how they are constructed in health policy. Western medical discourses underpinning clinical research may be a contributing factor. A recent New Zealand study, for example, examined the construction of teenage mothers in New Zealand medical literature. The study found that all teenage mothers were problematised in the medical literature as deviants and social problems. However Māori teenage mothers were doubly problematised; not only were they positioned as deviants but their children were described as more likely to have poor health, educational failure, imprisonment and a host of other harmful and damaging life events (Breheny and Stephens, 2010).

Māori constructed as problem

Health policy that problematises Māori also fails to accurately represent the health of Māori. The outcomes of this are the poor articulation of policy problems and policy solutions and the flawed distribution of health funding and health services. Another outcome of the problematisation of Māori in health policy is the transmission of damaging and truncated knowledge about Māori into the health sector. This happens because health policy is a powerful, persuasive and authoritative body of knowledge about people and their health. The power of health policy emanates from its having been made by governments (Shaw & Eichbaum, 2005), but the other source of its power is Western medicine.

As the name suggests, Western medicine emerged from Western civilization and is characterised by claims that it is rational, objective and supported by scientific research. However, authors such as Lock and Gordon (1988) have argued convincingly that contemporary Western medicine is not as objective as it claims to be. They assert that a function of western medicine is to reproduce hegemonic Western industrial-capitalist ideologies. Health policy that is underpinned by Western medical research may also operate as a technique for reproducing hegemonic relationships between Māori and Pākehā, and between Māori and successive governments.

To some people the likelihood that the representation of Māori in health policy could be inaccurate and damaging seems highly improbable. The Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategy references no less than seven clinical research studies, six reports and a host of Ministry of Health policy documents. Is it possible, people ask, for the Strategy to contain inaccurate, truncated and hegemonic statements about Māori? A closer examination of the reference section of the Strategy suggests a number of hegemonic relationships. First, Māori communities were not involved in the research; second, there were no references for Māori health or Māori development policies; and third, only two members of the Sector Reference Group were Māori.

In an earlier research paper I proposed that the problematisation of Māori in health policy provided a rationale for greater government surveillance and control (Green, 2011). With the benefit of hindsight, I suggest that problematisation has the effect of limiting the range of options for thinking about Māori health policy problems and solutions and, as a result, serves to entrench familiar policy approaches. The National Health Committee (2002) described this tendency to entrench health policy approaches as the cycle of reiteration – that is, repeating policy approaches, not because they were evaluated as effective, but because they were used in the past.
**Situational factors**

Health policy is not made in a vacuum; rather policies are a product of the interplay between situational, structural, cultural and environmental factors (Leichter, 1979). Although beyond the scope of this presentation, it is interesting to consider the extent to which the differing constructions of Māori in health and education policies are attributable to politico-cultural factors such as policies that ‘mainstream’ Māori as compared to policies that ‘target’ Māori (Ringold, 2004).

**Comparing policies**

So, what is this damaging and problematising body of knowledge about Māori that exists in the form of health policy? Using a comparative method I compared a national ‘mainstreamed’ health policy to a national education policy ‘targeted’ to Māori learners. The health policy is called the *Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategy: Phase One*, published by the Ministry of Health in 2001. The education policy called *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori education strategy 2008–2012* is a national policy, published by the Ministry of Education in 2009. I compared policies in order to demonstrate the differing ways that Māori were constructed in the two policy documents. The comparative process is useful because it enables lessons to be drawn from one policy sector to another (Blank & Burau, 2010). The comparison is also useful because it has the benefit of expanding the range of policy options available to health policy.

The method used to compare policies was to extract key construction-related statements about Māori from each policy document. Statements were analysed in order to understand each construction and the technique used to effect the construction. The table below contains a sample of the construction of Māori in two policy documents.

**Problematisation of Māori in health policy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Techniques</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘rates of both disease are disproportionately high in young people, Māori and Pacific peoples’ (p.1)</td>
<td>Negative, deficit-focused, problematises Māori</td>
<td>De-contextualises Māori health, no accounting for social determinants</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘The government is committed to fulfilling its obligations as a partner to the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand’s founding document. Its special relationship with Māori is ongoing and is based on the underlying premise that</td>
<td>Positive, culturally affirming</td>
<td>Treaty of Waitangi, ‘Māori are able to participate as Māori’²</td>
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Māori should continue to live in Aotearoa as Māori’ (p.5) | Self-managing | Mainstreaming policy, leading to marginalisation

‘Māori should be able to define and provide for their own priorities for participation and be encouraged to develop the capacity for delivery of services to their communities. This principle needs to be balanced by the Crown’s duty to govern on behalf of the total population’ (p.5)

‘It is envisaged that the Māori plan will follow a whānau development approach to Māori rangatahi within sexual health services. This approach will provide the support and services that the rangatahi need, while at the same time increasing the skills and experiences of the community’ (p.12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Technique</th>
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<tr>
<td>‘This government is committed to lifting the performance of the education system. Achieving this for and with Māori is a priority. We need to move away from characterising the problem as the failure of Māori learners within the system to how the system can maximise Māori potential. Māori enjoying education success as Māori is what we are all about’ (p.4)</td>
<td>Contextualised, systems-focused, forward-looking</td>
<td>Reference to government and education system, focus on changing discourse related to Māori learners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Inequitable education outcomes for Māori have persisted for too many years. Lifting Māori educational achievement will help raise overall performance of our education system, productivity and the economy. It is the right of every learner to be successful and the education system must deliver on this entitlement’. (p.4)</td>
<td>Contextualised, systems-focused, links Māori success to success of economy</td>
<td>Focus on change, systems responsibility for successful Māori education outcomes, ‘rights-focused’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘The strategy has been refreshed and re-released to emphasise its ongoing importance to our education system</td>
<td>Contextualised, systems-focused</td>
<td>Focus on change, systems responsibility for successful Māori education outcomes</td>
</tr>
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and our nation’s productivity and economy. As an education system, we must get away from the concept of failure of Māori learners, to how the system can and will maximise Māori potential. The system has to change to meet the needs and interests of learners rather than learners having to change for the system’ (p.10)

| ‘Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success builds on the Māori Potential Approach which emphasises working together and sharing power. It supports Māori self-development and self-determination, and represents a move away from a focus on deficit, problems, failure and risk, to focus on making the most of opportunities for success’ (p.11) | Positive | Narrative about Māori development as a precondition and determinant of economic growth |

**Discussion**

The problematising construction of Māori in health policy is achieved by juxtaposing Western medical narratives and statistics, foregrounding Western scientific research and hack-grounding Māori community research, comparing ethnicities, de-contextualising Māori health, and no links between health policy and policy for Māori development.

The education policy ‘Ka Hikitia’ has firmly embraced the government’s Māori development policy, launched in 2006, called the Māori Potential Approach. The statements ‘capturing Māori potential’ and ‘Māori succeeding as Māori’ resonate with the stronger and more developed discourse that is contained in the 2006 Māori development policy. The discourse is also present in the *Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategy* in the form of the statement ‘Māori should continue to live in Aotearoa as Māori’, however its development does not extend beyond that single statement.

What is visible in *Ka Hikitia* but absent from the *Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategy* is a problematisation of systems and institutions rather than the problematisation of Māori people. In *Ka Hikitia* it is the education system, including teachers that are held to account for the failure of Māori learners. By comparison the *Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategy* holds Māori individuals to account for their poor sexual and reproductive health.

Compared to the *Strategy*, the education policy ‘Ka Hikitia’ contains fewer references to disparities between Māori and Pākehā. Possibly this is because the discourse about ‘Māori success as Māori’ has displaced any earlier discourses about disparities. Arguably the use of statistics and prevalence data in the *Strategy* was part and parcel of the disparities discourse, the expectation over time which was to use the prevalence data as a proxy marker for measuring a reduction in disparities.
Lesson-drawing

What lessons can we draw from comparing the construction of Māori in health and education policies? Can techniques used in education policy to positively construct Māori produce similar results for Māori in health policy? Ka Hikitia requires schools and teachers to take more responsibility for ensuring Māori learner success. If the Strategy requires health services and the health workforce to assume a greater responsibility for improving Māori health, will this have the corresponding effect of constructing Māori in ways that are positive and culturally affirming inside health policy documents?

Comparing policies has raised a number of issues and I would like to conclude this presentation by briefly touching on some of those. First, better congruence between health policies and Māori development policies in terms of policy language and vision could prove fruitful. Māori development policies are underpinned by world-class Māori research and community expertise, some of which could assist health policy makers to contextualise Māori health problems and develop innovative, evidence-based policy solutions. Second, health policy approaches that take into account the broader determinants of Māori health, including the effects of racism, help to keep the focus firmly on situational factors and away from problematising and blaming individual Māori. Last, the Sexual and Reproductive Health Strategy reflects tension over the degree to which governments mainstream or target policies for Māori. Ka Hikitia, on the other hand, shows no evidence of the mainstreaming or targeting tension. Is the difference the result of situational changes that took place from 2001 when the Strategy was published, to 2009 when Ka Hikitia was published?

There is another explanation. The discourse in Ka Hikitia that links Māori educational success to the success of the economy may provide enough of a rationale for the health sector to shift from mainstreamed health policies to more health policies specifically targeted for Māori. Ka Hikitia is centred on the discourse that successful Māori education is a critical pre-condition and indeed, a determinant for stronger national economic growth (White, 2009: Rodrik, 2003). Just as convincing is the discourse that good Māori sexual and reproductive health is a critical pre-condition for the Māori and the New Zealand economy, now and in the future.

Conclusion

Health policy that constructs Māori health as a consequence of health determinants and in the context of broader policies for Māori development is more likely to be accurate, affirming and able to make a positive contribution to Māori health. Comparing an older health policy to a more recent education policy helped to clarify how Māori are constructed in policy, the techniques used to effect those constructions, and identified how policies can transmit damaging knowledge about Māori into the health sector and Māori communities. The emerging discourse in education policy that links Māori educational success to the growth of the national economy may provide a rationale for the health sector to increase policies specifically targeted for Māori. The effect that a discourse of Māori success could have upon unsettling the dominant hegemonic Western medical discourse underpinning health policy is unclear.
References


Kia Whai Kiko te Whare Tapa Whā: De-constructing a Whare Tapa Whā Discourse

Sharyn Heaton

Kāi Tahu, Muaupoko, Rangitāne, Te Arawa

Abstract

The ‘whare tapa whā’ has been depicted in New Zealand curricula and in literature as a Māori perspective of health, a Māori contemporary model of health (Durie, 1985; Ministry of Education, 1999, 2007); a Māori philosophy of ‘hauora: well-being’ (Durie, 1985; Ministry of Education, 1999, 2007) and as a four sided meeting house. The ‘whare tapa whā’ model of ‘hauora: well-being’ is located in an interesting site of tension, working with and against official formations of power and knowledge while simultaneously claiming to represent a Māori view. I suggest that a ‘whare’ model of ‘hauora: well-being’ needs to be understood beyond its simplified interpretation within national education policy in New Zealand. I briefly extend the somewhat lifeless four sided whare discourse by promoting otherwise silenced voices and interpretative frameworks and generate a commitment to promote new possibilities.

Introduction

Educational research has not openly promoted ‘other’ ways of knowing about the ‘whare tapa whā’ as a ‘whare’. This article intends to develop a transformative pedagogy that positions otherwise ‘silenced voices’ within ‘whare tapa whā’, ‘whare’ and hauora discourses ‘from the margins to the centre’ (hooks, 1984), in order to build upon a body of knowledge, a corpus of language and to provide a breath to an otherwise lifeless four sided meeting house construct.

Education literature, as commentaries, explore the discursive statements of the ‘whare tapa whā’ as: ‘being a Māori model of health; the Māori perspective of health; a Māori philosophy of well-being: hauora; and as being a four sided meeting house construct. These sanctioned statements are part of a discursive formation, a discursive field, which has become an institutionalized force and has profoundly influenced the way individuals think and act. Thus, the Health and Physical Education in The New Zealand Curriculum (HPENZ) (Ministry of Education, 1999) and the Health and Physical Education essential learning area (Ministry of Education, 2006) have consisted of the heterogeneous statements as identified above and have constituted the parameters within which the ‘whare tapa whā’ model of hauora or health and well-being in the education sector is described.

The ‘whare tapa whā’ is a Māori model of health

The ‘whare tapa whā’ as a Māori model of health has four dimensions, the four walls of a house, which represent the “four basic tenets of life” (Durie, 1985, p. 483). The four dimensions are taha wairua (spiritual), taha hinengaro (psychic), taha tinana (bodily) and, taha whānau (family). Durie (1985) describes how each component is equally important for holistic health, strength, symmetry, integrity and balance. Rochfield (2004) suggests explanations of the ‘whare tapa whā’
are almost identical to the model of health proposed by Lafaille (1993) and to the World Health Organisation’s (WHO) (1947) definition. Rochfield (2004) compares the four dimensions as:

1. Biomedical – which equates with taha tinana;
2. Existential anthropological or psychosocial – which equates with taha hinengaro;
3. Culturological or socio-economic – which equates with taha whānau; and
4. Systemic or environmental, seeing human health as part of the wider web of life, interconnected and interdependent – which equates with taha wairua (p. 47).

According to Lafaille (1993) both the WHO model and the ‘whare tapa whā’ model of health align with the genealogical disciplines of physiology, kinaesthetics, psychology and sociology. The statements made about ‘a Māori model of health’ have built on previous relational health statements, to produce a ‘whare tapa whā’ ‘discursive formation’.

The combining of disciplines, authors commentaries, and cultures constitute a kind of machine in which discursive fields edit out, exclude and condemn anything that doesn’t ‘fit’ within a particular or desirable ‘discursive formation’ (Hall, 1992). The discursive field of the ‘whare tapa whā’ has set “rules and procedures, assigned roles and positions, produces hierarchies and regulates behaviours of what can be said and actioned” (Danaher et al., 2000, p. 36). To effect, commentaries have been written and discourses circulated which ensure that ‘whare tapa whā’ as ‘a Māori model of health’ exists as legitimate and valid knowledge, yet simultaneously limits what can be said and what can be purported as valid knowledge. The role of commentaries is to say “what had nonetheless, already been said, and [must] tirelessly repeat what had however, never been said” (Foucault, 1981, p. 58). What at first glance seems to be ‘Māori dimensions’ of health, on closer examination reveals a discursive embodiment of Western concepts with Māori labels. Or alternatively it could be considered as Rochfield trying to fit Māori dimensions to Western health concepts.

According to Hokowhitu (2001), Māori ‘ways of thinking’ about dimensional health and well-being as identified in the ‘whare tapa whā’ model have been marginalized, in that Western understandings of health played a major role in legitimating one representation rather than another. The explanation of the dimensions of the ‘whare tapa whā’ using Māori terms for spiritual, mental, physical, and social well-being failed to enrich notions of health because they do not tap into the unique meanings of the Māori concepts.

The inclusion of Māori labels beside Western concepts supports a shift “from expressions of exclusion to become terms of social inclusion that had never existed in the mental world of the people upon which they were imposed” (Heller, 2007, p. 34). The inclusion of Māori words into New Zealand English could be enriching, but to prevent such an inclusion from being counter-productive, distortion of meaning through translation needs to be minimised.

Simplistic translations of Māori dimensions of health and well-being assimilates and isolates Māori words from their social and cultural contexts, super-imposing meanings from a Western culture. When a language is de-contextualised from its culture and only used as a technical tool of translation, a Māori epistemological view cannot be understood (McKinley, 2005). As Durie

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1 The World Health Organisation defines health as ‘a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being’.
writes, "Western thought with Māori word . . . will erode the essence of the Māori language" (1998b, p. 6). Melbourne (1991) suggests that if we want to avoid simply thinking in English and translating to Māori we need to address the central problem of decolonising the mind. This would involve re-orientating the mind so that Māori and indigenous traditions and 'ways of thinking' are central and not peripheral or denigrated within dominant discourses.

The very language, meanings and translations used in New Zealand curricula intersect at a site where social and political interests of Māori should be contested. Hall (1992) states that discourses as 'language in action' potentially shape and constitute the experience, the subject and their social reality. If we accept this position and acknowledge that "there is a strong link between the Māori language, experiences and Māori well-being as a feature of cultural identity," then when a Māori subject's identity is constituted within dominant hegemonic discourse it becomes yet another site where colonisation practices continue to be played out. As Thiong'o (1986) points out, the colonisers exert domination by colonising:

\[\text{the mental universe of the colonized, the control through culture, of how people perceive themselves and their relationship to the world . . . To control a people's culture is to control its tools of self-definition in relationship to others. For colonialism this involved two aspects of the same process; the destruction, or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, its art, dances, religion, history, geography, education, orature and literature; and the domination of a people's language by that of the colonizing nation (1986, p. 118).}\]

Melbourne (1991) adds that the 'mental universe' of Māori is expressed through pre-European Māori traditions and memories of the world are maintained within the Māori language. 'Whare tapa whā' discourses and simplistic and literal translations of the associated concepts into English has caused a narrowing of vision, excluding a range of 'other' discourses from being considered as worthy of attention, or even existing.

Charles Royal proposed in his 'think piece,' The Purpose of Education: Perspectives Arising from Mātauranga Māori (2005) to the Ministry of Education, that a whare (te whare tapere, te whare rūnanga, te whare kōrero) model be considered as one of three possible traditional Māori models for future curriculum design. The possibility of this structure as a Māori medium curriculum model was quickly dismissed by the Ministry of Education as the 'whare tapa whā' model had already gained credibility as the English medium concept for the HPENZC (Ministry of Education, 1999), with no discussion or rationale as to why this should be the case.

As well as attempting to define the 'whare tapa whā' discursive field or what has been considered as legitimate knowledge, it is of interest to consider what Foucault (1981) describes as the process of exclusion. Exclusions within discourse limits what can be said and what can be counted as knowledge. Exclusion maps out what can count as a valid statement and therefore be part of a discursive field; it is the knowledge which is perceived to be true and that which is considered to be false. Foucault calls this transition a movement towards the 'will to truth', which imposes "on the knowing subject, and in some sense prior to all experience, a certain position, a certain gaze and a certain function (to see rather than to read, to verify rather than to make commentaries on)" (Foucault, 1981, p. 55)

\[\text{2 Mason Durie states "Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori. The language is the core of our Māori culture and mana (1998,p.59), for it is within "Māori language that Māori world-views can be expressed" (Smith, 1999, p. 9).}\]
The ‘whare tapa whā’ is ‘the Māori perspective of health’

Within the health sector the inclusion of ‘the Māori perspective’ within what previously was a mono-cultural health discourse became a strategic and political discursive positioning for Māori. Similarly under the guise of bicultura1 education initiatives such as Taha Māori4 programmes promoted the development of ‘the Māori dimension,’ or ‘a Māori perspective’ in education. According to Jackson (2009) the labeling of ‘the Māori perspective’ or ‘a Māori dimension,’ allowed ‘Māori’ to “get some intellectual purchase on the world”, yet the labels are never “adequate to the complex processes and human experiences of being-in-the-world” (2009, p. 8). The labeling of ‘a Māori perspective’, ‘Māori dimensions’ and ‘Māori’ and the specifics they conceal are not the subject of this article, but my purpose here is to briefly identify the critical shortcomings of reductive labeling of Māori identities and therefore the possibilities of an homogenous ‘Māori perspective’.

One of the tensions that having a unified ‘Māori voice’ poses when discussing a Māori perspective of health is that it subsumes within it the autonomy and authority of iwi, hapū and whānau ‘ways of knowing’ and their multiple perspectives. Māori cannot be grouped as a homogeneous pan-tribal identity, for to be Māori is to be part of a heterogenous enduring identity. Traditionally people within a geographical location grouped themselves according to whānau, (family) hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) identities rather than as a collective national identity.

Whānau, hapū and iwi are often referred to as tangata whenua (people of the land) within a particular place, and as such have a symbiotic relationship with the geographical landscape. According to Royal (2002) the people and the land become one in the term tangata whenua, “the person is the earth, the earth is the person” (2002, p. 6). I suggest that the use of the contestable term ‘Māori’ is more about determining rights and privileges and is a site of constant social and political struggle for Māori, as tangata whenua of New Zealand.

The Māori/Pākehā binary shapes bicultural relations of power at micro and macro levels throughout New Zealand. The unproductive Māori/Pākehā binary divides into dichotomies of them/us, colonised/coloniser with a simplistic categorisation of Māori and Pākehā (Bell, 2006). Smith (1997) argues that the coloniser/colonised dichotomy does not account for the “different layering which has developed within each group and across the two groups” (1997, p. 85). Bhabha supports this position and quotes “the 'locality' of national culture is neither unified nor unitary in relation to itself, nor must it be seen simply as ‘other’ in relation to what is outside or beyond it” (1990, in Mohanram, 1999, p. 192). Māori differ among themselves, yet are represented as the same, and at the same time are represented as being different from Pākehā. Notions of a shared or common ‘Māori’ view seem somewhat flawed.

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1Simplistically viewed bicultural is ‘the valuing and learning of two cultures’. Being bicultural assumes equal understanding between, and equal value could be given to both Māori and Pākehā cultural realms.

4Taha Māori (1975) initiatives were intended to represent aspects of Māori culture that could be integrated into “the philosophy, the organisation and the content of the school” (Department of Education, 1984, p.1). The Hunn Report was an official policy of integration, which intended to combine Māori and Pākehā cultures to form one nation, yet insisted that Māori culture would remain distinct. The report identified the features of Māori culture worth keeping conserving as being languages, arts, crafts, and the marae - describing them as “the chief relics” (Hunn, 1961, p.15).
The ‘whare tapa whā’ model as ‘a Māori perspective of health’ has become hegemonic in nature, accepted as ‘common sense’ and ‘obvious and given.’ Within the ‘whare tapa whā’ discourse a ‘hegemonic struggle’ continues over the models definition. For example, whose voices are heard, whose are silenced and how the model is used in practice (O’Connor, 2007) is an area of contestation. O’Connor highlights how Māori healers have felt “shut out of securing a wage for their healing work because they would be required to work to the whare tapa whā model of health” (2007, p. 78). The generic and simplistic nature of the ‘whare tapa whā’ did not take into account the particularity of some Māori healers and some Māori people’s needs. Consequently much of the heterogeneity of Māori health concepts and practices has been silenced within dominant Western discourses (O’Connor, 2007). Thus leaving many Māori healers feeling sidelined as their perspective of health was unable to be accommodated within the Māori health field.

It seems that some voices have been listened to whilst others like those of the Māori healers have not. According to Foucault (1981) entry into a discourse is reliant on people’s credentials and the authority and creditability of a speaker to speak in a particular field. Mason Durie’s seminal work about the whare tapa whā holds a privileged position and carries cultural capital within the health field. Contrastingly tohunga as healers and alternative Māori healers have found it difficult to insert their voice into Māori health and well-being discourse or ‘whare tapa whā’ discourse. I suggest that the historical phenomenon of the Tohunga Suppression Act of 19075 has influenced the dis-positioning of Māori healers and tohunga within the discursive formation of the ‘whare tapa whā’ discourse. Durie himself acknowledges that this Act signaled that health care would be based on Western concepts and methods of care. Healers such as tohunga were deemed ‘fraudulent’, and the ‘transmission’ of their methodologies faltered.

This process of excluding healers’ and tohunga voices supports Foucault’s (1981) argument that in different historical periods, the speech of the ‘mad person’ or the ‘irrational’ was considered either to be on the level of divine insight or totally meaningless. Tohunga and healers’ voices need to be brought to the forefront and a mediation between the seen and unseen worlds, and the many facets that constitute a human being that were once taken for granted by Māori ancestors needs to be revisited. Notions of esoteric, primitive, irrational, unscientific and ideas held by ecologist, New Age believers, clairvoyants and mediums6 (Waerea-i-te-rangi, 2000) could inform the discursive field of the whare tapa whā.

I adopt Bernstein’s view of esoteric knowledge as being “powerful knowledge because it constitutes the site of the ‘unthinkable’ and the ‘yet-to-be-thought’” (2000, p. 30). Hence, esoteric knowledge challenges the social-distribution of power and provides a gap or “a site for alternative possibilities, for alternative realisations between the material and immaterial” and as such can “change the relations between the material or immaterial” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 31).

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5 It has been argued that the reason why the Act was passed may have less to do with targeting tohunga in general than targeting the tohunga, prophet and millennial movement leader, Rua Kenana, in particular because Kenana foresaw an age when Pākeha would be thrown from the land. The Act was repealed in 1963 (Voyce, 1989).

6 The colonizer causes complex patterns of relationships between the colonized and the colonizer. The colonizer can destroy ‘beliefs’ and then be the discover of beliefs. See Vine Deloria’s work for further discussion on this matter.
Not all Māori voices have been silent. A number have exercised their agency and adapted models of health to meet Māori community needs. Examples of this include Hua Oranga - A Māori measure of mental health outcomes (Kingi & Durie, 2002), and Te Ao Tūtahi (McNeill, 2009) as a Māori model of mental health. In these instances individual or groups of Māori health researchers within the health field have exercised their power to re-define contextual understandings of ‘a Māori’ perspective of health relevant to their communities. I advocate proponents of Foucault’s (1979) theory of power, whereby power exists when it is exercised by a subject, when it is mobile rather than held by a subject’s positioning. Power of this nature is not repressive but productive in producing and structuring actions within cultural contexts (Foucault, 1979) and in local communities. To effect, a subject can exercise their power and produce their own reality, their own objects and rituals of ‘truth’ (Foucault, 1979).

**The ‘whare tapa whā’ is a Māori philosophy of well-being: hauora**

The ‘whare tapa whā’ as a philosophy of well-being: hauora has been co-opted into the *Health and Physical Education Curriculum in New Zealand* (Ministry of Education, 1999) as: ‘The concept of well-being [which] encompasses the physical mental and emotional, social and spiritual dimensions of health. Hauora is a Māori philosophy of health unique to New Zealand. It comprises taha tinana, taha hinengaro, taha whānau, and taha wairua’ (p. 31).

**Figure 1:** The whare tapawhā model within the *New Zealand Health and Physical Education Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 31)

Dr. Mason Durie’s whare tapawhā model compares hauora to the four walls of a whare, each wall representing a different dimension: taha wairua (the spiritual side); taha hinengaro (thoughts and feelings); taha tinana (the physical side); and taha whānau (family). All four dimensions are necessary for strength and symmetry. (Adapted from Mason Durie’s *Whaorua: Māori Health Development* Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1994, page 70)

Thereafter, hauora has been identified within the subsequent *Health and Physical Education Essence Statement* (Ministry of Education, 2007) as one of the four interdependent underlying concepts.
The inclusion of the whare tapa whā model and the inclusion of Māori words and concepts into national curricula was celebrated as an example of valuing New Zealand’s bicultural heritage, yet various writers contended that such an approach seemed fabricated (Salter, 2000). The inclusion of Māori words and concepts were perceived as a Māori ideal that Māori and Pākehā could embrace equally. Yet, the initial objective of producing a bicultural curriculum faded with the literal translations of Māori words, resulting in sanitised representations of Māori knowledge (Hokowhitu, 2001). Hokowhitu laments: “seizing a few words from Māori informants and/or decontextualising a Māori model so that it conforms to Western constructs does not mean biculturalism” (2001, p. 131). Rather than attempting to understand the diverse ways a ‘whare tapa whā’ could be understood, the model was aligned to match existing academic categories of Western thought within the HPENZC. Jones and Jenkins (2008) claim we should be informed by “critical biculturalism,” which goes beyond homogenising impulses and soothing fantasies of unity and equality.

I suggest that the ‘Taha Māori’ initiatives of the 1970’s in education also influenced the inclusion of the notions of taha as a Māori side to health and vice versa. The rhetoric of integrating ‘a Māori perspective’ such as Taha Māori initiatives into curricula was in response to the state’s call for bicultural inclusive practices. Hokowhitu (2001) claimed that Taha Māori initiatives represented a version of Māori culture so Pākehāfied that Māori barely recognised it as their own.

In a similar way to how Taha Māori initiatives merely added a few “strands to the existing curriculum” (Jenkins & Ka’ai, 1994, p. 155), I suggest so too did the dimensions of taha wairua, taha tinana, and taha whānau. As Smith (1990) points out, Taha Māori was conceptualised to benefit Pākehā. Taha Māori initiatives launched emancipatory rhetoric, but in effect simply rearranged “the same traditional and existing liberal education policies” (Smith, 1990, p. 186) giving an illusion of change, whilst maintaining the status-quo and reproducing the same inequalities (Hokowhitu, 2001). These same tensions I suggest are evident within the definitions provided for the Māori dimensions of health within the ‘whare tapa whā’ model.

Bicultural inclusive practices assume power has been shared (O’Sullivan, 2007), yet the relationship between the writers of the HPENZC and Māori was where Māori informants were only junior partners (Hokowhitu, 2001). Māori informants had limited authority to have their perspectives acknowledged. In the initial writing phase, Māori informants insisted on the addition of a taha whenua dimension to Durie’s whare tapa whā model, hence acknowledging the implicit nature of whenua as the foundation for a whare. Thereafter, taha whenua was present in drafts 1 and 2 of the HPENZC but no reference to whenua was made in the final document. Hokowhitu (2001) argues that the inclusion of whenua as a dimension may have been too contentious to include considering Treaty of Waitangi land grievances and claims before the state,

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7 Māori language, knowledge and culture was integrated into New Zealand curricula in order to recognise the importance of valuing New Zealand’s bicultural heritage (Smith, 1997).

8 Tapawhā in Māori is a four sided object – a square. Of interest to me is the idea that dimensions of Māori well-being are within the confines of a square. I personally view well-being as an evolving cyclic and spiraling process.

9 Whenua has diverse meanings ranging from land to the ‘placenta.’ The placenta was traditionally buried on whenua (ancestral land), providing a spiritual link to the tāngata whenua (people of the land), to our ancestors and to Papa-tūā-nuku (earth mother).
and the marginalism by the state of the ‘crucial importance of land to Māori well-being’. The removal of whenua as a dimension was challenged and questions were raised about the authenticity of a Māori perspective in the curriculum if Māori were not able to construct and define meanings (Hokowhitu, 2001). The above example highlights how discursive practices and power/knowledge relationships are sites where power struggles can be played out. A power/knowledge relationship exists where “there exists a system of power which blocks, prohibits, and invalidates this discourse and this knowledge, a power not only found in the manifest authority of censorship, but one that profoundly and subtly penetrates an entire societal network” (Foucault, 1977, p. 207).

Ministry of Education officials and principal curriculum writers exercised a ‘juridico-discursive’ model of power. A juridico-discursive model of power is characterized as being possessed, flowing from a centralised top down and is primarily repressive, which creates relations such as oppressed/oppressor, colonised/colonizer and dominant/subordinate. Through legislative functions, dominant views that protected the distribution of power and privilege to certain groups were ‘selected’ and ‘legitimated’ within curriculum policy. Such a process ensures the behaviour and belief systems appropriate to dominant groups are maintained.

Another such example of a power/knowledge relationship within the HPENZC development is evident when examining how the dimensions of the ‘whare tapa whā’ were re-ordered within this document, placing taha tinana (the body) first and taha wairua (spiritual awareness or mauri) last which may suggest “that mainstream health education is a secular rather than a spiritual activity” (Besley, 2005, p. 62). In contradiction, Durie (1985) argues that the ‘whare tapa whā’ model anchors on a spiritual rather than a somatic base, “taha wairua, the spiritual dimension was generally felt by Māori to be the most essential requirement for health. Various Western writers (Thoresen, 1999; Coyle, 2002) also support that spirituality is a critical component in health, well-being and quality of life.

Duries (1998) elaborates on his definition of te taha wairua claiming that spirituality includes religious beliefs but is not synonymous with them. Wairua is reflected in the belief of a higher being and in the spiritual significance made of the relationships between the human being to aspects of the environment such as the mountains, lakes, rivers and land (Royal, 2001).

Within iwi and hapū pepeha (tribal sayings) the relationship of tangata whenua (the people of the land), to the ‘whare’ and to the environment is implicit. For example in the Raukawa pepeha “the whare is used to symbolise the world and reality in general” (Royal, 2001, p. 6). For example, Royal (2001, p. 5) states:

| Ko te whare o Raukawa e tū nei | The house of Raukawa stands here |
| Tōna pouārongo kei Pikitū | The rear post is located at Pikitū |
| Tōna poutokomanawa kei Ngātira | The middle post at Ngātira |
| Tōna pouumua kei Tārukenga, kei Te Ngākau | The front post at Tārukenga, at Te Ngākau |
| Ōna maihi taka mai ki Te Wairere, ki Horohoro | It’s bargeboards fall towards Wairere and Horohoro |
The image of a ‘whare’ strides the tribal landscape of Raukawa. Pikitū, Ngātira and Tārukenga marae equate with the posts that hoist the sky above. Within this pepeha a conscious articulation of the human relationship to the natural world is stated. Merleau-Ponty suggests there is a symbiotic relationship between the body and the landscape in that “a knowledge of place . . . is reducible to a sort of co-existence with that place” (1994, cited in Mohanram, 1999, p.17). He suggests that a sense of optimal well-being and the perceptions of one’s body function optimally within a familiar geographical setting. The symbiotic and synergetic relationships between the human being, the ‘whare’ and the environment, bring to life a spiritual re-connection that can contribute further to a ‘whare tapa whā’ and hence a hauora discourse.

Elkins and Hedstrom (1988) share a definition of spirituality that resonates with a view of ‘hauora’. Spirituality being derived from the Latin word spiritus, means ‘breath of life’, and is: “a way of being and experiencing that comes about through awareness of a transcendent dimension and that is characterized by certain identifiable values in regard to self, others, nature, life, and whatever one considers to be the Ultimate” (1988, p. 9).

The literal translation of hauora as the concept of Māori well-being has been described as the supernatural ‘hau’ (breath) of ‘ora’ (life) given to Hine-ahu-one,10 by Tāne Mahuta. Hau is the “wind of life” the “vital essence” or “the breath or wind of spirit which was infused into the process to animate life” (Marsden, 1988, p. 9). In-depth Māori etymological understandings of the various dimensions of the ‘whare tapa whā’, such as wairua and even the common term ‘hauora’, need to be explored further to be able to contribute more effectively to educational ‘whare tapa whā’ discourses.

Māori knowledge is often ‘buried’ or subjugated under official or dominant discourses surrounding the ‘whare tapa whā’ and its various dimensions. Subjugated knowledges are expert or qualified knowledges that have been buried in the formulation of dominating systems of knowledge (Danaher et al., 2000). Foucault (1980) describes subjugated knowledge as historical knowledge which is present but “disguised within the body of the functionalist and systematizing theory and which criticism” such as “scholarship has been able to reveal” (p. 82). Another example of subjugated knowledge in practice is evident within the literal translation of the taha hinengaro dimension of the ‘whare tapa whā’ to mean simplistically ‘mental and emotional well-being’ (MOE, 1999). Contrastingly, Salmond claims that:

*All forms of knowledge were stored in the belly (puku), where the various organs of thought and emotion were located; the hinengaro, or spleen where thought, memory and emotions originated; the ngakau or entrails where thought and feeling were given expression; and the manawa or bowels, where thought and feeling associated with the life force or manawa ora [originated] (Salmond, 1985, p. 241).*

Bodily organs such as the ‘hinengaro’ (the spleen) are both material and immaterial and have the intrinsic qualities of thought, feelings and emotions. The spleen, as the seat of all emotions is where the physical manifests in the emotional and the emotional manifests in the physical (Metge, 2010), suggesting there is no mind/body dualisms in Māori ‘ways of thinking’ about the ‘hinengaro’. In contrast Cartesian deep-seated dualisms of mind/body, material/immaterial and soul/mind separate and privilege one over the other (Besley, 2005). The dualisms that bifurcate Western culture become a source of dissolution and fragmentation. According to Besley (2005),

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10 Hine-ahu-one is the first female form shaped from the earth (Kohere, 2003).
Durie’s ‘whare tapa whā’ model of a Māori perspective of health was chosen for the HPENZC due to its simplicity and ability to continue a mind/body dualism, ‘taha hinengaro’ being the mind and emotions whilst ‘taha tinana’ being the physical body.

Subjugated knowledges continue to create ‘structured silences’ (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993) where alternative or ‘other’ discourses of the ‘whare tapa whā,’ the ‘whare’ or the Māori dimensions of health seem irrelevant. Bourke claims that authenticity of concepts and terms are disabled insofar as appeals to ancestry, metaphysics or agency are based (Bourke, 1993). McKinley (2005) argues that Māori concepts and words need to refer back to the discourse within which they were originally framed. If language is a window that allows us to make sense of and ‘see things’ that construct our social reality, then I suggest we need to re-conceptualise ‘whare tapa whā’ discourses and adapt what Mohanty (1994) describes as a transformative decolonisation of our understandings of language, culture and knowledge. Decolonizing ‘whare tapa whā’ discourses and adding a ‘whare’ discourse to it requires taking seriously the different logics of asymmetrical power relations located within culture. It involves understanding that culture, especially academic culture, is a terrain of struggle (Mohanty, 1994). For it is within language a conscious and unconscious theory of human existence and well-being can be critically examined.

**The ‘whare tapa whā’ is a four sided meeting house construct**

The ‘whare’, as a metaphor for health and well-being for Māori was chosen because the Māori meeting house is an artifact of historical, cultural and social significance (Sissons, 2000). Yet, McNeill (2009) suggests that literal translations of the ‘whare tapa whā’ as ‘a four-sided meeting-house construct’, omits the laden covert meanings entrenched within the symbolic and metaphoric representation of a ‘whare’.

For example, the ‘whare’ is the personification of the human body, (Barlow, 1991; Melbourne, 1991; Royal, 2001), it represents a tribal ancestor, is representational of the world, and the symbolic representation of the nuptial embrace of Ranginui and Papa-tūā-nuku. Māori writers figuratively cross-map ‘whare’ discourses to that of the human body and the environment. For example the tāhuhu is the ridgebone of both the ‘whare’ and the human spine. On entering a ‘whare’ a person steps through the door into the poho, the chest or bosom of an eponymous ancestor (Melbourne, 1991). Te Oo Mai Reia healing practices refer to the body of the person as a whare tūpuna, an ancestral meeting-house with a genealogy (O’Connor, 1997). The torso of the person is the whare tūpuna, the feet are the whare tūpuna’s front door.

Through mirimiri\(^{12}\) or romiromi\(^{13}\) Te Oo Mai Reia healers work on the dis-‘ease’ manifested within the physical body. Just as literacies are encrypted on various parts of a whare-tūpuna, such as in the carvings, on the pou and in the architecture of the house itself (Melbourne, 1991), inscribed on the cells of the human body is encrypted ‘cellular memory.’ Cellular memory is “memory that

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\(^{11}\) Te Oo Mai Reia consists of the physical, spiritual, mental and emotional releasing of blockages that can prevent the development and well-being of the whole person. Often these blockages are held in the cellular memory of the body.

\(^{12}\) Mirimiri is a therapeutic massage used for the healing of injuries, releasing old tension and balancing bodily function.

\(^{13}\) Romiromi is deep tissue work which facilitates the release of deep blockages within the body.
has built some matter around itself, forming a specific pattern” and that manifests within the “body mind, two things come together – a bit of information and a bit of matter” (Chopra 1990, p. 87). Cells embody memories, and sediments of past and present experiences, which affect and constitute a human’s well-being (Chopra, 1990; O’Connor, 2007). In a similar way whānau, hapū and iwi experiences and phenomena are inscribed on a whare tūpuna in pictures of ancestors, carvings and panel weavings.

Through the interpretation of metaphor and symbolism new aspects of the world and new ways of understanding reality can surface (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Metaphor as language and expression invites people to understand one domain in terms of another and involves terms such as analogy, similarity, allegory, symbolism, representation, comparison in thought, and personification. Yet paradoxically the ‘whare tapa whā’ metaphor has not been processed metaphorically, that is by cross-domain mapping, involving some form of comparison. I support Lakoff and Johnson’s (1981) claim that the ordinary conceptual system of human being is fundamentally metaphoric in nature. Metaphor brings to mind new aspects of the world and new ways of understanding reality.

There are multiple ways of cross-mapping the ‘whare tapa whā’ discourse, but educational and health literature have only simplistically compared the four walls (tapa whā) of a ‘whare’ to the four dimensions of human well-being. There is a gap when considering ‘other’ literature developed outside of the dominant health and education field that discusses the relevance of a ‘whare tapa whā’ to a ‘whare,’ to human well-being, to the environment and to the cosmos.

Melbourne claims that the whare is a place where knowledge is stored and transmitted and where links with the past are tangible (1991, p. 133). For example the heke (ribs) that descend from the tāhuuhu represent the knowledge pertaining to the creation of the cosmos (Melbourne, 1991). He also suggests that the pou toko manawa located in the centre of a whare is the heart pole of Māori tradition, indicating an inseparable connection between Māori language, people and their histories. During wānanga with Hohepa Delamere (personal communication, 2006), we discussed the relationship of the pou toko manawa within the whare-tūpuna (ancestral meeting house) as being the heart of both the human and whare.

Prior to the construction of a whare the mauri (essence of being) of the whare is implanted in the whenua (land) below the pou toko manawa. In a strikingly similar way the mauri of a tangata (person) is implanted into the manawa (heart) of a foetus that resides in the whenua (placenta), within the whare tangata (womb) of a woman. From the whare tangata, the womb of a woman we are born into the ‘whare o te ao’, the physical world (Royal, 2008) and become tangata whenua (people of the land). This cycle is just one example of the synergetic and symbiotic relationship that human beings share with the natural environment. Tuhaka (2003) discusses the taonga, or preciousness of how Māori knowledge is stored and born from women. Parallels can be drawn of the whare tangata to the whare tūpuna to the ‘whare o te ao’ where knowledge and cultural taonga should be protected for future generations.

In order to build upon the body of knowledge which informs a whare tapa whā discourse, we need to begin to question the “knowing if one can think differently than one thinks, and perceive differently than one sees . . . if one is to go on looking and reflecting at all” (Foucault, 1985, p. 8).
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HOME AND THE SPIRIT IN THE MĀORI WORLD

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR LINDA WAIMARIE NIKORA PROFESSOR NGAHUIA TE AWEKOTUKU AND DR VIRGINIA TAMANUI

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In this paper we explore home as a place of spiritual belonging and continuity and how tangi relies on the genealogical connectedness of ancestral and living communities to care for the tūpāpaku, the human remains, and wairua, the spirit of the deceased, as well as the living. While colonisation and westernisation have changed us, the institution of tangi, our rituals of death and mourning, have remained since pre-encounter times. In the face of death, tangi and its repetitive ritualised pattern of encounter and mourning might be viewed as a lifeline to hold on to as the disturbance and turmoil spawned by death is endured.

We begin this paper by returning to the beginning, the place of potentiality, to contemplate our spiritual origins and life endowments. We consider the nature of Māori beliefs about a spiritual afterlife and how through the institution of tangi we guide and support the departing spirit on its way. We argue that these rituals of departure and support are most optimally performed within the context of our marae and spiritual landscapes. Reinforcing this, the interment of the deceased amongst kin enhances our togetherness, in life and death, and protects us from entities with malevolent intent. For these reasons, we reaffirm the rightness of our beliefs and practices. Contestation of tūpāpaku, an act of spiritual responsibility in which tūpāpaku are returned to their tribal homelands for mourning and interment amongst kin is presented as an exemplar of right spiritual practice. We conclude with a discussion of some challenges Māori must confront to live life more consciously in spiritually responsible ways and in continuity with our origins and futures.

In The Beginning

Māori death rituals embrace and re-enact the very essence of our cosmological universe (cf., Marsden, 2003; Rewi, 2010). From ‘The Nothingness’ we come to understand our sanctification as spiritual beings emergent from ‘The Night’. Connecting with the desires of creation in and through our spiritual home spaces of enlightenment we come into communion with ‘The Light’, to breathe life in the connectedness of ‘The Long Standing Day’ until that is complete. We then return again for renewal to our spiritual home spaces, a process schematically presented below.

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<tr>
<th>Te Kore</th>
<th>Te Ao Tua-ātea</th>
<th>The Potential</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Nothingness</td>
<td>The world beyond time and space</td>
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<th>Te Pō</th>
<th>Te Tua-uri</th>
<th>The Becoming</th>
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<td>The Night</td>
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<td>The World of Light</td>
<td>From natural world of sense-perception</td>
<td>The Being</td>
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Making Our Way Home

This is what I think will happen to me. I’d simply go and see my uncles who have just recently passed away, my koroua and my immediate whānau and there I’ll be connected with the older/elder ones that I don’t know of (Maihi in Jacob, Nikora, & Ritchie, 2012, p. 125).

This window on Maihi’s expectations of what will occur when he dies is one traditionally expressed across the Māori world and is often manifest during the end of life phase when those close to death tell of visitations or converse with those beyond the veil. In our death rituals, the spirit of the deceased is encouraged to turn towards those relatives who have recently passed away. Through whaikōrero (oratory) and karanga (invocation), they are summoned to witness and act as familiar guides in reconnecting the journeying spirit with ancestor spirits and to begin anew their part in creation. This cosmological view is one premised on desire, re-creation and renewal (Tamanui, 2012). We die to renew and rebirth our creative potentiality and, to do so, journeying spirits must find their way across the cosmos to the many spirit gathering places like Hawaikinui, Hawaikiroa, Hawakipamamao, Te Hono-ki-Wairua, Te Huihuinga o te Kahurangi and eventually to Nga Rangi Tūhāhā, spaces that for most of us represent our ultimate spiritual home.

In the Māori after-life, judgement is not an aspect of death or spiritual journeying. There is no torment and suffering although spirits can become confused and diverted. During tangi, orators repeatedly present to the transitioning spirit a symbolic road map by reciting complex whakapapa, and describing symbols from the landscape, like sacred mountains and rivers, markers of tribal identity and histories, to direct the spirit on its journey home (Rewi, 2010). In and through our death rituals the transitioning spirit is farewelled to journey forth to the embrace of the guardian of the ‘The Night’, Hinenuitepō, reaching into infinity for their next spiritual quest. While death anxieties do remain, these are mediated by an assurance of afterlife togetherness, spiritual continuity and lingering pathways left by recently departed spirits, like those described by Maihi above.

Spiritual Landscapes

On tribal land, most Māori have ancestral urupā that offer an earthly resting place with close kin relatives. That these urupā exist with continuing interment, and increasing space constraints, demonstrates how we cherish our collective identities, our affinity to place, and our need to belong and remain connected in this life and the next. In particular, it tells of our deep valuing of sacred space - spiritual space.

Even though a person may live far away from their tribal homelands and away from kin, and even if estranged, the customary practice is that when they die they will be returned home to be mourned and interred by and amongst their own. A responsible parent, partner or child will recognise their spiritual obligation. Here we emphasize that rights to the tūpāpaku of a person and responsibility for their spiritual care rests with the broader whānau and hapū collective, not just with the partner, estate executor, or a court appointed administrator as prescribed by New Zealand law (Tomas, 2008). These are secular matters which should not cloud our duty to spirit and neither should final wishes remain to complicate earthly responsibilities.
Many Māori have courteously then aggressively battled with spouses, children and other tribal and cultural groups to return tūpāpaku to their ancestral homelands (cf., Tomas, 2008). This is not a new practice and irrespective of legislation, continues to this day. It is a rare event when this conflict spills into public view through the media (cf., Tomas, 2008) as was the case with the passing of Prince Tūi Teka in 1985, William Taitoko (aka Billy T. James) in 1991 and James Takamore in 2007. Most times, this contest is played out shortly after death in hospitals, mortuaries, funeral homes, domestic dwellings, community halls and marae. Any claims are usually resolved earlier rather than later in the mourning period; this leaves time for death rituals to proceed as the central focus. And, yes, kinsfolk more important, is that it speaks to spiritual and mental wellbeing, for our own and ourselves.

The brothers’ intervention was not unexpected, and there was a r...
be seen as an inconvenience rather than an invitation to experience, learn and evolve as culturally responsive spiritual beings. We pass by the chance to connect with creation and to remain relevant with and to ourselves.

Just as Marae stand forlorn and deprived of meaning when not part of our everyday lives (cf., Tūwhare, 1993), kin group connectedness diminishes when there is no interest and intimacy. Connectedness becomes irrelevant. Traditional landscapes stand unfamiliar and disorienting and locational names sit awkwardly on tongues estranged from language. Being Māori demands time and resources, which means taking time off work, time away from partners and children, and great expense for an individual and sometimes whānau, rather than a burden to be shared by many. If we are driven by these demands, the gradual social decomposition of a damaged and damaging Māori world comes into view, as does the question, what do we do about it?

The last half century can be seen as a maelstrom of growing enlightenment and dissatisfaction as we became more conscious and discontented with the concessions made to modern urbanised life. To an introduced and imposed new society, we conceded land, language, food, health, cultural ways, and lives in wars far away (Gardiner, 1992; Soutar, 2008). The generation of the 1970’s wanted a different world to the one they inherited and were not prepared to concede anymore (Walker, 1990). Well, the good parts of it, anyway.

The Māori world has matured into this 21st century. We are in a different, perhaps better place. We have claimed and affirmed those things that we value. Tangi, the creative arts, skin adornment and beautification, language, sea navigation, the health of whānau and our values and beliefs are renewed and remain. But are we improved spiritual beings? Do our new strategies nurture Māori spirituality? And, in an increasingly secular society plagued by pain and poverty, do we still know and understand what Māori spirituality is?

A Return to Spirit

Why do the families of such people return to the 'back of beyond' in droves for a tangi? Because it is a way of acknowledging the dignity of the person who has died, and the dignity of their ancestors and the whole whānau. And by returning to the source of tapu, the family and friends are invigorated and spiritually replenished (Father Henare Tate, 1990, para 8).

Māori spirituality is written about deeply in the theological literature because that is their domain of concern (cf., Tate, 2012). However, most academic disciplines tend to avoid the study and discussion of spirit because of its ineffable quality, a position that sits uncomfortably with Māori who see spirit everywhere and in everything (Tate, 1990). When considering health and wellbeing, mind, body and spirit are inseparable. Mason Durie challenged the health sector to lift its dualistic gaze and to think holistically, for the people they were delivering services to engaged in life and health very differently (Durie, 1984). His was just one voice amongst a chorus of Māori sentiments (Walker, 1990). As a result, government policy and practice shifted. Spiritual practices like karakia (prayer), pepeha (narratives), pōwhiri (encounter rituals) and waiata (chant narratives) found space in settings beyond our homes. They occurred in prisons, government ministries, and health and education sites, their enactment mimicking our cyclical rituals of life and death, welcome and departure, remembering and celebrating. Gradually our spiritual selves have come back into view to the point that we are now no longer self-conscious of such public or institutional performance. We expect it. We are complemented, but sometimes troubled by it. Is what we do in the name of spirituality meaningful? Is it rote or is it real?
There is an internet site where these concerns are being discussed. REV TALK (http://www.revtalk.co.nz) is a tool used by a group of Anglican Ministers to “inject faith into the kōrero of ‘Māori development’”. From their experience they observe a certain passivity amongst our people and increases in ‘sideline witnessing’ of ritual instead of involved participation. An example of this is the offering, at tangi, of grief in awkward self-conscious sniffles, shuffling and silences instead of freely shed tears and mucus, with attendant sounds of lamentation intended to move and stir hearts. Grief is to be shared, for this is how we honour loved ones, and make the bereaved stronger for it. REV TALK argues, as we do, for a spirituality less templated and prescribed. One less rote and more real. Being spiritually aware in our everyday lives, and in more meaningful ways is what they encourage us towards. In our rush to reclaim what it means to be Māori in the 21st century, maybe we overlooked something. Maybe we left something behind. Perhaps we need to return to what we already know, that is, to a consciousness and duty to spirit beyond the consumerism that occupies much of our daily lives.

_I got a mortgage to build my garage. We had just laid down the concrete pad when my mother died in 1977. As my wider whanau had no money, I used my mortgage to pay for my mother’s funeral costs. That Christmas, my own family and I sat on our concrete pad, ate our Christmas dinner and toasted life. Later, in 1995, I had saved myself a little nest egg when my brother died in Perth. Well, I hatched my nest egg and flew to Perth and claimed him from his Irish wife. I argued for her to let him come home so he could be remembered for the next million years (Ihaka Te Whetu, personal communications, 11 Dec 2012)._

Māori spirituality is about being present and in communion with all of life. It leads to greater self-knowing and emphasizes the ‘we’ness of our humanity and our duty to all beings of the natural and spiritual world. This is essentially spiritual work achieved through our everyday connectedness with the infinite. And therein is the challenge - to remain connected, for it is in this mindful relationship with all things that our true reality emerges to take us home. In this realisation, there is nothing remarkable about death. It is just one ‘turn’ in our spiritual journeying. Living as Māori deeply, meaningfully, and dutifully enhances our connectedness with spirit. Bodies die, spirits return and home is found again.

_No reira, apiti hono tatari hono,_ Therefore, let our genealogical lines be joined,  
_te hunga mate ki te hunga mate._ those passed to those passed.  
_Āpiti hono tatari hono,_ Let our genealogical lines be joined,  
_te hunga ora ki te hunga ora_ those living to those living._
more real. Being spiritually aware in our everyday lives, and in more meaningful ways is what they for it. REVTALK argues, as we do, for a spirituality less templated and prescribed. One less rote and hearts. Grief is to be shared, for this is how we honour loved ones, and make the bereaved stronger of freely shed tears and mucus, with attendant sounds of lamentation intended to move and stir this is the offering, at tangi, of grief in awkward self-conscious sniffles, shuffling and silences instead people and increases in 'sideline witnessing' of ritual instead of involved participati

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References


WAIRUA RANGIRUA – REFLECTIONS FROM INDIGENOUS RESEARCHERS

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Introduction

Indigenous researchers working on research projects in their communities face a number of challenges. This is especially so for those who are members of the communities they are researching. This paper describes challenges faced by two indigenous community researchers working on a research project entitled, ‘Supporting Traditional Rongoā Practice in Contemporary Health Care Settings’ and focuses on insider/outsider tensions from each of their respective viewpoints. These tensions are articulated as WaiRua; which symbolises the spiritual connection that an indigenous researcher has with a kaupapa of indigenous and traditional significance and RangiRua; which, in the context of this paper, denotes the symbolic, sometimes competing views of an insider or outsider involved in a research project. Bringing WaiRua and RangiRua together is about managing these tensions, maintaining integrity, learning and sharing the experiences.

Background – Rongoā Māori Services

Rongoā Māori is a traditional form of healing specific to the indigenous population of Aotearoa, New Zealand. It is based on a cultural framework that incorporates a range of healing activities (Durie, 1996), such as, but not limited to: wairua (spiritual healing), rongoā rākau (herbal medicines), and mirimiri (massage). Once an integral part of traditional Māori life, Rongoā Māori was outlawed in 1907 with the passing of the Tohunga Suppression Act (Durie, 1998). The passing of legislation to outlaw traditional forms of healing was supported by European settlers and some prominent Māori who believed such practices and beliefs were impeding Māori advancement. A more political reason was an attempt to reduce the influence of Tohunga, some of whom had large followings, such as Ru Kēnana. The Tohunga Suppression Act was repealed in 1964 however whilst the law had been in existence, rongoā practices were forced underground and skills and knowledge were not passed on to younger generations as had been the practice in the past. It is unknown exactly how much traditional knowledge was irretrievably lost during this period.

In 1993, two events occurred that signalled the resurgence of Rongoā Māori; namely the production of a paper on Traditional Māori Healing for the National Advisory Committee on Core Health and Disability Services (NACCHDS) (Durie et al., 1993); and the establishment of Ngā Ringa Whakahaere o Te Iwi Māori, the National Organisation of Māori Health Practitioners.

The recognition of greater control by Māori in the health services that were delivering care to them, in combination with a purchasing and funding framework that supported the development of contracted third-sector health service provision, led to the emergence, in the late 1980s and early 1990s of separate and alternative Māori services, and in particular of kaupapa Māori services (Boulton, Brannelly & Tamehana, 2013). These services have provided Māori with an unprecedented opportunity to develop approaches based on their own priorities, culture, and...
traditions. Iwi and Māori organisations have had the space to experiment and pilot with service delivery models and incorporate kaupapa Māori philosophies and practices in different ways.

Kaupapa Māori approaches to service delivery provide examples for mainstream services of ways to improve effectiveness for Māori and other population groups, demonstrating an ability to manage and provide for socio-economic and cultural diversity. Not only do such services highlight the shortcomings of mainstream approaches for delivering healthcare to Māori, they demonstrate alternative approaches and how things may be done differently to achieve improvements in health for Māori whānau. Māori health providers have also provided experience for mainstream services on how to integrate cultural values and traditions into service management and delivery. Rongoā Māori, as one specialised aspect of Māori health, has seen somewhat of a revival in recent years. More and more Māori are becoming interested in, and turning to, Rongoā Māori as a method of healing and for the prevention of ill-health. This increased interest in its revival and desire for sustainability of Rongoā as a legitimate healing practice has prompted calls for its formalisation within the New Zealand public health system. However, whilst we know how many contracts for Rongoā services exist, actual information about the health and vitality of the Rongoā sector; the degree to which current contracting and funding arrangements support traditional healing practices; and indeed the sustainability of the sector in the long-term does not exist. It was as a consequence of identifying real gaps in our knowledge about the sector (refer to Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2008) that the ‘Supporting Traditional Rongoā Practice in Contemporary Health Care Settings’ project was conceived.

Context – Explaining the Research Project

The insider/outsider tensions this paper discusses have emerged as a result of undertaking a Health Research Council (HRC)-funded project exploring how Rongoā services are delivered in NZ. Since McLeod’s seminal work conducted in 1999 (McLeod, 1999) there have been eight other notable rongoā research projects. Two of these, ‘The Future of Rongoā Māori: Wellbeing and Sustainability Project’ (2006-2008) and the ‘Ngā Tohu o te Ora: Traditional Māori Healing and Wellness Outcomes Project’ (2008-2011), have informed the development of the current research. Whilst those two projects described issues around sustainability and Rongoā practice, the current research addresses the question: what types of service arrangements best support traditional Rongoā Māori practice, in a contemporary healthcare setting?

The purpose of the project is to find out what we need, from a health systems perspective, to best support Rongoā Māori practice now, and in the future. Our intent is to provide the Rongoā sector (practitioners, planners, funders and policy-makers) with appropriate evidence to assist the sector to become sustainable in a way that does not compromise the values of the practitioners or the integrity of mātauranga Māori. Ultimately our aim is that the research be of benefit to practitioners, their whānau, hapū and the communities they seek to serve, and whose health they strive to improve.

The study employs a Māori-centred approach and a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. It is anticipated the research will identify the features of health service arrangements that are both consistent with principles of rongoā practice and that ensure cultural integrity. As a consequence of undertaking the study the research team will: develop an understanding of the rongoā service provision landscape, its breadth, scope and ‘health’; train two community-based researchers; provide advice to the national collective, Te Kāhui Rongoā; and develop what we
have termed a ‘Service Development Model’ (SD model). In effect the SD model will be capable of demonstrating the service arrangements required to support improvements in rongoā service provision. The model can then be used by healers seeking a more systematic approach to service improvements, in their negotiations with health funders, thus contributing to the future sustainability of rongoā providers.

Discussion

The concepts WaiRua and RangiRua have been coined to describe the tensions that have emerged as a result of a conscious decision to create a research team that is made up of emerging researchers, who are themselves sector participants, and more senior Māori academics. Specifically, this paper discusses the tensions experienced by the two community-based researchers, both of whom are new to the research arena and still developing their research skills. Whilst relative neophytes in a research sense, in terms of knowledge about their respective communities and the Rongoā sector itself, they are second to none.

Within this research project there are a number of parameters that guide the research team. Firstly, as an indigenous researcher he or she must subscribe to a belief that the research is beneficial for indigenous communities they are part of and that it provides information for those communities to effect change. Secondly, open communication and exchange of information between the researchers and those being researched is paramount. In the view of the research team, such a stance will ensure the data collected is actually useful for the sector. Thirdly, mentoring and supporting emergent researchers through provision of academic advice and oversight is incorporated into the research design and timeframes. Finally, the project is guided by ethical standards to ensure indigenous communities are appropriately consulted and both those communities and the researchers are kept culturally safe.

In this project, members of the research team declared strong interest in the research topic. The community researchers who are members of the team both have historical knowledge of the Rongoā sector through their earlier roles at a provider level. One of the community researchers is also currently a Trustee on the national governance body Te Kāhui Rongo, while the second is a member of the wider Rongoā whānau, and actively practises Rongoā traditions with her whānau. Both have a strong personal interest in the area, and both have proficiency in the reo, with one being fluent and the other having a good working knowledge. The senior researcher, knowledgeable in the policy arena, had strong collegial relationships within the rongoā research sector. This collective awareness provided the research team with combined knowledge on the topic and access to previous research, to sector changes as they were occurring and to potential participants. In addition, the team initiated an open flow of communication between themselves and the sector before the project began, seeking advice on research design from the Rongoā fraternity and in turn supplying strategic advice back to the Rongoā governance body, Te Kahui Rongoā.

Having people within the larger Rongoā collective inform, and comment on the research design assisted the team to write the application and subsequently plan and complete initial data collection. This was invaluable during the first year of research when major changes in the national governance body occurred. Whilst these changes could have had serious consequences for the study, a research team member who was also a national governance group member acted as a conduit or liaison facilitating the open and two way flow of information from the research
team to Te Kāhui Rongoā and back again. This team member kept the research team updated, allowing the research team in turn, to keep funders informed of potential delays in the study and where necessary, reprioritise research outputs.

For the researcher who was also a member of the national governance body, this role of a conduit or liaison, facilitating a two-way information flow, became crucial to the success of the project in the first year, however this dual role also brought its share of tensions or challenges. Smith (1999) describes this particular place in a research project as the “space between” where, on one hand being Māori and an active participant in the revitalisation of Rongoā Māori positions the researcher as an insider, whilst on the other hand being clearly aligned to a research organisation and project defines them as an outsider. It is this “space between” that provides balance allowing researchers to move freely between these positions. Regular team meetings, face to face and via Skype, have provided room for the community researchers to discuss this. Senior researchers have provided advice from an academic perspective referring to the research project ethics and ethical guidelines for working with Māori (HRC, 2008; Pūtaiora Writing Group, 2010).

A consideration of one’s role as an iwi member adds a further level of complexity to the concept of insider/outside tensions. Both the community-based researchers faced the challenge of maintaining their integrity as iwi members as the research project was being rolled out. As Māori researchers operating in their respective tribal areas, a researcher is connected to the rohe through whakapapa and through common community participation. As iwi and community members, their actions must be consistent with the (usually unspoken) values of tikanga Māori such as whakapapa, whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. For Māori researchers, working according to these values or principles affords a sense of safety – Māori researchers tend to feel comfortable that they can express themselves without feeling compromised. Ideals of reciprocity however, can be a double edged sword for a research project, as this value means that research participants have the right to challenge research questions and the practice of research. Community researchers therefore, must find a way to manage the obligations of the research and yet maintain their community relationships and produce robust research without prejudice.

A further challenge for both researchers has been to convince the wider Rongoā sector of the value of the work when, as a sector, it is currently dealing with multiple and competing demands on its time and limited resources. At a national level one researcher has had to make a case to the governance group to support the first ever survey of Rongoā practitioners, a key data collection component of the study; while at the local level, the research team has been discussing the merits and value of such a survey to local providers, as a key piece of strategic information that can inform future planning.

The research requires completion of research activities locally, regionally and nationally. For this to happen in a manner where the community feels that it has been consulted, been listened to, and able to provide useful advice to the research team has also been challenging. As a researcher and a member of the governance group, one team member noted that: “trying to describe what role depicted an insider and outsider view respectively became an interesting task – governance and Chair of a national rongoā Māori entity, or a new Māori community based researcher.”

The second researcher found similar challenges although at a local level, almost as though she was being ‘tested’. Some of these challenges related to data collection where key informants would not agree to being recorded. This meant that data could potentially be misinterpreted or
subject to perception. Another challenge was rising above personal interest to ensure research objectivity was maintained.

Bishop (2005, p. 111) provides clarity around these insider/outsider roles. For instance, as a cultural ‘insider’ and leader located inside a national network, the implication is that undertaking research as an insider Māori researcher might well be done more sensitively and in a more responsive manner than an outsider might achieve. While the thought of having easy access to the network and the ability to interact appropriately might support the view of being a cultural insider, it can also be a disadvantage as familiarity prevents asking those critical questions for desired research outcomes.

However, having made that observation what further literature could explain what actually went on as a cultural ‘insider’ that could help community-based Māori researchers understand the dynamics of an outsider role? Bishop (2005, p112) again provides a useful insight and clarity into this. Bishop’s ‘locus of power’ framework accurately reflects some of the concerns raised during an ‘inside’ governance discussion. For example, for our project, some of the concerns raised by other governance members can be summarised according to Bishop’s headings: initiation; benefits; representation; legitimacy; accountability. Each of these points are illustrated below:

**Initiation** – this focuses on how the research process begins and whose concerns, interests, and methods of approach determine/define the outcomes. While much consultation was done in the early stages of the research, debate over the value of the research continued and overtook the ensuing discussion;

**Benefits** - As an important political aspect the governance discussion revealed concerns around direct gains that the research would provide the national entity and whose interests were being served, the researcher as the outsider role or the governance role as the insider?

**Representation** – Additional concerns were raised around how traditional research has sometimes misrepresented true Māori knowledge and in this case the authenticity of traditional medicine. Despite having an insider as a researcher directly involved in the governance discussion what is brought into question is the integrity of the individual from the view of competing perspectives;

**Legitimacy** – given the history of research involving Māori, there was considerable disquiet raised by the governance group around how the research would be of benefit. This included whether the research information was going to be used legitimately to promote, protect, nurture and develop Rongoā Māori;

**Accountability** - further inside discussion revealed an inherent view about the accountability of researchers in general and questioning the control and ownership of the process, including the information.

The most revealing finding would have to be the struggle, spiritually, that each individual has as an insider and outsider. The challenges, and indeed the experience, that both roles brought to bear will be measured in some ways by the difference, if any, made to the rongoā community. What will go unnoticed by others, but needs to be identified and managed by oneself is the interplay that goes on, or connection and disconnection to the most significant element of Māori wellbeing – WaiRua. The struggle or what's been coined as RangiRua and having to compete with
the varying sometimes very challenging views of being an insider then an outsider will inevitably play havoc with any indigenous researcher’s wairua or wellbeing. The key is to find that space – ā hinengaro, ā tinana, ā wairua – that comfortably addresses the competing thoughts or RangiRua as a new Māori researcher. One will only find that space through further experience and support.

Conclusion

As Māori we juggle many different roles and responsibilities on a day-to-day basis. As Māori researchers, one of the more challenging of these is our roles as outsiders, when we are also insiders by virtue of being iwi and community members. Researching with Māori demands that consultation is a key consideration (HRC, 2008; Pūtaiaora Writing Group, 2010), not least because at the end of the day, we want what we do to be useful and relevant to our people. What we have learnt, however, is that no matter how mutually beneficial and agreeable the consultation process is there is no guaranteed knowledge sharing past that point. When dealing with communities at national level you are dealing with diverse groups. In this case, the communities were directed to restructure or be forced into an entity and as such, the research was viewed as a secondary consideration with limited advantages. As indigenous researchers there is an implicit understanding of the impacts of being researched on and the process this involves. As researchers who can see the wider value of their research it is nevertheless frustrating.

What then is the solution to a situation where research is desperately needed, but where other priorities are also equally important? In our view, at least part of the solution must be to continue to consult with indigenous communities, to maintain open and honest communication and to complete high-quality and timely research that is of value and relevance for those communities. As indigenous researchers we have the responsibility of working with whānau, hapū, iwi, community and other collectives in an open and ethical way and with perseverance that will enable them to understand the value of research. As Nelson Mandela said

*I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can only rest for a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not ended.*

Acknowledgements

This project is funded by the Health Research Council.
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MĀORI WOMEN IN PRISON

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Te Atawhai o te Ao: Independent Māori Research Institute for Environment and Health, Whanganui

Abstract

The United States of America has the highest incarceration rates in the OCED countries; New Zealand is not far behind them when it comes to imprisoning Māori people. For Māori women, the incarceration rate has increased by 355 percent over 27 years, and the three common offences groups leading to imprisonment (in this order) are for traffic and vehicle regulatory offences, offences against justice procedures, and theft and related offences. This article briefly explores issues and impacts that incarceration has on wāhine Māori, their children, whānau and hapū. Te Atawhai o te Ao is currently undertaking a study, ‘The Health and Wellbeing of Māori Prisoners on Reintegration to the Community’. This project will explore and identify a range of issues faced by Māori prisoners in relation to their reintegration back into their communities, and will focus on the individual within the context of generations and their cultural identity.

Introduction

Every year 20,000 people are incarcerated in New Zealand (NZ), 14,000 of whom are remanded in custody until trial or sentence. The World Prison Population List (Walmsley, 2011) places NZ’s Māori incarceration rate as the 2nd highest in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OCED) countries, coming in behind the United States of America (USA), who incarcerates people at a rate of 743 per 100,000 resident population. The rate of NZ incarceration is 199 (Walmsley, 2011) per 100,000 resident population, however for Māori it is 7041 per 100,000 resident population (Rethinking Crime and Punishment, 2011) (see Figure 1, below).

1NZ MĀORI POPULATION: 673,500 (15 PERCENT OF NZ POPULATION). TOTAL NZ POPULATION: total (4.4 million) (STATISTICS NEW ZEALAND, 2012)
Incarceration of Māori has increased, and is rising sharply. Despite reports from the criminal justice sector that the 2012 crime rate has decreased, prison services are expanding operations to detain more prisoners, building new prisons and adding new cell-block units to existing prisons (Department of Corrections, 2012). This prison capacity growth coincides with more people being imprisoned, and serving longer sentences and increased remand sentences (Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

Although crime is driven mainly by socio-economic factors, the increasing incarceration rate is driven by penal populism (Pratt, 2008), which is the ‘tough on crime’ method that contending governments use to win elections for ‘safer communities’ and to reassure societal fears. This fear is primarily driven by sensationalised media coverage of violent crimes (McGregor, 2002) and fuelled by victims’ groups that challenge the systems and people that fail to “lock ’em up and throw away the key” (Jenkins, 2012).

The majority of Māori prisoners have had some significant and often traumatic events impact on their lives and their life paths, which could be seen as possible contributors to eventual crime and imprisonment. Significant events and factors impacting on prisoners lives include high rates of trauma and low levels of literacy and education.

The loss of Māori people to incarceration is an enormous loss to Whānau, Hapū and Iwi. The impact is being felt intergenerationally, as Pillars (Gordon, 2009) indicated in research that found that, in comparison to non-Māori prisoners, many Māori prisoners experienced as children their fathers, uncles, brothers, cousins and female relatives being in prison. Amongst children of prisoners:

*There is evidence of significant physical sickness, too, and emerging major conduct disorders and mental health problems. Is this how the prisons come to be so full of people*
Incarceration rates

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There is evidence of significant physical sickness, too, and emerging major conduct disorders and mental health problems. Is this how the prisons come to be so full of people with mental illnesses as childhood emotional disorders remain untreated and are allowed to escalate? (Gordon, 2009, p. 68).

High imprisonment rates are at epidemic levels (Carnochan, 2012) and require whānau and communities’ attention (Workman, 2012, p. 2:03). Action is required to provide prevention, intervention, rehabilitation and reintegration (JustSpeak, 2013), strategies and services.

**Rising Wāhine Māori Imprisonment**

Females comprise 7 percent of the total prison population, however, as shown in Figure 2 (Prison population), wāhine Māori comprise 60 percent of the female prisoner population. In comparison to NZ European women, wāhine Māori are imprisoned at approximately 9 times the rate of their female counterparts (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011), and are 5.5 times more likely to be apprehended (Workman, 2011), prosecuted and convicted at much higher rates than non-Māori women (Department of Corrections, 2008).

The number of incarcerated wāhine Māori has increased by 355 percent since 1986 (Department of Corrections, 2011). The high rate of Māori women in prison is an epidemic that needs to be addressed.

**Figure 2  Prison population**

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Māori female</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* (Department of Corrections, 2011f)

**Profile**

Most wāhine Māori entering prison serve 2 years or less. The three predominant areas of conviction handed down are for traffic and vehicle regulatory offences, offences against justice procedures, and theft and related offences. These statistics are similar to those for European women (Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

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2 31 March 2011
As at December 2012 the total muster of female inmates was 492\(^3\) (Department of Corrections, 2012), with 295.2 (60 percent) of them being wāhine Māori. According to Te Puni Kōkiri (2011b) findings, each wahine imprisoned will have on average 2.5 children. If we extrapolate that out, there are potentially 738 Māori children who are without their mothers.

**Rehabilitation, Intervention Programmes**

New Zealand has 14 male prisons, and 3 female prisons\(^4\). Each prison has a variety of rehabilitation and intervention programmes available. Rehabilitation and intervention programmes fall into four main categories: motivational, cognitive - behavioural, employment and education, and reintegrative. The objective is to reduce re-offending and reduce the likelihood of offenders committing crime which will result in fewer victims, a reduction in crime and safer communities (Department of Corrections, 2013).

Eligible prisoners are able to participate in intensive intervention programmes. However, one of the eligibility criteria is to be imprisoned for 2 years or more and have a high-risk of reoffending. Therefore, many female prisoners do not qualify as most sentences are less than 2 years.

Auckland and Christchurch prisons have Mother and Baby Units, where mothers are able to live and take care of their babies up to the age of 2\(^5\). These units allow mother and baby the opportunity to bond, which is proven to be beneficial for reducing the effects of trauma caused by separation, and increasing a prisoner’s likelihood of rehabilitation. Mother and Baby Units are co-joined with self-care units, which foster skills that enable reintegration, such as release to work activity for eligible prisoners (Department of Corrections, 2011a).

There are Feeding and Bonding facilities available to prisoners who are medium to high security, as these mothers are not eligible for Mother and Baby Units, this facility enables a baby (cared for within the community) to visit their mother in prison for feeding and bonding time (Department of Corrections, 2011a).

There are 5 Māori Focus Units (MFU), none of which are for females (Department of Corrections, 2013). The Department of Corrections’ failure to implement MFU for females, despite their success for males, is due to the development cost not being justifiable (Quince, 2008). Quince states that:

*The lack of access to Māori Focus Units for Māori women not only means a lack of access to the specialised programming and facilities that are available to unit residents, but also means Māori female inmates do not benefit from the general promotion of self esteem that derives from affirmation of a Māori cultural identity* (p. 158).

There is huge significance in the probability that no MFU will be developed for Māori women, given that, as mentioned earlier in this article, they are the fastest growing prisoner type.

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\(^3\)Sentenced and remanded  
\(^4\)Arohata Prison, Auckland Region Women’s Corrections Facility and Christchurch Women’s Prison  
\(^5\)If certain eligibility is met.
Emotional Health

Mental illness, personality disorder, and alcohol and substance abuse rates (89%) (Brinded et al., 1999) amongst prisoners are considerably higher than the general population (Earthrowl, 2005; Brinded, Fairley, Laidlaw, Malcom & Simpson 1999). The Department of Corrections (2013a) started to use a Mental Health screening tool in 2011, which was initially developed by Canterbury Regional Forensic Service Clinical Head, Dr. Mark Earthrowl and his team. The screening tool is used to assess prisoners’ mental health needs in order to improve care and address their mental health needs, with the aim of a 25 percent reduction in re-offending by 2017.

Tariana Turia believes that “Women in particular have higher health needs than the general population and are at risk for a broad range of mental and physical health problems due to high rates of exposure to trauma and abuse” (2012, p. 1). According to Dr. Earthrowl (2005), if the mental health screening tool were utilised in Women’s prisons it would help address the high rates of self harm behavior, high levels of distress and adjustment difficulties, and low effectiveness of existing processes. It would be part of a continuum of mental health services addressing health problems resulting from high rates of trauma and sexual abuse that women have been exposed to.

Impacts on Children of Prisoners

According to the Pillars study (2009) ’Invisible Children’, at any one time there are 20,000 children of prisoners in New Zealand, most living in benefit-led homes with either a single parent or grandparent. This equates to an estimated 9,966.25 Māori children who have a parent imprisoned at any one time.

When a wahine Māori is imprisoned, often she has been a solo-parent prior to imprisonment, in which case the child(ren) will be cared for by an under-resourced grandparent or relative, or will be sent into Child Youth and Family (government) care (Gordon, 2009). Children’s lives are deeply disrupted, so much so that, “most children experience significant physical, emotional or mental health problems, from bed-wetting to issues of violence and anger. Many of the children disengage from schooling at an early age, and enter adolescence with a range of risk factors” (Gordon & McFelin, 2012, p. 6).

Gordon and McFelin (2012) go on to say that, “Children of prisoners are often emotionally harmed, angry and alienated, and these issues tend to get worse over time” (p. 8). As a result, tomorrow’s prisons are preparing for today’s children (Gordon, 2012; National Health Committee, 2010; Ministry of Justice, 2009).

A key organisation that advocates for children and whānau is Pillars. Pillars provides services to support the children and families of prisoners to prevent “intergenerational offending and imprisonment” (Pillars, 2013, p. 1).

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6 December 2012 prison muster: (7,973 male - 50% x 2.5) + (492 female - 40% x 2.5) = 9,966.25
Impacts on the Whānau and Community of Prisoners

A person who has been imprisoned is socially stigmatised; they are not considered to be part of society. The whānau of a prisoner will also suffer secondary stigmatisation and shaming (Condry, 2006), to such a degree that occasionally extended whānau will not know that they have a whānau member in prison. The social stigma originates from cultural and popular belief of familial “blame and contamination” (Condry, 2006). With the absence of a parent, a daughter, a daughter-in-law, a son, a son-in-law, whānau vulnerability is compounded by pre-existing social disadvantages that affect many whānau Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011b) and negatively impacts on whānau ability to cope. In a report by the National Health Committee (2010), there is an acknowledgement that:

the most vulnerable communities are more susceptible to the cycle of imprisonment. High imprisonment rates can erode the stability and cohesion of the whole community. The large proportion of Māori in New Zealand prisons means the impacts of imprisonment fall disproportionately on Māori whānau and communities, and result in many living on the verge of crisis (National Health Committee, 2010, p. 112).

Reintegration

Te Atawhai o te Ao undertook a study of Māori prisoners’ views on their reintegration back into their communities. This project involved interviewing 42 Māori prisoners, both male and female, and ultimately asking them how prepared they were for release from prison upon their release date. The large majority were not prepared for release and acknowledged a number of factors that contributed to their unpreparedness, including: support within prison to prepare for release from prison, support needed when leaving prison for gaining employment, housing, financial aid to support their families, and support from whānau and/or agencies.

Ample research exists which reinforces the importance of community in reintegration, rather than the focus on an individual prisoner (Visher, 2003; Visher & Travis, 2003; Travis, Solomon & Waul, 2001; Workman, 2012):

Most of the existing research on prisoners’ lives after release focuses solely on recidivism and ignores the reality that recidivism is directly affected by post-prison reintegration and adjustment, which, in turn, depends on four sets of factors: personal and situational characteristics, including the individual’s social environment of peers, family, community and state-level policies (Travis, 2003, p. 89).

Studies have shown that support from a prisoner’s family and their wider community can have an impact on whether they successfully reintegrate back into their community (Bales & Mears, 2008; Codd, 2007; Naser & La Vigne, 2006; Rhine et al., 2003; Shollenger, 2009). Further, studies have shown that prison visitation has an effect on recidivism, where it was found that “visits from siblings, in-laws, fathers, and clergy were the most beneficial in reducing the risk of recidivism” (Minnesota Department of Corrections, 2011).

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7 TENDS TO OCCUR IN MORE MEMBERS OF A FAMILY THAN EXPECTED BY CHANCE ALONE. INVALID SOURCE SPECIFIED.
The Health and Wellbeing of Māori Prisoners on Reintegration to the Community

Te Atawhai o te Ao is currently undertaking a new 5 year programme of research called ‘He Kokonga Whare: Māori Intergenerational Trauma and Healing’ which consists of 4 projects, one of them being ‘The Health and Wellbeing of Māori Prisoners on Reintegration to the Community’.

Fifty Māori men, and thirty Māori women will be interviewed. Specific criteria for the interviewees include: half being aged under 25 years of age and half 25 years and over; and having tribal affiliation to the Taranaki, Whanganui, and Rangitikei regions. The research team is from this region, has extensive networks locally with Māori service providers, hapū and iwi representatives with wide whakapapa/cultural/historical knowledge, and has an extensive knowledge of local whānau and whakapapa. This is also an effort to base our findings for this project on a particular geographic region. In regard to participant age selection, the researchers believe that there are distinct possibilities for change and intervention with the under 25 year old age group. A recent finding published by the Dunedin Multidisciplinary Study reveals that there are two distinct groups of criminal offenders: a group that remain offenders all their lives and another larger group that offend during their teenage years but who reform in adulthood with finding employment and friends (Moffitt et al, 2001).

This project will explore and identify the range of issues faced by Māori prisoners in relation to their reintegration back into their communities, and will focus on the individual within the context of generations and their cultural identity. The current research will contribute to new knowledge by investigating:

1. Whether strengthening a person’s cultural identity will improve their overall health and wellbeing and reduce reoffending; and
2. Whether strengthening hapū identity will contribute to a reduction in reoffending by Māori.

In order to answer points 1 and 2, we will gather evidence of the cultural connectedness of Māori prisoners, as most prisoners know their iwi or hapū but generally do not have much other knowledge of where they are from or who they are. Thus Hapū navigators with knowledge of a project participant’s whakapapa and cultural identity will walk alongside him/her and cultivate whakapapa and cultural knowledge with them. We will also identify what cultural and other protective factors are used whilst in prison, and on release.

The implementation of culture-specific reintegration programmes within prisons also has a positive effect on Māori and Indigenous prisoners. International research on reintegration programmes specifically targeting Indigenous offenders in Australia, Canada and New Zealand, found a positive correlation between culture-related outcomes in areas related to reclaiming and developing a sense of identity, and learning language and tribal connections (Heckbert & Turkington, 2002; Sioui & Thibault, 2002; Nathan et al, 2003; Correctional Services Canada, 2008). A study conducted in New Zealand with Māori prisoners has had similar results (Wehipeihana & Porima, 2003).

For each of the fifty Māori men and thirty Māori women that will be interviewed, we will have 4 interviews/wānanga with them over a period of 18+ months. There are a number of reasons why it is important to undertake this kind of longitudinal study with Māori prisoners:

a. there is a high incidence of recidivism within the first 6 to 12 months of release. This research will follow-up with the prisoners over a period of time that exceeds this period;
b. some research suggests that a key period which determines successful reintegration is the period immediately after release (Travis, Solomon & Waul, 2001; Hartfree et al, 2008), which we would like to examine;

c. it is important to research whether cultural connectedness is a protective factor for further recidivism; and

d. to be able to track post-release changes.

A longitudinal methodological approach provides a more comprehensive picture of an individual’s transition from prison to community (Visher & Travis, 2003).

Māori have long known that the impact of mass cultural, language and land loss has a direct connection to increased rates of impoverishment, suicide, abuse, imprisonment, mental health outcomes, addictions and violence through subsequent generations. These outcomes have an impact on the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual wellbeing of individuals, whānau, hapū and iwi. Over time Māori have also shown incredible strengths in dealing with these challenges. Not only have people developed coping strategies, many have also developed recovery pathways, have implemented wellbeing plans, and have healed. ‘He Kokonga Whare’, along with the ‘Health and Wellbeing of Māori Prisoners on Reintegration to the Community’ project, will focus on good health and healing from intergenerational trauma (Te Atawhai o te Ao, 2012).

Glossary

<table>
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<th>term</th>
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<td>Hapū</td>
<td>Sub-tribe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iwi</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
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<td>Māori</td>
<td>Indigenous people of New Zealand</td>
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<td>Wahine/Wāhine</td>
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<td>Whakapapa</td>
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Glossary

Hapū, Sub-tribe
Iwi, Tribe
Māori, Indigenous people of New Zealand
Wahine/Wāhine, Woman/Women
Whakapapa, Genealogy
Whānau, Family

References


HE KOKONGA WHARE

DR TAKIRIRANGI SMITH

Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Apa, Te Aitanga a Hauiti

Introduction

The title of this paper comes from the whakataukī (proverbial saying) He kokonga whare e kitea; he kokonga ngākau e kore e kitea. The recesses of a house can be seen, but the recesses of the heart and the mind cannot be seen. This paper looks at traditional Māori concepts that are relevant to intergenerational trauma. It also includes comment that might indicate traditional attitudes to land loss, crime and punishment, and sexual violence. A background discussion on traditional Māori knowledge in general is also provided in order to contextualise and frame the discussion relating to trauma.

Traditional Concepts of Trauma

If trauma is defined as a ‘psychological shock with damaging effects’ (Oxford Dictionary of Psychology)\(^1\), then it follows that any precolonial definition was a much broader concept that included physical, mental and emotional health. Patu ngākau\(^2\) describes a deep psychological shock but is related more to the event that caused the shock. Pouritanga and mamae might also describe trauma but refer more to the state of being following the initial trauma event or shock. The difference between pouritanga and mamae is that mamae generally refers to physical pain. When applied in reference to the internal system or organs of the human body, although the emphasis is upon the physical it assumes a meaning that includes both physical and psychological pain. Pouritanga primarily refers to psychological pain that ranges in intensity from general anxiety to deep suicidal depression. The term also means darkness. Darkness is qualified in the language by the description of varying intensities including the intense darkness associated with the darkest of nights, and the various states of darkness leading to dawn and to full daylight. Like mamaetanga there is no assumption of any physical disconnection with pouritanga and although primarily psychological, a physical connection and effect is always assumed. Any definition of trauma in the Māori sense therefore includes a patu ngākau (related to the initial event) and its effects mamaetanga (with an emphasis on the physical) and pouritanga (with an emphasis on the psychological).

Trauma and Whenua

The importance of people to land (whenua) and their connectedness to it is highlighted in traditional philosophies of whakapapa kōrero in a number of ways. In the creation narratives human beings are descendants of Papatūānuku (the Earth mother, separated from Rangi, the Sky parent). The first human being from whom all people are descended was created and formed from the earth. This act is replicated during pregnancy and the term for the afterbirth is

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\(^1\) Colman, A. 2009

\(^2\) For a fuller discussion of patu ngakau see Smith, T. 2008.
In traditional times the afterbirth (whenua) was returned to its rightful place by burying it and reuniting it with the land of one’s birth, returning whenua (afterbirth) to the whenua (land). This connectedness is stated in the whakataukī (proverbial saying), he taura whenua, he taura tangata (the umbilical cord is an ancestral cord connected to land). The intimate relationship of tangata whenua to tūranga and tūrangawaewae has been indicated in various studies (for example Smith, T. 2007). Colonial impact and land loss have been studied extensively as part of Waitangi Tribunal claims, however most of the claim research has been economically focused within the context of historical research. Social and health impact research has been reported on in broad terms. Within the corpus of Waitangi Tribunal literature, substantial evidence relating to the psychological impacts and the intergenerational nature of these effects is still yet to be acknowledged, assessed, quantified and reported on. The intimate relationship and sense of connection to whenua through tūranga (location or postion) and tūrangawaewae (place where the feet belong), kāinga whakatipu (homeland where a person has been nurtured and grown), or whenua papa tipu (land where a person has been brought up), was and is a core value that underpins and informs other values. This deep sense of connectedness was an integral part of whānau, hapū and iwi identities. The reasons why Waitangi Tribunal claims, which focus upon ‘historical’ evidence, failed to capture the psychological and intergenerational impacts of land loss are partly explained in this paper. As an indigenous knowledge, traditional Māori knowledge is also highly attuned to the non-verbal transmission of knowledge through tohu.

**Trauma and Sexual Violence**

Like trauma, no specific terms were identified that were used to specifically describe the psychological aspects of sexual violence or abuse. Pāwhera is a term used for the physical violation of a woman. It is also a term used for rape. The term used for a physical assault (huaki/patu) and older terms used for non-consensual sex with a female (poka noa) convey the contemporary notion of rape but do not describe the trauma related aspects.

In colonial literature rape is sometimes described as pūremu reipa, pūremu qualified by the transliteration for rape (reipa). In whakapapa kōrero narratives pūremu is a blanket term used to describe a hidden, socially unsanctioned relationship. The origin of pūremu is attributed to Whiro who abducted his elder brother’s wife to live in the underworld. In the story of Manaia, his wife commits adultery and the male adulterer is killed by Manaia. It is a person of mana and Manaia is forced to migrate to Aotearoa. In the Tainui story of Marama and Whakaotirangi, Marama commits adultery with a servant. In all of the examples examined, pūremu is a hidden and secretive sexual relationship outside of a community sanctioned relationship. When the relationship is exposed there are negative impacts for the wider community because of the event or relationship. The concern is related to the mana and tapu of the tribal group and the implications and consequences for future generations.

Both male and female genitalia were considered sacred and perceived of as organs that could influence life and death. The ritual use of genitalia and references in incantations and chants highlight the degree of sanctity attached to sexual organs. Sexual violence, or any other type of

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4 Māori language expert, Te Ripowai Higgins. (Personal communication, 2013)
physical or psychological assault where a powerful individual violated and/or humiliated a less powerful or powerless victim, was initially responded to with whakamā. The consequences of this type of violation is exemplified with the later story of Te Aohuruhuru.

**Trauma, Crime and Punishment**

A popular theme in whakapapa kōrero narratives is where an individual commits an offence or hara by not carrying out the appropriate rituals before engaging in a particular task. In the story of Rua-te-Pupuke, a fishing lure is given to his son Manuruhi who fails to carry out the appropriate rituals over it. The ritual is an acknowledgement to Tangaroa requesting that his offspring be taken for food. As a result of the offence Tangaroa, the guardian of fish, kidnaps him and uses him as a figurehead for his house. Because of the kidnapping, Rua searches for his son, recovers him and other carvings from Tangaroa’s house and in the process burns Tangaroa’s house down and attacks and burns the offspring of Tangaroa (fish). In another popular narrative, the story of Rata, Rata also commits a hara by failing to carry out the appropriate rituals before he fells a tree in order to make a canoe. As a result, after his labouring all day, the forest fairies gather all of the woodchips and restore the tree to its former position in the forest. Harau in whakapapa kōrero narratives are identified as mistakes, errors of omission or oversights due to carelessness. They are mistakes where there is no deliberate or malicious intent to cause harm. Early translators of the bible translated the word ‘sin’ as hara (as in The Lords Prayer, ‘murua o mātou hara’ for ‘forgive us our sins’). Later colonial translators used the term in defining colonial laws for the criminal justice system and the term hara became associated with crime. In the Laws of England the term ‘hara kirimina’ is the translation for criminal offending.

Within local communities systems of punishment would have been determined by the leadership within individual whanau or tribal based communities. The concept of evil did not exist, although it is likely that extreme violent behaviour, like warfare, would have been located to the characteristics of particular tipuna. The manifestation of particular tipuna within an individual did not necessarily render the offender ‘guilty’ unless the individual had deliberately invoked particular tipuna to become manifest through the use of karakia, for the purpose of carrying out the offense. Violent offending, like warfare was identified with riri, where the human, caring and nurturing side of an individual was negated or closed down. As the offender was likely to have been a relative of the community leadership, whose personal history and behaviour was known, strategies of healing would have been preferred as opposed to inflicting physical or psychological punishment. These strategies for healing focused upon reconnecting the individual to the human, caring and nurturing side, the ira tangata of a human being’s personality. This excludes, however, assault and violence inflicted upon those captured in warfare who were likely to have been subject to abuse until integrated socially into the community as slaves.

Random, violent behaviour is associated with Tawhirimatea, an atua who attacked and tried to kill all his brothers for separating the Sky and the Earth. Tawhirimatea dwells in the atua realm in the upper parts of the sky. This atua is associated with te kauae runga knowledge. (It was Tawhirimatea’s offspring that conveyed Tane to the uppermost realm to obtain the baskets of knowledge). The offspring of Tawhirimatea are winds (hau) and the term haurangi, used to describe loud, boisterous behaviour, is also a term associated with drunkenness. In extreme cases where the survival of the community was threatened, offenders were ostracised and isolated in order to reconnect to the human side of their personality. Colonial missionaries
among Ngāti Kahungunu reported that violent offenders were sometimes sent into the mountains and not permitted to make contact with the community. In one particular case of assaulting a female the offender was banished for a year. Had the offense been more serious the exclusion time was likely to have been doubled.

**Traditional Knowledge Frameworks**

Māori knowledge is defined through *whakapapa kōrero*, philosophical narratives which describe how the world and human beings came into existence. In their simplest form these narratives can be described as ‘stories’ about ‘ancestors’ but evidence from *whare wānanga* provides more complex and detailed narrative, which for precolonial Māori provided templates for social relationships, science and technology, resource gathering, medicine and health, and survival in the environment generally. *Whakapapa kōrero* are frameworks of knowledge where *tipuna* are described with events of significance. Central elements in the ‘stories’ provided a framework for which much more complex and detailed narrative connected to and accounted for events in the existing living world. These detailed narratives, transmitted in song, incantation, wānanga and by other means, that included scientific, technological, social, economic and other intergenerational knowledge, were formalised around less formal stories (*pūrākau*) about *tipuna* (ancestors).

Māori knowledge itself is described as emanating from two sources. In the origin stories the world exists as the sky (Rangi) and the earth (Papa) being embraced together. They become separated by their children who dwell within the darkness of their embrace. The separation is a violent event and extremely traumatic for the parents. The sinews of Rangi are severed with two axes and blood seeps into the land causing the Earth to go red in places. As the two parted parents look at each other, *aroha* (sorrow/compassion) is expressed and they both weep. The flow of the tears instigates the origin of water on earth and the rain that falls from the sky. The extent of tears threatens to flood the earth. Fearful of the flooding, their children decide to turn their mother over to prevent the parents from gazing at each other. From this act the world is transformed, providing the conditions for light and life to enter into the world.

The process of knowledge acquisition is that all knowledge originates and exists externally and becomes known to human beings through a process of internalisation. In the creation stories knowledge is acquired from Rangiātea, the open space of Rangi at a place called Tikitiki-o-Rangi, the topknot of Rangi. In *whakapapa kōrero* narratives around knowledge, the knowledge is acquired and held within three *kete*. The first *kete* contains knowledge associated with the sky parent Ranginui (Te Kauwae Runga), the second contains knowledge associated with Papatuanuku (Te Kauwae Raro), and the third contains ritual symbols that pertain to the retention and protection of knowledge.

The knowledge that is acquired by Tāne is used to create the first human being from whom all human beings are descended. As a result, all human beings are descendants of the *atua* Tāne and the earth formed woman Hineahuone.

**Domains of Knowledge and the Human Body**

The spatial and temporal components of Māori knowledge are defined through *whakapapa kōrero* which forms the key point of difference from “western” or “European” knowledge
systems. Like other indigenous knowledge systems it is knowledge embedded into and connected with landscapes, seascapes and the environment. In creation narratives, children of Rangi and Papa are located at various places and become guardians of their various systems or domains. This is important because of the relationship of these various atua domains and the precolonial view of the human body. The structure of the human body, like the meeting house, can be divided into components that are influenced by particular atua or pou tiria. These atua are spatially located within distinct areas of Rangi and Papa and like precolonial houses, the human body was perceived as being intimately connected and physically related. The structure of precolonial houses are likened to Rangi the sky parent dwelling over Papatūānuku. The evidence in precolonial architecture indicates that the outer, raised and external components of a house fall under the jurisdiction of, and are referenced to Rangi and atua that are associated with Rangi. In opposition to this, and underpinned by the kōrero (story) about the separation of the sky and the earth is Papatūānuku. The spatial jurisdiction of Papatūānuku and associated atua in relationship to a meeting house can be defined as being the earth on which the structure is located and all internally enclosed and protected space.

The external and upper parts of the human body that are referenced and associated to Rangi, include the head from the upper jaw up, the back and backbone, and the external space surrounding the human body generally. The parts of the human body that are referenced to Papatūānuku include the internal organs and flesh in front of the backbone below the lower jaw. It also extends to the protected enclosed front of the human body formed in a defensive stance. As a general description the upper and external parts are to be associated with Rangi and the lower and internal parts to Papatūānuku. This underlying principle forms the basis of other kōrero relating to the human body, which is to be further defined with Te Kauwae Runga and Te Kauae Raro and the separate knowledges that these two knowledge classifications represent.

**Te Kauwae Runga and External Knowledge**

Te Kauwae Runga represents the knowledge system associated with Rangi that also provided the *ira atua* element used for the creation of the first human being. Activity within the human body located above the lower jaw, organ function, psychological concepts and physical activity are all associated with the *taha atua* side or the *ira atua*. The *ira atua* aspects associated with Rangi include *atua* such as Tawhirimatea, Tiwhaia, Punaweko, Ruatau and others, that contributed various parts that created the first human being and were perceived of as guardians of the various body parts, organs and features to which they contributed.

Visual knowledge and knowing through sight is considered *ira atua* knowledge and associated with Te Kauae Runga. At conception and the formation of the foetus, *ira atua* knowledge is represented by Te Whānau-ā-Rua (Rua i te Pukenga, Rua i te Mahara, etc.) Te Whānau a Rua are also stars (*whetū*). After conception human *ira atua* knowledge enters the foetus by the Ruawhetū (a hollow in the skull of the foetus). When the eyes in the foetus form and come to life, *ira atua* knowledge connects and the foetus is considered a functional human being with the ability to engage external knowledge. *Kua whakawhetū tama i a ia*, literally states the child has been enlightened by the stars, but is a reference to *ira atua* knowledge forming within the foetus. The restoration of blindness is associated with Tāwhakī who restored the the sight of his grandmother Whaitiri. In *karakia* associated with this story, reference is made to Rehua (the star Sirius) and the blood of Rehua. In *whakapapa kōrero* Rehua is situated at the zenith of the various divisions which become elevated within the sky. Males who performed duties that
involved tapu relied upon tohu (traditional signs and indicators) to assist with specialised tasks. The ira atua/kauae runga knowledge could be negated through kaiatua, cooked food etc, passing over or coming near to the head. The loss of this second sight or internal, instinctive vision for a male so affected was termed kahupō (cloaked darkness) or hinapō (moon darkness) (Best, 1925, p. 212). Blindness (matapō) was associated with matakite, in particular women with the power of second sight and the ability to visualise internally future events.

Te Kauae Raro and Internal Knowledge

The knowledge basket of Te Kauae Raro contained knowledge that was implanted into the earth and nurtured by Papatūānuku. This knowledge includes all things relating to Papatūānuku and whenua and all internal knowledge associated with te ngākau o te whenua, the bowels of the earth, and the internal system of the human body. It also includes all knowledge about human beings and tribal knowledges that connect to Hawaiiki or Te Hono ki Wairua, the place where the ira atua (the atua aspect) is united with the ira tangata (the human aspect) that is within all human beings. On the human body there are two areas where, metaphorically, ira atua and ira tangata knowledge unite. The upper jaw (kauae runga) and the lower jaw (kauae raro) unite at the juncture of the ear. This juncture was considered important and sacred. Ka houhia te rongo is an expression for peace and is represented in Māori carvings in door lintels, which have beaked figures (manaia) with a lower and upper jaw placed over the putaringa (ear) of a central figure associated with peace. Hearing (rongo) was considered important because it connected internal (kauae raro) and external (kauae runga) knowledge.5

Ko nga taringa me nga kanohi, te putake o nga uaua o te tangata me te upoko, ki te moe nga kanohi o te tangata e kore nga taringa e rongo; ki te rongo nga taringa i te reo ka ara nga kanohi. Ko nga taringa te kaitiaki o te tinana, ara te kai whakarongo o nga mea katoa e pa ana ki te tinana, me nga mea e tangi ana i tawhiti o te tinana.

The ears and the eyes cause people to react with head, if the eyes of a person are asleep, the ears do not hear, but if a person hears a voice the eyes awake. The ears are the guardian of the body, and know everything affecting the body, and also things making a noise at a distance from the body.

On some lintels this figure is the atua Rongo that protects the interior of the house. The porch area that Rongo looks out over, is termed the roro which is also the term for the internal organs of the human body that are located within the skull and above the upper jaw. The roro of the traditional whare tipuna is also a sheltered porch area exposed to the light and visibility of the marae atea. The roro or internal part of the head above the upper jaw was perceived in the human body as being similar. The roro of a whare tipuna is situated between the potentially hostile environment of the marae atea, and the protected interior of the ngakau. The interior of a meeting house is sometimes referred to as te whare o Rongo in contrast to the marae atea which is often referred to as te marae (or te papa) o Tūmatauenga (the domain of Tūmatauenga).

Evidence in language tells us that contemplative and reflective thought occurred within the ngākau e.g., te whakaaro o te ngākau, te hinengaro o te ngākau. Early language references do not say that this activity occurs in the brain (roro), which suggest that responses centred within the

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5 White 1887 Volume 1. pp146-7
brain were perceived as fleeting and impulsive. Therefore most evidence indicates that rational thought was centred within the ngākau and was a holistic process involving both the ira atua/roro and the ira tangata/ngākau centred aspects of the human body. The depository of human knowing unlike western knowledge was not the brain but the ngākau of a person. The evidence for this is also in the language; te matauranga o te ngākau, te maharatanga o te ngākau, te whakaaro o te ngākau, te hinengaro o te ngākau and so on. Knowledge within the roro had to be grounded and stored in the nāakau as memory otherwise it was considered transient and fleeting, and not fully human. Like the roro (porch) of a meeting house it was considered exposed to the mercy of the elements including Tawhirimatea, the wind, who seeks out and attacks the offspring of Tane and Hinetitama (human beings).

Hearing is sometimes emphasised with the term whakarongo or rongo ā taringa (knowing by the ear). The upper and lower jaw unite at the aperture of the ear. In Māori art, peace (rongo taketake, rongo aio and rongo maraeroa) is represented by the lower and upper jaw of a manaia figure, representing a hand encircling the ear and placed on the lower and upper jaw. This tohu is a representation of a state of peace and balance. Ka houhia⁶ te rongo (the peace/knowing/connection is bound/fixed). Listening as an important part of internal peace, and healing is metaphorically demonstrated in the creation kōrero when Tawhirimatea sought revenge against his brothers for separating their parents. Rongo sought refuge from the fury and anger of the wind by burying himself in the ground. There he lay quiet and still, intently listening as the battle raged. It was in the darkness of this space that he was able to find peace and healing.

Rongo-a-ihu is a term that describes knowing through the nose. Smell could be classified into two further sensations. These were pleasant, agreeable smells (kakara) and unpleasant, disagreeable smells (haunga). In the creation stories haunga originates from the stench associated with the children of Rangi and Papa that dwelt within the darkness of the embrace of their parents. The stench (haunga) is one of the causes that led them to separate their parents. Another cause was the discovery that fresh air associated with open space existed beyond. (Kā rongo te kakara ki te ihu o Uepoto).

External phenomena that provided information through the surface of the body are described as rongo ā kiri. Takiri, twitching, sudden movements or convulsions that occurred within the body were tohu or signs and indicators that could have a positive or negative outcome depending upon the region of the body that was affected or the direction of the movement.

Knowing by taste included rongo ā arero (know by the tongue). Food could never be passed over the upper jaw or the domain of the kauwae runga which included the roro (brain and internal system above the lower jaw) and tahuhu (back), but as it belonged to the earthly Papatūānuku domain and the ira tangata it could be passed freely over the lower jaw as cooked food was kai tangata. Cooked food passed over the head and the upper jaw was considered a deadly insult as it negated the ira atua and created an imbalance toward the ira tangata. Raw foods, regarded as kai atua, would not have been considered as destructive. Foods when tasted were considered reka (sweet or flavoured) or kawa (sour or bitter) (White 1887, pp. 146-7).
The sun is associated with external growth, and the moon with internal growth and growth in transformation.8

Various accounts in Te Kauae Raro knowledge is associated with foods that are obtained and cooked within the mouth, to suffer.7,8

Te Kauae Raro knowledge is associated with foods that are obtained and cooked within Papatūānuku. In whakapapa kōrero pertaining to Maui the kauae raro (lower jawbone) of his grandmother Murirangawhenua is given to him as a weapon. This is the weapon which beats back the sun in order that the days be longer, so that the food crops can grow and people can eat in order to survive. In the kōrero about Maui when he brings to the surface Te Ikaroa a Maui, the fishhook he uses is the same jawbone, te kauwae raro a Murirangawhenua. This narrative contains fishing knowledge and has extensive karakia relating to all aspects of fishing.

**Mauri**

*Mauri* is a key concept related to physical and psychological health, and the life cycle of things. All living things have an internal energy which is affected by an external influence. The mauri refers to the internal energy of a person, a personified object or some other living thing. This generative energy is referenced to both singular and collective groups of people, plants or things that are identified as having a life span. Popular translations for the word *mauri* include ‘life essence’ or ‘life force’. It is derived from two words: *ma*, which is a term used in incantations to signify light and energy, and *uri* meaning progeny or generative power that brings forth transformation. *Mauri* is linked to the creation of the first human being, an earth-formed woman created by *atua*. After the breath of life is given to Hineahuone, the first words uttered by a human being are “*thel mauri ora*” (a sneeze with the generative energy of life). It is also linked to the story of Maui and the sun, Tama-nui-te-Rā. The sun travels faster and faster across the sky. As a result of this there are not enough hours of light. The crops fail and the people suffer and eventually starve. The ancestor Maui decides to attack the sun. After snaring the sun he beats it and causes it to move slowly across the sky. After this act light and life are restored to the world, including the crops and the people and the *mauri* of all things. The balance of light and darkness is an important aspect of this story. In the Maui kōrero the balance of light and darkness is aided by tying the sun to the moon so that they are destined to live in opposite realms which continually follow each other. When there is not enough light, ill health and sickness afflicts the people (*mauri mate*). When the balance of light and darkness is restored the *mauri ora* (energy, good health) is also restored. Natural sunlight is considered important for providing energy/light (*ma*) for the internal growth and health of all living things. The lack of direct energy/light in the Maui/Tama-nui-te-rā narrative causes all living things, including crops and human beings, to suffer.7,8

The sun is the *mauri* and provides energy for growth in the realm of daylight (*te ao mārama*) and the moon is the *mauri* which provides energy, warmth and nurturing for growth in darkness. The sun is associated with external growth, and the moon with internal growth and growth in

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7 See Smith, T. 2008; Tohu and MāoriKnowing.

8 Various accounts in Māori of Maui and Tama-nui-te-Rā can be found in the Māori Purpose Fund Board manuscripts, Ms Papers 0189 Series B, Polynesian Society Papers, Ms Papers 1187 and others.
darkness. The importance of this relationship is often overlooked in the literature but is clearly assumed in early manuscript evidence, karakia and waiata. This key assumption in whakapapa kōrero narratives and the traditional architecture of Māori meeting houses, that the sun provides life and energy in daylight and the moon life and energy in darkness, is important for the health of all living things including plant life and human beings. Mauri relates to energy and activity through light (ma) and warmth (mahana). There is a proverb which states: Mauri noho, mauri mate, mauri tū, mauri ora (An active mauri is a sign of life, an inactive mauri is a sign of ill health). The mauri of human beings as in the Maui story is affected by the quality and quantity of food available for consumption and if the food is not of the appropriate quality or quantity the mauri deteriorates to a state of mauri mate. In this affected state of under nourishment the ‘mental’ faculties of an individual (related to the ngākau) are affected as well as the physical health of an individual.

Although both the sun and the moon were considered integral to the growth cycle, prevalence was given to the moon and the stars during planting and incubation. This also applied to human beings and incubation within the womb. The relationship between the domains of the moon and the sun evident in whakapapa kōrero may not have been fully understood by early ethnographers, as the internal system, the ngākau, is associated with Te Pō. Once plant life, including kūmara and other important crops, began sprouting shoots above ground they were subject to a more hostile and exposed environment and in effect had partly left the protection and warmth of the house of Papatūānuku (Earthmother) who is also referred to as Te Ūkai pō (the nurturing breast). The Earth and the moon are also associated with nurturing, comfort and peace, and healing.

**Mauri Tau**

Tau means settled, in tune or balanced. It is a term associated with beauty. When used to describe woodcarving it indicates balance referenced to traditional aesthetics and form. When the term kua tau te mauri (the mauri is settled) is used with reference to human beings, an individual is being described as being in tune with the world, and the mauri of that person is travelling within its natural cycle. In times of stress the term oho is used to describe the action and movement of the mauri. Oho means to awaken, enliven or to be startled into action. Colonial ethnographers described the mauri as a ‘life force’. The mauri of a person flows or travels (rere). If the mauri of a person travels too fast in Te Ao Mārama (daylight) the balance is upset and the person’s mauri is spending too much time in Te Pō. Mauri tau refers to the cyclical and balanced and undisturbed rhythm of the mauri as it generates energy (ma) throughout the day (Te Ao Mārama) and the night (Te Pō). There are two spiritually connected energies or mauri outlined in the Maui and other kōrero that provide examples of mauri tau. Tama-nui-te-rā, the source of all energy in Te Ao Mārama (the world of light which began at sunrise and ended at sunset), travelled too fast across the sky. The days were shortened and people and all life that depended upon the sun became sick and lifeless. Maui captured the sun and attacked it so that it would slow down and restore life on the earth. In the final part of this kōrero the moon and the sun were tied together so that the balance and rhythms of the cycles that occur with these two astronomical bodies might be maintained.
Trauma Related Concepts

Patu Ngākau

A trauma event can be classified as a patu ngākau, which might be translated as a strike or an assault to the heart or the source of the emotions. While the term indicates and describes a psychological event occurring within a victim, the event is generally attributed to some form of abuse toward the victim. The abuse, either physical, psychological, or both, has an impact which is perceived as an assault to the ngākau, that is, the emotional core of a person and the location where memories are stored. Other forms of patu ngākau which might render a victim with a feeling of internal powerlessness include natural disasters or calamities such as earthquakes or floods. Patu ngākau was also a term often used by correspondents to the colonial government relating to the land loss that accompanied colonisation.

Pouritanga

Pouri or pouritanga as a psychological state could range in intensity from general feelings of anxiety or disappointment to a deep suicidal depression. Pouri or pouritanga is always referenced to the ngākau or the internal system where memories and knowledge is stored within human beings. The root word Pō means darkness and night. As stated prior, the word uri is referenced to generative energy or progeny. Whakapapa kōrero narratives describe two separate realms of darkness. The first series of nights and darkness is identified with the creation of the world. The second series is associated with Hinetitama, the first human being born from the earth-formed woman, Hineahuone, who unknowingly had an incestuous relationship with her male parent, the atua Tāne. The discovery of who her true father was, (in some texts described as a patu ngākau) caused the conditions whakamā (a condition explained later in this paper), pouritanga and whakamomori. The pouritanga became so intense and overwhelming that she decided to commit to living permanently in the world of darkness, Te Pō. On her journey to the underworld, she was refused entry by some of her elders and told to remain at the entrance of Te Pō to guard and protect the spirits of her offspring (human beings) as they follow her on the journey to the world of permanent darkness. In Ngāti Kahungunu accounts, when she fled on her journey she fled to Poutererangi, a house which stands at the entrance of Te Pō (the night/darkness). There are important events leading up to her eventual placement at the entrance of Te Pō. These can be summarised as the discovery or event causing pouritanga. The early stages cause her to flee from Tāne (an atua that also represents light). She embarks on the pathway to the world of permanent darkness. She is turned back and, in some accounts, is told to remain at the entrance of Te Pō (in other accounts she requests that she be placed there). The place where she dwells is called Te Angi at Te Muriwaihou. Te Muriwaihou is the pathway from the living world to the entrance of Te Pō, and Te Angi is the place where the wairua (spirits) depart into Te Pō.⁹

Ka haere a Hinetitama i te parae i whitianau, ka whakamau atu ki Poutererangi. Ka tae a ia ki te whaitoki, i reira a Te Kuwatawata e noho ana. Ka ui mai, E haere ana koe ki whea? Ka ki atu a Hine, tukua atu au ki te angi! Ka ki atu a Te Kuwatawata, Hoki atu! Kei muri i a koe te aomarama me te toiora. Ka mea atu a Hine, tukua atu au ki te angi o te Muriwaihou, hei kapu mai i te toiora o aku tamariki i te Aoturoa nei.”

⁹Smith, P. 1913:38 The Lore of the Whare Wananga, Te Kaiwhakapakeha i nga korero mai i te Kauwae-runga,
Hinetitama went by the open space of Whittianaunau and reached Poutererangi. She arrived at the entrance where Te Kuwatawata was positioned. He asked, ‘Where are you going?’ Hine replied, ‘Place me at the departing point, at Te Angi, of the path Te Muriwaihou, so that I may grasp the living essence, the toiora of my children that remain here in the living world of light.

This is the reason why the spirit (wairua) survives and returns each day to carry out its business. Te Kuwatawata then agreed that Hinetitama could go to Rarohenga. Then Hine turned back around behind her and saw Tane, weeping and coming toward her. Hine called out, Tane! Return to our family, I have severed the connection to the world of light, to you. The connection to the world of darkness is mine. Then Hine through an incantation caused him to have an Adam’s apple. Let this be a sign to remember me by. Hinetitama then turned and went inside Poutererangi and descended by Te Angi to Rarohenga.

The various stages of Te Pō that were pursued by Hine-nui-te-po when she departed from Te Ao Mārama (the world of light and of living people) include:

*Kia haere a Hinenuitepo i te angi ka riro nga po te whakamau ki raroenga, ka waiho te po hei ara hekenga mo te whaiao nei ki raroenga, ko te po te kitea ko te po te whaia ko te po ka wheau ki te po tangotango ki te po whawha ki raroenga*

When Hinenuitepo went to Te Angi, the states of darkness were fixed to raroenga, the darkness became a descent path for the pursuing light to raroenga, and hence, the darkness of unseeing, the darkness that cannot be pursued, the extended darkness, to the intense darkness of Rarohenga.

**Whakamā**

Whakamā means to ashen or become pale or white. It is associated with emotions and feelings of shame. The emotional response is associated with a sense of powerlessness and the exposure to this lack of power and status by an individual or group with more power. The effect of this exposure creates emotions of shame and embarrassment which results in the external physical change identified with whakamā. The mauri of the individual becomes affected as the mā (light/energy) departs the ngākau and disperses externally, resulting in the visible ashen/pale appearance of the victim and hence the term whakamā. The transfer and weakening of energy/light (mā) attached to the mauri within the ngākau of the individual creates an internal state of pouritanga. The dispersal and dissipation of energy and light of the mauri (mā) from the internal system to the external world has a physical impact (listlessness, energy loss) and is to be associated with mauri mate (a lifeless mauri). Whakamā is also a response which is upsetting to the balance of the mauri of a person (mauri tau). The upsetting of this balance can be caused accidentally by external circumstances or by an individual themselves placing the person in a position of shame/embarrassment/guilt, or else it can be deliberately inflicted by an individual.
or group upon the victim, another individual or group. In either instance, the action and the victim response is also referred to as a patu ngākau.

Whakamā is qualified by the use of the terms mate and patu. Ka patu i te whakamā (struck with shame/embarrassment/guilt) refers to an immediate reaction, whereas ka mate i te whakama (to become sick/ill with whakamā) might refer to a reaction or response over time (Grey, 1854, p. 197).

Oho rawa ake ia, koia e matakitakina ana e te tini korohete o roto i te whare ra. Heoiti ano ka maranga te wahine ki runga, ka mate i te whakama. Heoiti ano ko te rangi i pai ra kua tamarutia e te pekeaao; ko te uma kakapa ana, ano e ru ana te whenua. Ka tinaia ia e te whakama. Katahi ka rarahu nga ringa ki nga pakikau, ki te uhi i a ia. Katahi ka rere ki te kokonga o te whare; ka tangi, tangi tonu a ao noa te ra.

She awoke startled to be gazed upon by those numerous old men within the house. However she rose to her feet, sick with shame and embarrassment. She got up and stood, sick with shame, indeed the beautiful day was now clouded with darkness, the breast beating, and the earth quivering. She was overcome with shame. Then her hands groped for the cloak edges to cover herself. Then she fled to the corner of the house and wept, still weeping when the daylight came.

The origin of tā moko (tattooing) is attributed in some tribal traditions to Mataora. In these narratives Mataora follows his wife Niwareka to the underworld. Niwareka’s father Uetonga is tattooing. Mataora boasts about his tā moko which is a painted pattern. Uetonga then wipes off the painted pattern exposing his clear (ma) skin. Mataora then tries to wipe Uetonga’s tattoo off but cannot do so because the pattern is chiselled into the skin. Mataora is then overcome with shame and embarrassment (whakamā). In another kōrero about Whaitiri, when Hema is born, Kaitangata, her father, expresses his disgust at the filth relating to the birth. Whaitiri becomes overwhelmed with whakamā. Because of the shame Whaitiri names the child Hema.10

In all of the examples examined whakamā results in pouritanga. The pouritanga either intensifies to whakamomori, or else a transformative event occurs which provides an escape from the condition or state.

Whakamomori

A popular translation for the term whakamomori is suicide which is perhaps misleading from the intent conveyed in more traditional texts. Other meanings include to be in extreme despair or fret desperately, or to be or become committed to a desperate course of action. In early manuscript texts, whakamomori is sometimes qualified by the expression ‘whakamomori ki te mate’ (committed to dying) which indicates that whakamomori refers to the contemplation of and commitment to a desperate course of action: in this example, death. Waiata whakamomori are songs that are referring to a deeply disturbed emotional state where the composer, like the ancestress Hinetitama, has lost the will to abide in the living world. In some cases a person in this state may actually take their own life, for example Rangiaho, who despaired and took her own life (Ngata, 1928, p. 206). However in other cases, the person returns back into the living world (T. Higgins, personal communication, 2013). For example Puhiwahine (Jones, P. in Te Ao Hou, September 1959), in a state of whakamomori, pined away as a result of a love affair that did

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10 White, J. 1887, Volume 1:96.
not eventuate in marriage. Although deemed to be close to death she was eventually coaxed back to the living world through song and dance. *Whakamomori* is not only an individual state of mind. It can refer to a *whānau* (extended family), *hapū* (sub tribe) or *iwi* (tribe). For example, in traditional times a tribe engaged in warfare, rather than face a negative outcome in surrender might decide to fight to the death. The term *whakamomori* as used in these cases describes the psychological state of the group and their acceptance of a death with *mana* as a better option to life as a *taurekareka* (enslaved captive without *mana*).

The earliest reference to *whakamomori* occurs with Hinetītama, however early examples do not describe the actual passing over into death and darkness (Te Pō) as the *whakamomori* event, suggesting that *whakamomori* is being referenced to the journey from the world of light (Tane’s world) to the entrance of Te Pō, where she asks (or is instructed by her elders) to take her place at Te Angi o te Muriwaihou (Te Angi of the pathway Te Muriwaihou which is located at the entrance of Te Pō). One of the problems in the colonial literature is the portrayal of Hine-nui-te-pō/Hinetītama as a death goddess. This is contradicted in traditional texts where Hine-nui-te-pō is portrayed as a grandmother/parent of human beings and a protector/healer/guardian for her offspring.

In traditional accounts of *whakamomori*, the preparations prior to the final exit become important. In the Ngāti Kahungunu accounts, Ngai Tumapuhia-a-rangi were besieged by a war party consisting of several thousand warriors. The decision to *whakamomori* and commit to the battle involved preparations and rituals incorporating ceremonial dress, including hairdress, and use of ceremonial paint. Similarly, in the story of Te Ao Huruhuru, from an account given to Sir George Grey by the chief Te Potangaroa, the preparations prior to death are accorded the same importance.

*Awatea kau ana, ka haere te korohēke ra ratou ko nga hoa, ka eke ki runga i te waka, ka hoe ki waho ki te moana ki te hi. A i muri o te korohēke ra ratou ko nga hoa kua riro, katahi te wahine nei ka whakaaro ki te he o tana tane ki a ia, katahi ka mahara kia haere ia ki te whakamomori. Na, tera tetahi toka teitei e tu ana i te tahatika, ko te ingoa o tenei toka inaianei ko Te Rerenga o Te Aohuruhuru. Katahi te tamahine ka tahuri ki te tatai i a ia, na ka heru i a ia, na ka rakei i a ia ki ona kaitaka, ka tia hoki ia i tona mahunga ki te raukura, ko nga raukura he huia, he kotuku, he toroa, ka oti.*

When daylight had come the old man and his friends boarded a canoe and went out to sea to fish. However before the old man and his friends had gone the woman had considered the misdeed of her husband toward her and had decided to embark on the pathway to death (*whakamomori*). Now there is a high rock that stands out with a cliff and the name of that rock now is called The Flight of Te Aohuruhuru. Then that young girl went and prepared herself, combing her hair, formally arranging her dress cloak, and pinning ceremonial feathers in her hair, the feathers being that of the huia, kotuku and toroa, the preparations being complete.

In all the traditional accounts examined *whakamomori* is referenced to the state and the preparations leading up to the actual death event. In the Te Aohuruhuru text no mention of *whakamomori* is made, the term *whakamoti* is used to describe the point of expiration.

*Na ka mutu tana waiata, katahi ia ka whakaangi i taua toka ki te whakamoti i a ia. Katahi ka kite mai taua korohēke ra i a ia ka rere i te pari. i kite mai e ia ki nga kakahu ka ma i tona rerenga ai.*
Now when her song had finished, she floated from that rock to extinguish herself. Then she was made visible to that old man as she flew from that cliff face. He saw the cloaks flashing white as she flew down.

Whakamomori is not necessarily an inevitable situation resulting in death, however it does appear to represent the final stage of pouritanga prior to death where the will to live is no longer present. It is possible to return from a state of whakamomori.

Ngākau Riri

In whakapapa kōrero narratives riri is primarily associated with ira atua violence and the male atua children of the Sky and the Earth; Tūmatauenga, Tawhirimatea and others. Riri is a term which means to put up fences, barriers or screens. Te riri o te ngākau means to screen off, shut down or create barriers to the ngākau. The ngākau is associated with Rongo and is sometimes alluded to as te whare o Rongo. Rongo is an atua known for peace and goodwill and is often placed as the antithesis of Tūmatauenga, an atua of violence, anger and warfare. ‘He taha nō Tū, he taha nō Rongo’, is a proverb that refers to a side exposed to violence and a side that is sheltered and protected. The house or domain of Rongo is also the ngākau or interior of a meeting house. The domain of Tūmatauenga also known as Tū-ka-riri (Tū who is quick to anger) is the exposed area in front of the meeting house, the marae ātea. ‘He pūkai tō Tū, he pūkai tō Rongo’ is another proverb that refers to the piles of dead gathered in warfare and the piles of kūmara gathered in peacetime. Using the wharenui as an analogy for the human body, ngākau riri translates to mean that the interior of the house, the ngākau is closed off and isolated. That is, the human side (ira tangata) is isolated and suppressed allowing the ira atua (rational, potentially violent side) of a human being to dominate the personality. In warfare, warriors underwent specific rituals to divorce and suppress the ira tangata side of the personality and attempted to become endowed with the warrior qualities of Tūmatauenga. Integration and restoration back into the community required restoration of the ira tangata (human side) and a divorcing of the warrior persona required for battle. Some of the rituals required for reintegration included incantations and passing beneath the legs of a ruahine (old woman of chiefly status). This rite (kaiatua) absorbed and rendered harmless any atua influences, by passing these into the vagina of the ruahine and restoring the ira tangata aspect to the personality. Some of the causes (take) of riri and ngākau riri include: kino (ill intentions or actions), tapatapa (to affect or stigmatise by name), kangakanga (cursing), patu ngākau (psychological abuse or assault), whakahihī (arrogance), parau (falsehood). Ngākau riri could offer protection from patu ngākau, psychological insults and abuse, protecting the ngākau.

Ngākau Pāhaehae

In whakapapa korero, ngākau riri is one of the precursors of ngākau pāhaehae. Pāhaehae is attributed to Whiro and is the cause of division within the family.

I konei ka whewewehe o ratou kainga. Ka noho a Whiro-te-tipua a Uru-te-ngangana me o raua hoa i roto i Tu-te-aniwaniwa. Ko to ratou whare tera, me to ratou wahi i noho ai ratou. Ko Tumatauenga, ko Tamakaka, ko Rongo-marae-roa me etahi atu o tawh whanau i noho ki Wharekura. Ko to ratou whare tera me te wahi i noho ai ratou me o ratau hoa. Ko Taane, ko Paia me etahi atu a ratau i noho ki roto i Huaki-Pouri noho ai me o ratau hoa ano.

At this point their dwelling places were divided. Whiro te tipua, Uru te ngangana and their friends dwelt within Tuteaniwaniwa. That was their house and the place where they stayed at. Tumatauenga, Tamakaka, Rongomaraeroa and others of that family dwelt
at Wharekura and that was their house and the place they stayed at with their friends. Tane, Paia and others of them dwelt at Huakipouri with their friends.

The cause of these divisions is attributed to pūhaehae.

\[ Na i konei ka noho wehewehe te whanau nei. He ngakau puhaehae te take. Koia tenei nga take puhaehae: \]

1. Mo te tohenga a Taane kia puta mai ratau ki waho i e awhi (a) o ratau matua.
2. Ko te ngaunga a te Anu-rangi, a te Anu-wai a te Anu-winiwini a te Anu-matao.
3. Ko te tohtohe a Taane o Tupai me o ratau hoa o tawa whanau kia wehea o ratau matua i a Rangi e tu iho nei.
4. Ko te ngakau kino o Taane o Tupai o Tumatauenga o Tumatakaka me etahi o ratau ki te poroporo i nga peke o nga matua ki nga toki nei kia Te Awhiorangi kia Te Whironui.
6. Ko te whakahihhi o Taane ma ana e kake nga puhi tapu o nga Rangi tuhaha, me te Toi o nga rangi. Koia tenei nga take puhaehae o Whiro ma kia Taane ma

At this point the family lived apart. Ngākau puhaehae was the cause. These were the causes of the puhaehae (jealousy):

1. The persistent urging of Tane that they free themselves from the embrace.
2. The biting of Te Anurangi, Anuwai, Anuwiniwini and Anumatao.
3. The persistent urging of Tane, Tupai and their friends within the family that they separate their parents, and Rangi e tu iho nei.
4. The ill intentions of Tane, Tupai, Tumatauenga, Tumatakaka and others of them that led to the severing of the sinews of their parents, with the adzes Te Whironui and Te Awhiorangi.
5. The arrogance of Tane and the others that they should carry out this task, although Whiro te tipua had been endorsed by Urutengangana, Roio, Roake, Haepuru, Tangaroa and Tumatauenga.
6. The arrogance of Tane that he should ascend with the sacred wind children to be carried to the layered skies and ascend the uppermost realm. These were the causes of the puhaehae of Whiro and the others regarding Tane and the others.

Pūhaehae is often translated as envy and jealousy. These are also the same translations associated with the biblical texts. The translations in earlier texts tied to whakapapa kōrero narratives imply a ‘swelling within’ accompanied by physical separation and a severing of ties. The swelling is caused by ‘take’ or various perceived grievances that can only be resolved through separation.

The offspring of Tāne (human beings) are afflicted by disease because of the pūhaehae of Whiro which led to the battle between the two after Tane obtained the baskets of knowledge. Although the victor was Tāne, Tāne’s offspring are continually attacked by Whiro’s offspring and allies.
Whiro, like Rūaumoko dwells in Te Pō, the darkness and the underworld. He is associated with the origin of negative emotions and disease.\footnote{Matorohanga, NZMPFB Series B, Ms book 7:66.}

\begin{quote}
Na ka marama koutou ko Whiro te putake o nga kino katoa, hara tuatahi, ko te horenga i te kiri o te upoko o Rangahua. Ko nga kanga a whiro te tipua kia waiho nga Manawa hei whakahaere mona ki o ratou matua. Ko te kohuru I a Paerangi. Ko te puremutanga I te wahi a Urutengangana me te tangohanga i te wahine. Ko te mauahara ki a Tane ma, i nga wa katoa me te tataku kia whakamatea nga tuakana na me nga teina e ia. Me te pakanga i tipu ai ki te ao nei, na whiro te tipua te manatu. Koia i kore ai e taea te whakamutu taua pakanga inai nei.
\end{quote}

Now you are clear that Whiro is the origin of all the negative things, the first ritual error, stripping the skin off the head of Rangahua. It was Whiro te tipua who cursed that the ritual offerings to their parents should be carried out by him. The treacherous deed at Paerangi. The adultery with the wife of Urutengangana and the taking of that woman. The continual hate and ill intentions directed toward Tane and the others, and the incantations where he attempted to kill his elder and junior siblings. And the wars that have come about in this world, that have been created by Whiro te Tipua. This is why war is unable to be prevented today.

\textit{Kaioraora}

Kaioraora have been labelled as songs of abuse, however kai (food/ingest) and oraora (sustain/give life to; or to eat alive, which was highly offensive) were songs that protected the \textit{mauri} of an individual or group when an individual or group had been insulted or attacked with a \textit{patu ngākau} and the victim was at risk of becoming psychologically affected with \textit{pouritanga}. The event giving rise to the \textit{patu ngākau} inevitably resulted in a loss of \textit{mana} or perceived loss of \textit{mana} within the victim. \textit{Kaioraora} with the verbal enunciation of the event and the verbal abusing of the instigator (that often included taunts of intending to consume the internal organs of the head of an enemy), protected and gave life to the \textit{mauri} of the ‘victim’. At the same time the memory of the grievance was also kept alive and sustained (\textit{oraora}) to be passed on for redress at a later date. The memory of the \textit{patu ngākau} was kept alive through song until the balance could be restored either through a similar retaliatory act carried out by the ‘victim’ or victims relatives against the original perpetrator, or some other form of redress (for example \textit{hohou rongo}, peace making marriages) that restored the \textit{mana} of the ‘victim’. If this did not occur in one generation it was passed on intergenerationally until such time as an appropriate response could occur, restoring the balance between the ‘perpetrator’ and ‘victim’. What appeared to outside observers as random acts of violence, sometimes reported by colonial observers, may have been intergenerational responses to past grievances, given life to through \textit{kaioraora}.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The focus of this paper has been a brief examination of traditional Māori health concepts and trauma as defined through the field of psychology. The classification of Māori health in traditional times identified internal (and psychological) health as \textit{ngākau} centred and associated
with Te Pō. External and physical health was associated with Te Ao Mārama (the living world of light) and is associated with *te kauwae runga* knowledge. Māori health concepts do not separate physical and mental health into discrete isolated entities. Although terms may emphasise particular aspects of physical or psychological health, the concepts are always premised by the assumption that the two are intrinsically linked which contributes to the notion of mauri ora (energy of life).

The humane or human side of an individual or group’s personality is intrinsically linked to *whenua* (land) and the *ira tangata*. *Ira tangata* and *te kauwae raro* knowledge are in turn intrinsically linked with internal health. Traditional knowledge makes the claim that human beings were created from *whenua* and that all human beings carry this aspect throughout their life. Women, who carry more of the *ira tangata* aspect, have the ability to conceive because of it. The importance of *whenua* and internal/ *kauwae raro* health, although clear in traditional evidence, has never been made explicit in the literature.

The colonial interpretations of traditional Māori knowlege were influenced by European mythologies and Christian values which also emphasised patriarchal interpretations. Traditional narratives were rendered into English. The reconstruction of Māori values negated Māori health and healing. For example, the traditional role of Hine-nui-te-pō and her offspring as benevolent *kaitiaki* and guardians of internal (including psychological) health and healing was reinterpreted to one of malevolence or as a ‘harbinger of death’ that draws ‘souls’ to the underworld.

The understanding of concepts such as *rirī, pūhaehae* and other psychological conditions or states have also been hindered by the lack of understanding of Māori knowledge systems and the assumption that Māori knowledge and knowing is informed or ought to be informed by the same modes of knowledge interpretation and understanding as western/European knowledge systems.

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MĀORI EXPERIENCES OF HISTORICAL INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA AND TRANFORMATIVE PEDAGOGIES

RAWIRI (DAVID) WARETINI-KARENA

Ngāti Māhanga, Ngāti Māhuta, Te Au Pouri, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Whātua

Abstract

This paper aims to demystify perceptions of Māori deficit statistics by unpacking recent comments made in the media by non-Māori academic professor Greg Newbold, who is considered an expert in his field. This article considers underlying factors not taken into consideration by non-Māori addressing Māori deficit statistics in a public forum, and responds to Professor Newbold's comments by deconstructing historical contexts that impact on Māori. It will describe a breakdown of cultural heritage, cultural identity, cultural language and cultural protocols, introducing decolonising theories linking colonisation to Māori experiences of historical intergenerational trauma. This offers alternative views that emphasise a broader scope to elements that are not readily identified within a mainstream context when portraying Māori communities.

Introduction

This paper discusses the issues identified in this article from the lens of a Māori counselling practitioner. It will endeavour to take the reader on a journey of rediscovering Māori historical contexts, and contributing factors that bring to the fore elements that are not clearly evident, nor succinctly articulated in a western dominated society regarding the current portrayal of stereotypical assumptions behind Māori deficit statistics. A newspaper article, entitled ‘Māori crime: A fact of life’ and featuring Canterbury professor and criminologist Greg Newbold, discusses the three strikes sentencing law and its implications for Māori. The second aspect discusses Māori experiences of historical intergenerational trauma from a personal perspective, as well as historical implications resulting in Māori deficit statistics. The third aspect discusses a Māori counselling framework that responds to historical intergenerational trauma. The final aspect will discuss implications for Māori.

Māori crime ‘A fact of life’

A recent newspaper article written by Leaman (2013) insinuates that Canterbury University sociology professor and criminologist Greg Newbold blames Māori for excessive rates of violent crime, contributing to the second highest number of ‘three strikes’ offender statistics. The ‘three strikes’ sentencing law is a key plank in the National Government’s law-and-order drive, initially introduced in 2010. Newbold (cited in Leaman, 2013) states that “there is a direct association between Māori and violent offending . . . The more Māori you have in an area the higher levels of juvenile delinquency and higher levels of violent crime.” Newbold compares Hamilton, where the Māori population is high, and Christchurch and Dunedin, cities where he determines that the crime rate is lower due to fewer Māori living in these areas. Newbold (2013) contends “the more Māori you get in an area, the more violent crime you get – that’s a fact of life” (cited in Leaman, 2013).
Waikato University Faculty of Law senior lecturer Wayne Rumbles (cited in Leaman, 2013) suggests that while Professor Newbold’s comments are:

partly right . . . Māori are more likely to be charged with offences, so there is a bit of prosecutorial bias. It’s not that if you have more Māori you get more violent crime necessarily, but you get higher charging of violent crime by the police.

The Hon Dr Pita Sharples (2011) supports the position of Wayne Rumbles by stating that ‘the system’, including police, courts and corrections “systematically discriminates against Māori”, and further contends that Māori are also more likely to have police contact, to be charged, to lack legal representation, to not be granted bail, to plead guilty, and to be convicted (p. 1). Kim Workman (2011) supports Sharples’ sentiments by referring to a 1998 study that showed some police officers held negative views of Māori people and crime. Later studies, including one in 2009 by the Ministry of Justice, showed Māori over-representation had reached an ‘alarming level’ with police apprehensions. What these sentiments highlight is that there are alternate perspectives that take into account other external elements that contribute to Māori and violent offending that differ from Newbold’s perception.

Webb (2009) explores the external influences on the official picture of crime, independent of the actual offending itself. Māori and Pacific peoples do offend, however attention is also directed at examining how the official crime rates are also a product of government legislation, policies and practices, and not just the measure of criminal acts and criminals. They can also reflect practices by state agencies towards ethnic minority groups. For example, understanding history and the effects of colonisation is necessary to understand how the operation of the criminal justice system has shaped Māori imprisonment figures (Jackson 1988, cited in Webb, 2009, p. 1).

The impact of colonisation for Māori seems to be under-emphasised within a mainstream socially constructed environment. The level of scope that numerous western academics take into consideration seems limited compared to the broader intergenerational scope and impact of colonisation. Jackson (1988) explores western dominated structures further by contending that:

The justice system is rooted in the same cultural foundations as other major social structures such as the education system; it is inevitably influenced and shaped by the same cultural values and ideals. Indeed, the legal truism that the justice system operates ‘one law for all’ contains implicit seeds of institutional racism since it is one law based on English common law with no acknowledgement of specific Māori rights or forms of social control. This foundation and the consequent permeation of mono-cultural attitudes throughout the justice system impacts upon Māori people in particular ways. An analysis of these consequences will unavoidably raise questions about the systemic fairness of justice operations (p. 12).

While the judicial system was established over a hundred years ago as part of the New Zealand Government implementing the 1852 NZ Constitution Act, its historical dealings with Māori since its inception has heavily favoured the colonial settlers.

Māori experiences of historical trauma and deficit statistics

Initially, the preamble to the Te Tiriti o Waitangi Māori text discusses securing Māori Tino Rangatiratanga or self-determination and securing Māori land ownership, thus establishing the preamble’s underlying philosophy (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). At the same time the stated text in the Te Tiriti o Waitangi Māori version supports the Māori text in the preamble by clearly
highlighting what Māori agreed to share and what they agreed to keep. Karena (2012) contends that “the controversy behind the entire Te Tiriti o Waitangi fiasco stems from having two versions, the Te Tiriti o Waitangi Māori version signed by both parties and the Treaty of Waitangi English version which is not” (p. 65). Jackson (1988) contends that “there is a Māori perception that Pākehā failed to fulfil their Treaty obligations. This was reinforced by negative interpretations which the courts and the legislature placed on the agreement. Due to the law’s eventual dismissal of the Treaty, it confirmed and justified a Māori sense of betrayal” (p. 48).

**Personal impacts of historical intergenerational trauma**

In contextualizing personal impacts within the authors own whānau, common features such as intergenerational impoverishment, mental health issues, limited education, drug and alcohol related addictions, domestic violence and child abuse were factors. Other factors included having a limited understanding of cultural identity and heritage as well as limited knowledge of te reo Māori (Māori language) me ona tikanga (Māori protocols). Issues such as intergenerational impoverishment, limited knowledge of Māori language and protocols can be linked to a series of legislative violations such as: The Native Lands Act 1862; The Native Courts Act 1865; The Native Schools Act 1867: and The Tohunga Suppression Act 1908 (Network Waitangi Ōtautahi, 2001).

Jackson (1988) contends that traditional rules governing Māori behaviour were largely suppressed or lost in the face of Pākehā pressure, and the behaviour of the young Māori today is not monitored solely from within their own cultural heritage, but from sources imposed from without. They are, thus, the unwitting heirs to the long process of cultural conflict between Māori and Pākehā. They are also the beneficiaries of past racial policies and the victims of present racial attitudes. Young Māori are a people moulded in their perceptions and behaviours by the consequences of those policies and attitudes because “the circumstances that destroy a culture are the circumstances that induce crime” (Nettler, 1978, cited in Jackson, 1988, p. 59).

The framework in Figure 1 (below) gives a personal account of four generations of the author’s male line dating back to 1840, and establishes how the legislative violations impacted, as well as trickled down from one generation to the next.
Jackson (1988) establishes that legacy is relevant to an understanding of Māori offending. The major legacy and corollary of Māori/Pākehā interaction has been a persistent sense of cultural denigration and cultural deprivation. These distinct phenomena have affected Māori in unique ways and distinguish their current situation from that of any other ethnic or cultural group in New Zealand (p. 65).

**Māori counselling considerations**

As a Māori counselling lecturer and educator, I train my students to take into account two underlying philosophies. The first stems from Dr Marie Battiste who asserts that "educators must reject colonial curricula that offer students a fragmented and distorted picture of Indigenous peoples, and offer students a critical perspective of the historical context that created that fragmentation" (2005, p. 225). "This philosophy is informative around deconstructing western ways of thinking, whose notions subjugate/suppress Māori contexts to inferior positions. It therefore prompts a focus on affirmative Māori/Indigenous worldviews that legitimise and validate Māori/Indigenous positions while simultaneously critiquing colonial discourse and historical contexts" (Karena, 2012, p. 63). The second underlying philosophy stems from Smith (1999) who sets standards from which to articulate and challenge how Māori/Indigenous narratives and bodies of knowledge should be represented within western societal constructs.
Smith advocates a position recognising that; “Indigenous peoples have their own codes of ethics. Natives have their own ethics, and seeking permission to conduct research with native peoples is considered important and respectful” (p. 120). Smith brings to the fore affirmative Indigenous positioning that recognises two integral contexts. The first is an acknowledgement that Māori/Indigenous ways of knowing come with their own principles, values and codes of ethics and secondly, that it is the Indigenous voice that sets the standards from which to determine how Indigenous narratives are represented within western ways of knowing (cited in Karena, 2012, p. 63). The next aspect introduces He Kākano Āhau, a Māori counselling framework compiled for the purpose of responding to underlying features behind Māori deficit statistics.

**He Kākano Ahau – A Māori framework for responding to historical intergenerational trauma**

He Kākano Ahau is a Māori counselling framework with Māori models compiled from other Māori academics and social service practitioners for the purpose of responding to Māori experiences of historical intergenerational trauma. He Kākano Āhau utilises four Māori models: the first is the Pōwhiri Poutama model developed by Paraire Huata; the second is the Pūrakau model developed by Dr Jacquelyn Elkington; the third is the Te Whare Tapa Whā model developed by Professor Mason Durie; and the final model is Te Tuakiri o Te Tangata, developed by Petiwaea Manawaiti and Dr Kāterina Mataira. An underlying philosophy behind the framework challenges assimilating colonial notions by reclaiming Indigenous ideologies that are intrinsic to a Kaupapa Māori worldview. Underlying theories behind the He Kākano Ahau framework establish that its guiding principles stem from a Māori world view; its ethical values are based on tikanga Māori; its ethical practices are based on Māori ethics developed by Smith (1999), who contends that key ethical practices should include:

- **Aroha ki te tangata**
- **Kanohi kitea**
- **Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero**
- **Manaakitanga**
- **Kia tupato**
- **Kaua e takahi i te mana o te tangata**
- **Kaua e mahaki**

- **Respect for people**
- **View people face to face**
- **To first watch, then listen, and then speak**
- **To be generous with others**
- **To be cautious**
- **Do not trample on the mana of others**
- **Don’t flaunt your knowledge** (p. 119).
The overall aim of the He Kākano Ahau framework is to engage with Māori whānau in a manner that allows space to track origins of historical trauma within their intergenerational timeline, to analyse both the impacts as well as the ramifications.

Pōwhiri Poutama framework
The Pōwhiri Poutama was first introduced to Te Whiwhiu o te Hau Māori counselling in a presentation by Paraire Huata, initially in 2006 and again in 2011. While it is a recognised Māori counselling framework for establishing relations, it also has a genesis well established within a Māori worldview for engaging with others. Durie (2003) contends that: "A Pōwhiri is an encounter calculated to reduce space and distance between groups and to explore the basis of a relationship" (p. 53). Durie (2001) acknowledges that “we haven’t fully appreciated the potential of marae encounters for shaping thinking and behaviour and providing codes of living” (cited in Drury, 2007, p. 12). Huata (1997) also acknowledges that “The ritual that is most familiar to New Zealanders today is the Pōwhiri and is enacted most commonly as a welcome on the marae” (cited in Drury, 2007, p. 12).
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The Pōwhiri Poutama framework is used within a He Kākano Ahau perspective to engage with clientele from a Māori worldview that ensures protection and safety protocols are interwoven throughout the engagement, in shared space.

The Pūrakau model

The Pūrakau model is a concept developed by Dr Jacquelyn Elkington. Elkington (2006) emphasises that the Pūrakau model identifies a timeline that highlights stages of development, and characteristics within each generation. The Pūrakau model within this context is applied across generations back to 1840 (Elkington, 2006, cited in Karena, 2012, p. 67). Its overall purpose is to track examples of trauma back through a person’s history, sometimes across generations so that a client/whānau can gain a sense of how and why things happened. This enables the whānau and the Māori counsellor to examine and explore the impacts and ramifications of the trauma. Once this has been established, the Māori counsellor works with the clientele whānau to establish what they would like to do with the new knowledge they have established. The second part identifies what parameters can be put in place to stop trauma from spilling over into the next generation.
Te Whare Tapa Whā model

The Te Whare Tapa Whā model by Professor Mason Durie is one of the most well-known mental health models in New Zealand. The way in which the Te Whare Tapa Whā model is applied within the He Kākano Ahau framework is by focusing on the impact of historical intergenerational trauma. Dr Eduardo Duran (2006) contends that: "the native idea of historical trauma involves the understanding that the trauma occurred in the spirit or soul" (2006, p. 7). Dr Duran gives further insight into historical trauma from an Indigenous perspective by calling it an intergenerational wounding of the soul. While most consider violence to be physical or emotional, Dr Duran describes violence and trauma as an energy that, due to intent, can be fired at another leaving an imprint. Dr Duran (2012) maintains that the imprint can have internal or external consequences (p. 1).
Figure 4 The Pūrakau model tracking trauma (Elkington, 2006)

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What Figure 5 (above) highlights is how the He Kākano Ahau framework utilises the Te Whare Tapa Whā model. The dot in the middle represents a fractured spirit as a result of trauma similar to a stone being dropped into a pond and creating ripples throughout a person’s wellbeing. It highlights how trauma can ripple into a person’s wairua or spirit damaging self-esteem; how trauma can ripple into the hinengaro impacting emotions; how trauma can ripple into the tinana or physical aspect creating physical un-wellness due to stress; and how it can ripple throughout one’s environmental parameter causing internal and external consequences.

Jackson (1988) maintains that structural and institutional racism which sustained the process of colonisation has ensured Māori people’s economic deprivation; the social and personal attitudes which underlie it have ensured their cultural denigration. Together they have constantly reinforced the cycle of confinement. The burdens of this cycle are imposed through the direct and indirect demands made upon Māori communities as part of their everyday existence: demands which interweave the weakening of culturally-appropriate ways of behaving with the simple demands of economic survival. Their seemingly mundane but unavoidable nature serves to trap Māori people more firmly in the cycle and makes it less likely that they will escape the stresses associated with it (p. 66).
Te Tuakiri o Te Tangata framework

This framework was developed by Whaea Petiwaea Manawaiti and Dr Kāterina Mataira in the early 1980s. Karena (2013) contends that the Te Tuakiri o Te Tangata framework is currently utilised in Te Whiuwhiu o te Hau by Māori counselling students to hone their intuitive skills when working with whānau. The focus of this framework utilises approaches that stem from a Māori worldview to form the basis from which to articulate their understanding of a position based on intuition that stems from a Māori epistemology. Essentially students are invited to explore their own intuition and to become aware of issues beyond their current focus. Karena (2013) contends that “This framework addresses the use of an intuitive approach that supports Māori counsellors working with whānau” (p.1). The He Kākano Ahau framework utilises Te Tuakiri o Te Tangata as a Māori framework for applying an intuitive practice to the counselling session as well as assessing the wellbeing of a whānau clientele from a Māori worldview.

**Figure 6 Te Tuakiri o te Tangata framework**

(Manawaiti & Mataira 1980)

The overall goal of He Kākano Ahau is to implement an intergenerational transfer across generations by developing strategies that respond to both historical and future needs as well as developing capacity for wellbeing within future generations.
Indicators for Māori

Māori have been impacted for years as a result of colonisation and games of entrapment that have followed since 1840. The models outlined above are decolonising frameworks that enable Māori to ascertain what type of impacts colonisation has had on them personally. If each Māori whānau were to research their family history over generations stemming back to 1840 superimposing the Te Tiriti o Waitangi violations over those generations from 1840 forward to themselves to determine intergenerational impacts, it may give them a sense of understanding regarding some of the issues their whānau are facing currently. In their journey of re-discovery whānau can then ascertain what it is like to move from having limited knowledge of intergenerational history to gaining knowledge of their intergenerational history. They can begin to understand the impacts on their ancestors across generations and what they had to face. The whānau may then determine what it could be like to reclaim their Māori heritage and become pro-active with Kaupapa Māori issues, thus transforming themselves, their family and their community. Once Māori whānau have established this, there are broader implications such as implementing an intergenerational transfer of kaupapa Māoritanga based on a more positive position in whānau, as well as at hapū and iwi level by taking charge of Māori present and future wellbeing. Finally linking into international Indigenous networks that respond to impacts of historical intergenerational trauma at an international level establishes a transformative pedagogy across the global Indigenous world because as a collective, the Indigenous world is responding.

Conclusion

This paper commenced with examining an article entitled ‘Māori crime: A fact of life’ featuring Canterbury Professor and criminologist Greg Newbold who discussed the three strikes sentencing law, and its implications for Māori. The next aspect discussed impacts of Māori experiences of historical intergenerational trauma from a personal perspective and discussed Māori deficit statistics. The following aspect discussed Māori frameworks that respond to historical intergenerational trauma. The final aspect discussed implications for Māori. This paper highlights that there is still a high degree of institutional bias, and lack of historical consideration regarding Māori deficit statistics. This piece also highlights two relevant points. The first point links Māori deficit statistics around crime to historical intergenerational trauma as a result of colonisation, a process that has been impacting Māori since 1840. It highlights that the New Zealand Government and the societal infrastructure it created still needs to take responsibility and accountability for the intergenerational ramifications that stem from their historical and current practices. The second point this article raises, is the need to challenge non-Māori academics that do not take into account that a key factor in understanding Māori deficit statistics is to also understand the historical intergenerational scope of the impacts of colonisation when making determinations about Māori communities in a public forum. Anything less in academia diminishes their position as an expert and makes a mockery of their skill and ability as a legitimate researcher to robustly articulate their point from a fully informed position, and take into account the worldview of those being researched.

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References


E KÔRERO ANA A REO MĀORI I TE AO HANGARAU?

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University of Waikato

Ariā

Ko tā tēnei tuhinga he whakaputa whakaaro mō te whakamahi i te reo Māori i roto i te ao hangarau. Irā kē te huhua o ngā tauira kei te ao hangarau e tautoko ana, e whakatairanga ana rānei i te reo Māori. Ka kītea iho ki ngā pūmanawa rorohiko, ki ngā pae tukutuku ipurangi, ki ngā taputapu rorohiko hoki o te ao hou nei. Heoi anō rā te urupounamu nui – ahakoa kua taunga nei te reo Māori ki roto i ēnei tauira o te ao hangarau – e kōrero hāraftedia ana te reo Māori e te takitini? Anō nei e kōrero ana a reo Māori ki te ao hangarau? Ka whakatakoto ētehi kitenga me ōku ake whakaaro nei mō te tino patai nei.

Kupu whakataki

He tuhinga tēnei hei whakaputa i ētehi o ōku mahara mō te whakamahi i te reo Māori ki te ao hangarau. I roto i te rua ngahurutanga o ngā tau, kua kītea te whai wāhitanga o te reo Māori – ā-waha, ā-whakarongo, ā-pānui, ā-tuhi, ā-whakaatu hoki – i roto i te ao hangarau. Engari ia e whakamahi whēnei ana e te tokomaha? Kei te kōrero ake te reo Māori e te tīnei me te mano ki ngā hangarau hou o ēnei rā? Kua riro rānei mā te reo Pākehā anō te reo kōrero, te reo whakahaere i roto i te ao hangarau nei?

Ko tā te tuhinga nei he whakamaumahara ki ētehi āhuatanga tawhito o te ao hangarau me te whakatau i ētehi āhuatanga hou o te ao hangarau kua ū kē te reo Māori. Ko ngā pūmanawa rorohiko, ko ngā whārangipurangi, ko ngā taputapu hangarau ērā. I runga anō i te huhua mai o ngā tāonga nei, e kore e tīae te whakamārama i te katoa engari ia ka whakatuiria noa i ētehi. Kātahi ka whakatakoto i ētehi whakaro mō te whakamahinga o aua taonga ki te reo Māori. Hei whakakapi ake ka whakaputa i ētehi o ōku māharahara mō ngā rā kei te heke mai.

Reo Māori ki te Rorohiko

E whai ake nei ko ētehi noa o ngā kaupapa rorohiko kua hangaia ki te reo Māori. Ko te katoa o ngā kaupapa nei ki whakahaere ki te reo Māori. Ko kore e whai wā i tēnei tuhinga ki te whakatakoto i te katoa o ngā āhuatanga rorohiko e tautoko ana i te reo Māori; he tauira noa iho ēnei o ētehi mea rongo.  

Te Kete Pūmanawa

Ko te pūmanawa rorohiko reo Māori tuatahi i puta ki te ao ko Te Kete Pūmanawa. He mea hanganga e te Kamupene ReddFish i te tau 1995, ā, ko Greg Ford te kaiwhakahaere o te pūmanawa nei. E whā ngā taputapu o te pūmanawa nei; he karaka, he pūrākau (Te Mahi Hangarau Ahi), he mahi pāngarau (Te Tatau), he kēmu hoki (Mū Tōrere). Kei te Whakaahua 1 (kei raro iho nei) ētehi mata te āhuatanga o Te Kete Pūmanawa. Ko tētehi āhuatanga rawe o te pūmanawa nei, ko te katoa o ngā kōrero o te atahanga kei te reo Māori, ka kore te reo Pākehā ka kītea i tēnei pūmanawa.
Te Reo Tupu

I te tau 1998 ka puta te kōpae o Te Reo Tupu (tirohia te Whakaahua 2). He mea hanganga e Wordstream, he kamupene i Otautahi, ā, ko Mike Gough rāua ko Karaitiana Taiuru ētehi o ngā kaitito rā. Kei roto i te kōpae nei ko ngā tikinare o Wiremu, o Ngata, me ētehi tuhinga o Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. Ko te tino hua ka riro mā te rorehiko e tere rapu i ngā kupu Māori me te whakaputa tere o ngā whakamārama ki aua kupu rā.

Whakaahua 2: Te mata kāinga o Te Reo Tupu
Te Papapātuhi o Microsoft

Ka tīmata te tautoko o Microsoft i te reo Māori i tā rātou hanga i te papapātuhi e taea ana te tuhi i te tohutō. He mea whakarite i te tau 2003. I taua wā ka nui ngā raruraru o ngā kaituhi i te reo Māori nā te mea, he uaua ki te tuhi i te tohutō ki te rorohiko. Kua huri ētehi ki te tuhi o pūare rua, ko ētehi atu kua rawe i ngā fonts i te hanga o ngā Fonts Māori. Heoi anō ko te tino patu o te raruraru nei ko te hanga i te papapātuhi nei, arā te ‘keyboard’ Māori, ā, kei te noho aunoa te papapātuhi nei ki ngā rorohiko puta noa i te ao.

Microsoft Windows & Microsoft Office

Ko te whakamāoritanga o te Microsoft Windows XP me te Microsoft Office 2003 te mahi whakamāori nui ka kītea ki te ao hangarau. Ka tīmata te mahi whakamāori nei i tētehi rōpū ki te Whare Wānanga o Waikato i te tau 2004. Tata ki te 600,000 ngā kupu i ngā rerenga 120,000 i te Windows XP, ā, he 300,000 kupu anō i ngā rerenga 60,000 anō i te Office 2003. Ka oti i te tau 2005, ā, ka tohaina ki te ao e Microsoft mō te kore utu. He putanga anō i te tau 2009, arā ko te Windows Vista me te Office 2007. He putanga anō i te tau 2011: ko Windows 7 me te Office 2011 (tirohia te Whakaahua 3), ā, ka kite atu i te Windows 8 i te tau 2012. Nā te Whare Wānanga o Waikato te whakamāoritanga tuatahi, nā te Taura Whiri i te Reo te whakamāoritanga tuaruau, ā, nā ngā umanga whakamāori ngā putanga i tua atu i whakamāori. He nui nō te mahi whakamāori nei, he nui te utu hei whakamāori, engari ia i te mutunga e taea te kaiāuru Māori te whakahere i ngā pūmanawa o Microsoft nei mō te kore utu. Nō reira he tautoko nui tēnei o Microsoft i te reo Māori.

Whakaahua 3: Ētehi mata reo Māori nō te Windows 7 me te Office 2010

Moodle

Ko Moodle tētehi pūmanawa e tautoko ana i te mahi ako i runga i te rorohiko, arā he ‘Learning Management System’. I whakamāoritanga ngā mata o Moodle e te Waikato Institute of Technology (WINTEC) i te tau 2004. Nā reira ka taea e ngā ākonga me ngā kaikōrero Māori te whakahere i te pūmanawa nei me te kītea atu i te reo Māori i te nuinga o ngā mata me te nuinga o ngā rārangi tuku

Whakaahua 4: Tētehi mata o Moodle

Reo Māori ki te Ipurangi
I ūrū tau 1990 ka tīmata te kīte atu o te reo Māori ki ngā whārangi o te ipurangi, me ki ki ngā whārangi tukutuku. I ūrū tau 1998 i āta titiro ki ngā whārangi tukutuku kia āta kīte atu he aha kē ngā whārangi ki reira i te reo Māori. Ka kitea ngā whārangi tukutuku 48; 11 mō te kaupapa Kāwanatanga, 8 mō te kaupapa tā pukapuka, ā, he 8 anō o ngā tāngata whaiaro (Keegan, 1998). E whai ake nei ētehi noa iho o ngā whārangi tukutuku e kaha ana ki te tautoko i te reo Māori.

Toi Te Kupu
Ko Toi Te Kupu he huarahi ki ngā pukapuka kua tuhia ki te reo Māori. I whakaritea te whārangi tukutuku nei e te Whare Wānanga o Massey, arā, Te Kunenga Ki Pūrehuroa, i te tau 1998. He reo rua te atanga, heoi anō te āhua nei kia hanga i te reo Māori i te tuatahi, kātahi ka whakapākehātia. Ahakoa kua moea te whārangi tukutuku rā i ētehi tau, ka taea tonuitia te kīte i ēnei rā, pērā ki te Whakaahua 5 nei.
Whakaahua 5: Te whārangi tukutuku o ‘Toi te Kupu’

He pātengi raraunga mō ngā rauemi reo Māori kua tāia
A database of published Māori language resources

Te Kete Ipurangi

Ka hangaia te whārangi tukutuku a Te Kete Ipurangi e Te Tāhuhu o Te Mātauranga i te tau 1998. Ko tōna kaupapa he tohatoha i ngā tuhinga me ngā mōhiotanga o te Tāhuhu me ngā kura ki ngā kura anō. Mai i te timatatanga kua kaha tēnei whārangi tukutuku ki te noho reo ruā, me te aro ki ngā kaipānui e hiahi ana ki te rapu kōrero mā te reo Māori i te reo Māori. Kei te Whakaāhua 6 tōna āhua i ēnei rā.

Whakaahua 6: Te whārangi tukutuku o ‘Te Kete Ipurangi’

Whakaahua 7: Te whārangi tukutuku o ngā ‘Niupepa Māori’

Te Whanake

I te tau 2009 ka puta ngā rauemi o Te Whanake ki te tukutuku ao whānui. Nā Murumāra te kaupapa nei i ara ake i runga i tāna whakarite i ngā rauemi mō te whakaako i te reo Māori. Kei te whārangi tukutuku i tēnei rā ka kite atu i ngā rauemi mō te kaiako me te ākonga, arā he pukapuka matua, he pukapuka tātaki, he kōpae whakarongo, he papakupu Māori, he paki waituhi, he rokiroki, he hōtaka pouaka whakaata, he wāhi wānanga hoki. Kei te Whakaahua 8 te āhua o te whārangi tukutuku i ēnei rā.

Whakaahua 8: Te whārangi tukutuku o ‘Te Whanake’
Niupena Māori

I te tau 2000 ka rewa ake te whārangi tukutuku o ngā Niupena Māori. He kohikohinga o ngā niupena kua tuhia i te reo Māori mai i te tau 1842 ki te tau 1932. He nui ake i te 17,000 whārangi Niupena i reira me te ātaahua hoki o te reo kua tuhia i tērā rautau. Ko tētēhi hua nui o te kohikohinga nei ko te mihini rapu kupu, arā, he huarahi kia tere tae atu te kaipānui ki ngā kōrero e hiahia ana. Kei te Whakaahua 7 te āhua o te whārangi tukutuku nei.

Whakaahua 7: Te whārangi tukutuku o ngā ‘Niupena Māori’

Te Whanake

I te tau 2009 ka puta ngā rauemi o Te Whanake ki te tukutuku ao whānui. Nā Murumāra te kaupapa nei i ara ake i runga i tāna whakarite i ngā rauemi mō te whakaako i te reo Māori. Kei te whārangi tukutuku i tēnei rā ka kite atu i ngā rauemi mō te kaikōrero me te ākonga, arā he pukapuka matua, he pukapuka tātaki, he kōpae whakarongo, he pakinga Māori, he paki waitui, he rōkīrōki, he hōtaka pouaka whakaata, he wāhi wānanga hoki. Kei te Whakaahua 8 te āhua o te whārangi tukutuku i ēnei rā.

Whakaahua 8: Te whārangi tukutuku o ‘Te Whanake’
Google

E rua ngā taputapu o Google kua aro ki te reo rangatira. Tuatahi ko te mata o te mihini rapu (arā, ko te *Google Web Search Interface*), I te tau 1998 ka tīmata te mahi whakamāori nei, ā, tae rawa atu ki te tau 2008 ka oti. Ehara i te whakamāoritanga nui engari kua takaroa nā te tokoiti o ngā kaiwhakamāori e wātea ana ki ta tautoko i te kaupapa mō te kore utu.

Ko te tuarua ko te taputapu kua hangaia e Google hei āwhina i te kaiwhakamāori, arā, te Google Translator Toolkit. Kei te Whakaahua 9 tōna āhua. He taputapu tēnei e whakaatu mai ana i ngā tikinare Māori, i ngā whakamāoritanga kua oti kē, i ngā whakamāoritanga hoki e ai ki te whakaaro o te rorohiko. Hei aha? Hei āwhina i te kaiwhakamāori, hei tohatoha i ngā whakamāoritanga, hei whakakotahi i te reo Māori o ngā rā hou nei.

**Whakaahua 9:** Te atanga o 'Google Translation Toolkit'

Facebook

I te tau 2012 i puta mai tētehi āhuatanga Māori, me kī he kanohi Māori o Facebook. Kei te Whakaahua 10 te āhua o te kanohi nei. Ehara i te whakamāori tūturu o ngā atanga o Facebook engari kē he taputapu ka utaina ki runga i tō pūtīrotiro, ā, ko tāna mahi hei whakawhiti i ngā tapanga o te pūmanawa Facebook, mai i te reo Pākehā ki te reo Māori. Tata ki te katoa o ngā kōrero ka huri ki te reo Māori, ā, ka taea te kaiwhakamahi o Facebook te noho tonu i te reo Māori i a ia e kōrerorero ana ki ōna hoa.

**Whakaahua 10:** Te kanohi reo Māori o 'Facebook'

Rep Māori ki ngā Taputapu Hangarau

I tua atu i ngā pūmanawa rorohiko, i tua atu i ngā whārangi tukutuku o te ipurangi, kei te kite atu i te reo Māori ki ētehi taputapu me kī o te ao hangarau. E whai ake nei ētehi.

Te Atanga ATM o BNZ

Ka whakaritea ngā atanga o ngā *Automatic Teller Machines* (ATMs) o te pēke o BNZ i te tau 2007 kia noho reo maha. I whakaritea whēnei mai i runga i te whakaaro he tokomaha ngā tāngata e taetae mai anā ki Aotearoa me te kore tino mōhio ki te reo Pākehā. Nō reira hei āwhina i a rātou ka whakaritea ngā ATMs kia taea te kōrerorero mai i ngā reo kē, pērā i te reo o Haimana, o Wīwī, o Tiamani hoki, ā, ko tētehi o ngā reo ka whiria mō te atanga rā, ko te reo Māori. Nō reira, mai i tua wā, tae noa mai ki ēnei rā, e taea ana te whakamahi i ngā ATMs o BNZ i roto tonu i te reo Māori.

Kei te Whakaahua 11 tētehi o aua mata ki te reo Māori.

**Whakaahua 11:** Tētehi mata reo Māori o te ATM ki BNZ
Rep Māori ki ngā Taputapu Hangarau

I tua atu i ngā pūmanawa rorohiko, i tua atu i ngā whārangi tukutuku o te ipurangi, kei te kite atu i te reo Māori ki etehi taputapu me ki o te ao hangarau. E whai ake nei etehi.

Te Atanga ATM o BNZ

Ka whakaritea ngā atanga o ngā Automatic Teller Machines (ATMs) o te pēke o BNZ i te tau 2007 kia noho reo maha. I whakaritea whēnei mai i runga i te whakaaro he tokomaha ngā tāngata e taetae mai ana ki Aotearoa me te kore tino mōhio ki te reo Pākehā. Nō reira, ma ahuwhina i a rātou ka whakaritea ngā ATMs kia taea te kōrerorerero mai i ngā reo kē, pērā i te reo o Haimana, o Wīwī, o Tiamani hoki, ā, ko tētehi o ngā reo ka whiria mō te atanga rā, ko te reo Māori. Nō reira, mai i taua wā, tae noa mai ki ēnei rā, e taea ana te whakamahi i ngā ATMs o BNZ i roto tonu i te reo Māori. Kei te Whakaahua 11 tētehi o aua mata ki te reo Māori.
Te Waea Pūkoro o Two Degrees

I te tau 2011 ka whakapāoho atu a Two Degrees i ētehi o ā rātou waea hou. E rua o ā rātou waea e taea ana te huri te atanga ki te reo Māori. Ko tētehi he waea pūkoro noa, ko tētehi he waea pūkoro e taea ana te hono ki te ipurangi (arā, he ‘smart phone’). Koia nei ngā waea tuatahi e taea ana te whakahaere mā te reo Māori. Ko te Huawei IDEOS X3 te ingoa o te waea tūhono ipurangi, ā, e taea te kite i tōna āhua ki te Whakaahua 12.

Whakaahua 12: Te waea pūkoro reo Māori o ‘Two Degrees’

Ngā Tūmau Pukapuka o 3M

Kei te nuinga o ngā whare pukapuka puta noa i Aotearoa tētehi tūmau pukapuka. Ko tana mahi he tohatoha atu i ngā pukapuka, arā, he mīhini ‘self check out’. Neke atu i te 70 o ngā tūmau pukapuka kei Aotearoa nei nō te kamupene o 3M. I te tau 2003 i whakahou ngā atanga o ngā tūmau pukapuka nei kia taea ai te whakaatu mai 1 ngā tohutohu ki te reo Māori. Kei te Whakaahua 13 tētehi tauira o ngā mata reo Māori o te tūmau pukapuka kei te whare pukapuka i te Whare Wānanga o Waikato.
Te Waea Pūkoro o Two Degrees

Te tau 2011 ka whakapāoho atu a Two Degrees i ētehi o ā rātou waea hou. E rua o ā rātou waea e taea ana te atanga ki te reo Māori. Ko tētehi he waea pūkoro noa, ko tētehi he waea pūkoro e taea ana te hono ki te ipurangi (arā, he 'smart phone'). Koia nei ngā waea tuatahi e taea ana te whakahaere mā te reo Māori. Ko te Huawei IDEOS X3 te ingoa o te waea tūhono ipurangi, ā, e taea te kite i tōna āhua ki te Whakaahua 12.

Whakaahua 12: Te waea pūkoro reo Māori o 'Two Degrees'

Ngā Tūmau Puka puka o 3M

Kei te nuinga o ngā whare pukapuka puta noa i Aotearoa tētehi tūmau pukapuka. Ko tana mahi he tohatoha atu i ngā pukapuka, arā, he mīhini 'self check out'. Neke atu i te 70 o ngā tūmau pukapuka kei Aotearoa nei nō te kamupene o 3M. I te tau 2003 i whakahou ngā atanga o ngā tūmau pukapuka nei kia taea ai te whakaatu mai I ngā tohutohu ki te reo Māori. Kei te Whakaahua 13 tētehi tauira o ngā mata reo Māori o te tūmau pukapuka kei te whare pukapuka i te Whare Wānanga o Waikato.

Whakaahua 13: Tētehi mata reo Māori o te tūmau pukapuka

Engari ka Whakamahia kit e Reo Māori?

I roto i ngā tauira ngahuru mā toru o runga ake nei e mārama ana te kite kua whai wāhi, kua ū te reo Māori ki ētehi pūmanawa rorohiko, ki ētehi wāhi o te ipurangi, ki ētehi mata hoki o ngā taputapu hangarau. Kātahi ka rewa te pātai: ka whakamahia te reo Māori ki aua wāhi? Arā, ahakoa te reo Māori o te mata, o te atanga rānei, ka kōrero tia tonutia te reo Māori i te whakamahia o aua taputapu, kāore rānei?

He uaa te whakautu i te pātai rā i runga i te iti noa iho o ngā mahi rangahau kua oti mō te kaupapa nei. Heoi anō koia rā ētehi tuhunga kua kītea.

I te tātaritanga o te pae tukutuku Niupepa Māori i te tau 2006 (Keegan 2007, whārangi 58) ka kite atu i whakamahia te kohikohinga rā 80.6% ki te reo Pākehā, ā, 19.4% ki te reo Māori. Ahakoa ko te nuinga (83.5%) o ngā kōrero o te pae tukutuku rā kei te reo Māori, i te nuinga o te wā ka whakahaeretia kētia ki te reo Pākehā.

Ko tērā hoki tētēhi uiuinga i tukua ki ngā kura reo Māori i Aotearoa i te tau 2011 (Mato et al., 2012). I kīte atu ko te 23.2% noa iho ngā kura e whakamahia ana ngā pūmanawa o Microsoft ki te reo Māori, me te mea anō neke atu i te 31% o ngā kura kāore i te mōhio e taea ana e te reo Māori te whai wāhi ki ngā pūmanawa o Microsoft. Ka mea atu ngā kura ko ētehi o ngā raruraru: ko te kore mōhio me pēwhea te tiki atu; ko te kore whai wā hei whakarite mai; ko te nui o ngā kupu hou; me te utu (ahakoa kua kore he utu!).

Nā te pēke o BNZ tonu ētehi whika i homai e pā ana ki ngā reo ka whakamahia i runga i tā rātou ATMs. He whika nei kua kapo atu i te marama o Haratua i te tau 2013. Ka whēnei: ka
whakahaeretia ki te nuinga o ngā wā ki te reo Pākehā (95.5%), kātahi ko te reo Tiamani (1.7%), ko te reo Haina (1.2%), ko te reo Wiwi (0.8%), ko te reo Ko Rea (0.4%), ko te reo Hapanihi (0.3%), ā, tae rawa atu ki te reo Māori (0.07%). Nō reira he wā iti noa iho ka whakamahia ki te reo Māori.

Koia hoki tētehi kaupapa kei te rangahaua tonutia e ētehi kairangahau kei te Tari Rorohiko o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, arā, tokohia ngā tāngata e whakamahia ana i ngā taputapu o te ao hou i roto tonu i te reo Māori. Tāria te wā ka puta mai ngā hua me ngā taunaki o taua mahi RANGAHU NĀ.

Hei Whakakapi

Kia ora ai te reo Māori me kōrero i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa! E taea ana te kōrero ki te ao hangarau, he mea kite atu i ngā tauira nei engari tokoiti noa iho ngā tāngata e kōrero Māori tonu ana ki reira.

E kia nei te kōrero, ko te ao hangarau te ao kei ā tātou tamariki. Kei roto hoki i ō rātou ringaringa te oranga tonutanga o te reo Māori. Kei te nuinga he waea, he ‘tablet’, he rorohiko rānei. Ko tā te nuinga o ngā tamariki hoki i ēnei rā he tūhono ki te ipurangi, ki te Facebook ki whea rānei. E taea ana e te reo Māori te noho atu ki aua wāhi hangarau, engari he uaua ka kītea te reo Māori e kōrerotia tonu ana.

Ka hoki atu ki te pātai matua: e kōrero ana a reo Māori ki te Ao Hangarau? E ai ki tāku, e memeha haere ana te reo Māori ki reira, me tōku āwangawanga nui mō tērā āhuataanga!

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MAI KA’AO Ā I HANAKEAKA: PĪPĪ HOLO KA’AO

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Mai Ka‘ao ā i Hanakeaka: Pīpī holo ka‘ao
‘Ōlelo Hō‘ulu‘ulu Pōkole

This paper, written in Hawaiian, briefly discusses a few defining characteristics of Hawaiian literature, specifically mo‘olelo ‘story’ and ka‘ao ‘folklore, folklife stories’. We also discuss below the importance of mo‘olelo and ka‘ao as qualified by opinions of kūpuna ‘elders’. Because indigenous lore is intrinsically connected to our history, sense of place, moral values and belief systems, that is, our identity, it must be perpetuated. Below, we explain hanakeaka Hawai‘i ‘Hawaiian medium theatre’ as a means by which Hawaiian mo‘olelo and ka‘ao are perpetuated.

‘Ōlelo Ho‘ākāka

Mai ka wā i o kikilo mai ā hiki i kēia, me mo‘olelo a he ka‘ao ko kānaka. ‘A‘ole nele o ka lāhui Hawai‘i i ona mau mo‘olelo a me ka‘ao nō ho‘i. Nui nā mo‘olelo o ka wā i hala no nā akua, nā ‘aumākua, nā kupua, a me nā kānaka like ‘ole o ke au kahiko o ka ‘āina, e la‘a ho‘i me Papa me Wākea ‘oe, me Hi‘iakaikapiopele ‘oe, me Kamapua‘a ‘oe, me Māuiakamalo ‘oe, me ‘Umaiililoa ‘oe, a pēlā wale aku nō. Ma o kēia mau mo‘olelo i ho‘oilina ‘ia ai ka ‘ike ku‘una, ka mo‘okū‘auhau, ka loina ka mo‘omeheu, a me ke ‘ano ho‘i o ka nohona Hawai‘i. Ola ka mo‘olelo, ola kānaka!

Kūkulu Kumuhana

I loko o kēia pepa, e hō‘ike ana nā mea kākau e pili ana i ia mea he ka‘ao a me kona hō‘ano hou ‘ana i loko o ka ‘oihana hanakeaka1 ma lalo o Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. E ho‘ākāka ‘ia ana ka wehewehe ‘ana o ia mea he ka‘ao e like me ka ho‘omaopopo ‘ana o nā mea kākau nei a me ka mea e hiki ana ke komo i loko o kēia pepa pōkole. A laila, e kūkā ana maua e pili ana i ka ‘imi no‘i‘i ‘ana i ka mo‘olelo a ka‘ao a me ka pa‘a ‘ana o ke ka‘ina mo‘olelo hanakeaka.2

1 ‘Oiai, me he hua‘olelo ho‘okahi ‘o hana keaka, kākau pū ‘ia nā hua‘olelo hana a me keaka penei “hanakeaka”. ‘A‘ole like me kā Pukui a me Elbert (1986), he ‘elua hua‘olelo.

2 E ka makamaka heluhelu, i ‘ike a‘e ‘oe, inā nō ua loa’a nā hemahema a me nā kina‘una‘u ma loko o kēia pepa pōkole, ʻīl maila ia maua mea a pau ma luna o māua, nā mea kākau.
No ka mo'olelo a me ke ka'ao

Ma ka ho'oka'ina 'ia 'ana o kekahi 'ōlelo ma hope o kekahi 'ōlelo, 'o ia ka loa'a 'ana o ia mea he mo'olelo. Penei ke kālailai 'ia 'ana o ka hua'ōlelo mo'olelo. 'O ia ho'i, 'o ka mo'o ke ka'ina 'ana o kekahi mea ma hope o kekahi, 'o 'a ke 'ōlelo ka hua kani ho'omaopopo 'ia ma o kekahi 'ano kuhia. 'O ka hua'ōlelo kekahi 'ōlelo no nā 'āpana 'ōlelo like 'ole. He wae'ano nui ka mo'olelo, a penei kona wehewehe 'ana he mau hua'ōlelo ia i ho'o'ohana pū 'ia e hō'ike a'e e pili ana i kekahi 'ano kumuhana.

He mau 'ano mo'olelo, e la'a me ka mo'olelo pilikanaka, ka mo'olelo pilikino, ka mo'olelo nūhou, ka mo'olelo hālāwai, a pēlā aku nō, a he mau 'ano nō ho'i ma lalo o ia wae'ano nui he mo'olelo a loa'a kona po'oman'a'o wae'ano pono'i. Eia kekahi mau hope-wae'ano3 mo'olelo nui a māua i 'ike mua ai a 'a'ole pai i ka helu 'ia ma 'ane'i, 'o ka mo'o'ōlelo, ke ka'ao, a me ka mo'olelo ka'ao/ mo'oka'ao (e like me kā Kamakau (1868)).

He mea lā, he mo'olelo 'ōia'i'o ka mo'o'ōlelo, a ua loa'a akula kona mea 'ike maka. He hua'ōlelo ho'ohana nui 'ia 'o mo'o'ōlelo i loko o nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i hahiko i puka ma waena o nā makahiki 1834 ā hiki i ka makahiki 1948. No ke ka'ao, he mo'olelo nō ia e pili ana i ka nohona, ka loina, a me nā hi'ohi'ona o kahi lāhui kanaka. E like me kāu i 'ike ai ma luna, e ka mea heluhelu, ho'ohui 'ia nā hua'ōlelo 'o mo'olelo a me ka'ao. 'Oiai, 'ano pōhiihihi akula ka mea e 'oko'a ai ke ka'ao me ka mo'olelo ka'ao, 'a'ole e kūkākūkā 'ia ma 'ane'i. Koe aku kona ho'ākāka 'ia 'ana i kekahi wā. E kūkākūkā wale 'ia ana ia mea he ka'ao ma ka laulā.

No ke ka'ao

He mea nui ke ka'ao i ka po'e kahiko. 'A'ole wale ia he mo'olelo e le'ale'a'ai o kamali'i mā, he mo'o'ōlelo kā ho'i ia e hō'ōia'o'ana o ana i ko kahiko a he mea e ho'okumu a ho'okahua ai ho'i i ko ke au nei. E heluhelu a'e 'oe, e ka makamaka heluhelu, i kēia 'ōlelo 'o S. M. Kamakau ma kāna leka i ka Nupepa Kuokoa i ka lā 15 Pepeluali 1868:

'He pono i ka po'e kahiko.'

Eia na'e, he ho'ōla 'ōlelo Hawai'i. He mea nui ke ka'ao i ka po'e kahiko, he alakai aku ai ko i ka Lahui i ka ike a me ka oiaio. O ke kakau moolelo a kaa, ho'olilo 'ia ke Kakau i ka pākui i ke kaua 'o Ka Lele a ka 'Anae ma Nu'uanu, O'ahu a ho'okāna kai na mea ko lāua hemahema. He mea lāua, he mo'olelo 'ōia'i'o ka mo'o'ōlelo, a ua loa'a akula kona mea 'ike maka. He hua'ōlelo ho'ohana nui 'ia 'o mo'o'ōlelo i loko o nā nūpepa 'ōlelo Hawai'i kahiko i puka ma waena o nā makahiki 1834 ā hiki i ka makahiki 1948. No ke ka'ao, he mo'olelo nō ia e pili ana i ka nohona, ka loina, a me nā hi'ohi'ona o kahi lāhui kanaka. E like me kāu i 'ike ai ma luna, e ka mea heluhelu, ho'ohui 'ia nā hua'ōlelo 'o mo'olelo a me ka'ao. ‘Oiai, ‘ano pōhiihihi akula ka mea e ‘oko’a ai ke ka’ao me ka mo’olelo ka’ao, ‘a’ole e kūkākūkā ‘ia ma ‘ane’i. Koe aku kona ho’ākāka ‘ia ‘ana i kekahi wā. E kūkākūkā wale ‘ia ana ia mea he ka’ao ma ka laulā.

3Hope-wae’ano– Subcategory.

Ua ‘oko‘a kā Pukui a me Elbert a ua ‘oko‘a ka ‘ōlelo ma kā Andrews a me “Māmaka Kaiao”. Ho‘onui ‘o Pukui a me Elbert i nā mana‘o he mea hakahū nā ka‘ao ma kā lāua mau ‘ōlelo “fanciful” a me “fiction.” Eia na‘e, ma kā Andrews a me “Māmaka Kaiao”, hō‘ike ‘ia he mo‘olelo ke ka‘ao e pili ana no ka lāhui nona ia ka‘ao.

‘O Mary Kawena Pukui ka‘oi o nā me‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i kēlā kenekulua aku nei. E like me ka ‘ōlelo ma luna, ‘o ia kekahai o nā mea kākau i ka puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i nui a mākou e ho‘ohana nei a hiki i kēia wā. Kākau nō ho‘i ‘o Pukui i nā ka‘ao like ‘ole āna i lohe ai i kona wā e kamali‘i‘a na‘e a hiki i kona o‘o ‘ana a‘e. ‘Ohi‘ohi akula ‘o Pukui i kāna mau ka‘ao a ho‘olilo ‘ia auane‘i i ia i puke. ‘O “Folktales of Hawai‘i”: He mau Ka‘ao Hawai‘i” ia inoa o ia puke.

He mea ‘e nō na‘e ke heluhelu a‘e a ke no‘ono‘o a‘e nō ho‘i i kāna mau mo‘olelo i kākau ai a ho‘omana‘o a‘e ho‘i i kā lāua ‘o Elbert wehewehe ‘ana i ka hua‘ōlelo ‘o ka‘ao. I loko o kā Pukui puke, ua loa‘a nō ho‘i nā mo‘olelo e pili ana i nā wahine i lilo i mau ‘ino kumu wiliwili like ‘ole (wahi a kahi, pēlā ka loa‘a ‘ana o ia mau kumu wiliwili), ‘elua mau kupua—‘ia ka lā he puhi kekahai a he loli kekahai, a i ka pō he mau kāne u‘u lāua nāna i ‘ume‘ume ‘elua mai kākamāhine o Kona, Moku o Keawe, a pēlā aku nō. Malia paha, he mau mo‘olelo hakahū paha kēia, fanciful a fictional paha, i ke kuana‘ike Komohana.

Eia kā, loa‘a ma ia puke ho‘okahi kekahai mau ‘ano mo‘olelo, e la‘a ho‘i ka mo‘olelo e pili ana i ho‘okahi kanaka i hele i o Kamehameha a ‘ōlelo ‘o ia ka pokī‘o i ke ali‘i i ka ua mea o ka ‘ōlelo a Kalani i kāna mau koa, “I mua e nā pokī‘i a inu i ka wai ‘awa‘awa,” a e kekahai mo‘olelo e pili ana i nā lā hope o Kamehameha e ola ana. Aia nō ho‘i kekahai ka‘ao a pili ana i ‘elua mau kānaka makapō i ‘ini e huaka‘i, ‘a‘ohe na‘e loa‘a kahi hoa maka ‘ike e hele pū, a nui ko láua hemahema. He mau mo‘olelo kēia i mana‘o ‘ia he mau mea ‘oia‘i‘o maoli. Eia ho‘i, he mau mo‘olelo nō kēia i loa‘a a kona ha‘awina e a‘o a‘o kāna ke hohe a heluhelu a‘e.

I ka mo‘olelo e pili ana i ke kanaka i ‘ōlelo he pokī‘i ‘o ia ala o ke ali‘i Kamehameha, a i mana‘o ‘ia ho‘i he pī‘ikoi kāna hana, ho‘olohe ‘o ia i ka ‘ōlelo a ke ali‘i. ‘O ia ‘ōlelo he ‘a‘elite ia e like me ka palapala o kēia wā, ‘o ka puana a ka le‘o, ‘o ia ka pūlīma ‘ana i ka inoa ma ka palapala ‘a‘elite. Ho‘okō akula ua kanaka lā i kāna māhele, i mua akula ‘o ia ala i hele ai a inu i ua wai ‘awa‘awa. ‘O ia ho‘i, komo pilo akula ‘o ia ala i ke kaua‘o Ke Lele a ka ‘Anae ma Nu‘uanu, O‘ahu a Lua, ‘aha‘i akula ka lei o ka lanakila iā Kamehameha, eo akula ‘o O‘ahu i ke ali‘i o Kohala. He mo‘olelo nō kēia a pēlā ko Pukui kapa ‘ana i ke po‘oinoa o ia mo‘olelo. Eia na‘e, he ka‘ao nō ho‘i i ia kekahai, no ka mea he mo‘olelo i loa‘a ai kona ha‘awina e a‘o a‘o kāna. Eia kona ha‘awina: e ho‘olohe a ho‘opapa i ka ‘ōlelo a kānaka, no ka mea he mana ko ka ‘ōlelo a he kuleana nō ho‘i i a ka mea ‘ōlelo e ho‘okō a‘e a‘e. Mālama Ke Alī‘i Kamehameha i kāna mau ‘ōlelo. I loa nō ‘o ho‘o‘omaopopo ke ali‘i i ke kumu a ua kanaka lā i ‘ōlelo ai pēlā, kauoha akula ‘o ia nei i nā uākā a me nā ‘ōhua e ho‘oloko i ka ‘ai a me ka i‘a i papa‘aina i lu‘ulu‘ulu i nā mea‘ai maika‘i no kona pōki‘i.

No ia mau makapō o Mo‘ula, Ka‘ū, he mau kānaka makapō maoli nō paha kēia. Ho‘okahi o lāua, wahi a Pukui, ua hiki iā ia ke ‘ike i nā mea i kokoke loa i kona alo. No laila, nāna e alaka‘i iā lāua
ma kā lāua huaka'i hele. Nui ko lāua hemahema i ka hōʻeʻa ʻana i kahawai, no ma kea ʻaʻohe ʻike o lāua ā ʻelua i ka nui o ka wai o lalo o ke kahawai. I ka hopena o ke kaʻao, pau ko lāua ʻiʻini e hele me kaʻole o ke kanaka maka ʻike. He mau haʻawina ko keʻa kaʻao. Eia ʻelua: 'akahi, ʻaʻole e alakaʻi ka makapō, ʻo ia hoʻi ka mea ʻike ʻole, i kekahi makapō; ʻalua, e ʻike ke kanaka i kona mau palena. He mau haʻawina nui keʻia i aʻo ʻia ma o keʻa kaʻao. Eia kekahi manaʻo hou aʻe e pili ana i keʻa kaʻao, ʻoihia he moʻolelo ia e pili ana i ʻelua mau kānaka no Kaʻū, a he ʻāina maoli nō ia, a hiki ʻi ke hele ma laila a ʻolelo penei, "Ma ʻaneʻi i hele mai ai ua mau kānaka makapō, a nui ko lāua hemahema i ko lāua ʻike makaʻoleʻana." He moʻolelo ia e hoʻopili ana ia ka ʻāina a me ke kanaka a me kona mau loina. Pākolu ihoa ka waiwai o ka ʻike ma keʻa kaʻao.

I panina no keʻia māhele o kā kākou ninaninua ʻana i ia mea he kaʻao, kākoʻo akula māua i ka weheweheana ma loko mai o ka Andrew's puke wehewehe ʻolelo Hawaiʻi a me ko "Māmaka Kaʻūo" ma ua o kā Pukui a me Elbert ma luna nei. No ka mea, i mea ke kaʻao e ʻike ai kānaka i nā hana a me nā loina o kona hoa Andrew ma ho ka moʻolelo ʻana, ke kaʻao ʻana hoʻi.

**Ka Pīpī ʻana ʻa holo ke Kaʻao: No ka hoʻomau ʻana i ke kaʻao**

ʻOlelo maila nā kūpuna i ka pani ʻana i nā moʻolelo kaʻao penei, "Pīpī holo kaʻao." E kālailai aʻe kākou i keʻa ʻolelo noʻeau a ka poʻe kahiho. E hoʻomakaha aʻe kākou me ka huaʻolelo o pīpī. ʻO ka pīpī ʻana ke kōpī ʻana i ka paʻakai e like me ka hana i ka iʻa ma mau, i mea e lōʻihi aʻe ai kona ʻono a ʻaʻole ʻino koke. Akāka aʻela ke kona o keʻa ʻolelo. Ua like ka pīpī ʻana i ka iʻa me ka haʻi ʻana i ke kaʻao. ʻO ia hoʻi, ke haʻi hou ʻia ke kaʻao, hoʻomau ʻia ke kaʻao; hoʻololi ʻia hoʻi kona hoʻomau ʻana. Me ia manaʻo, pēlā ka hoʻomaopopo ʻana i ka huaʻolelo o holo. Ma muli o ka haʻi ʻana i ka moʻolelo, holo, a i ʻole hoʻomau ʻia, ke kaʻao. Nani ka ʻolelo a nā kūpuna. No laila, iki akula nō hoʻi ke kuleana i luna o ka mea hoʻolehe a heluhelu, nāna ia e hoʻomau aku. Ii nō hoʻi ia kuleana ma luna o mākou nei, ka poʻe e hoʻomau ana i nā moʻolelo a me nā kaʻao.

I loko o keʻia māhele, e kūkākūkā ʻia ana hoʻokahi ʻoihana e mau ai ka moʻolelo ma ke kaʻao. ʻO ia nō ʻo ka hanakeaka. Ma Kahiki mai i loaʻa mai ai ka hanakeaka. ʻAʻole ia he hana noʻeau maoli e like me ka hula, ke ʻoli, ka haʻi moʻolelo, a pēlā aku. Eia naʻe, i loko o nā makahiki he 18 i kaʻa hope aku nei, ua loaʻa nā hanakeaka Hawaiʻi. A e like me ka hula, ke ʻoli, a me ka haʻi moʻolelo, ua lilo ia ʻoihana i mea e mau ai nā moʻolelo a me nā kaʻao Hawaiʻi. Loaʻa nā hālau hula nānā i hana i nā hōʻike hula me ka hanakeaka, e like me Hālau o Kekuhi me kā lākou mau hōʻike hula-hanakeaka. Mai loko ʻaʻo e o ka hula i loaʻa ai ka Hālau o Kekuhi mau hōʻike. He nani maoli ia, ʻokoʻa ka hōʻike hula me ka hanakeaka—ma o ke mele a me ka hula e hōʻike ʻia ai ka moʻolelo, a ʻokoʻa ka hanakeaka—ma o ka pāpāʻolelo e hōʻike ʻia ai ka moʻolelo.

Hoʻokahi hui hanakeaka Hawaiʻi maoli, ʻo ia nō ʻo ka Hālau Hanakeaka. He papa hana ia ma lalo o Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language ma ke Kulanui o Hawaiʻi ma Mānoa. He mau hanakeaka kā keʻia hui i hana ai mai ka makahiki 1995 ā hiki ʻi keʻia wā e holo nei. Haku ʻia nā kaʻina moʻolelo hanakeaka ma o ke kūkākūkā ʻana ma waena o nā hāmeʻe, a pēlā e holo ai ka moʻolelo. E hōʻike ʻia ana ma lalo nei kekahi mau kaʻina o ka hana i loko o ka haku hanakeaka ʻana.
Hoʻokahi hui hanakeaka Hawaiʻi maoli, ‘o ia nō lilo ia ‘oihana i mea e mau ai nā moʻoʻolelo a me nā moʻoʻolelo maoli me ke kulanui o Hawaiʻi ma Mānoa.

No ka haku hanakeaka ‘ana

I mea e lilo ai ka moʻoʻolelo kaʻao i hanakeaka, he kaʻina hana maʻamau kā maua e hahai ai. Hoʻomāka ka papahana huku hanakeaka me kahi manaʻo—mea mea hoʻoulu, me hīhiʻo, me hōʻālemana, a iʻole he mea kumuhana. Upu aʻe ka manaʻo e pili ana i ka kekahi moʻoʻolelo a ulu ka hoi o loko a me ka ‘iini no hoʻo he hoʻōmaoʻopedi i ke kumū i upu aʻela ia manaʻo. Aia nō ʻia ka moʻoʻolelo kaʻao e hoʻoi loiloilo ai i moʻoʻolelo hanakeaka, noʻi mai nō hoʻi ka hanakeaka e mau ai kaʻike kupuna ʻa pā i ka naʻau o nā mamo Hawaiʻi o ke kēia wā ʻānō a me ka wā e hiki mai ana.

Mālama māua i nā manaʻo ma ka hoʻomāhuahua e hoʻomāhuahua e hoʻomāhuahua aʻe aʻe a nā manaʻo e pono a ke kaʻina moʻoʻolelo hanakeaka.

No nā waihona ike

Hoʻomau aku nō ka ʻimi noʻiʻi ʻana i ʻelua waihona hohonu o ka ʻike, ʻo ia hoʻi ka waihona nūpepa ʻolelo Hawaiʻi kahiho a me nā waihona lipine ʻolelo Hawaiʻi. ʻO nā waihona ʻelua kahi e waiho nei nā maʻoʻolelo a me ka ʻike kupuna. Ma waena o ka makahiki 1834 a me ka makahiki 1848 i pāʻia nō hoʻi ai he 125,000 mau ʻaoʻao nūpepa na hoʻokahi haneli hulā nūpepa (Nogelmeier, XII, 2010). No ka hapanui o nā nūpepa, he mau mea paʻa moʻolelo nā maua ena luna hoʻoponopono. ʻOhi maua i nā mana moʻoʻolelo a kaʻao a maua e wae ai a e hoʻoi loiloilo ai i moʻoʻolelo hanakeaka mai nā waihona nūpepa a me nā waihona lipine e wehewehe ʻia ana ma lalo mai.

No ka noʻi nūpepa, he hana nui ka heluhelu ʻana a e nā ʻaoʻao nūpepa ʻolelo Hawaiʻi kahiho. Lilo nā hola he nui wale i ke kēia ke kēia ke kēia ke kēia ʻano noʻiʻiʻi ʻana. Eia naʻe, ma muli nō o ka hana nui a Hoʻolaupaʻia ʻa me ʻike Kūʻokoʻa, ua ʻoi loa e ka maʻalaha i me ka wikiwiki o ka loaʻa ʻana o nā moʻoʻolelo ma o ka punaewa puni i kēia kēia mau lā.

ʻO kekahi waihona waiwai ka waihona lipine, kahi hoʻi i ʻapo ʻia a nā lehupuna. Kohu like ka hoʻoʻoʻo lipine ʻana me ka launa kupuna ʻana. Ua paʻa nā moʻoʻolelo he nui wale ma nā lipine ma o ka ninaninau ʻana i mālama ʻia me ka poʻe kupuna mai ka hoʻōmaʻa ʻana o ke kenekulua ʻumikumamāwai. Aia nō ke waiho ala nā lipine lehupuna ma ekoʻo mau wahi nui, ʻo ka Hale hōʻi ke ike ʻo Bihopa, ka waihona na Clinton Kanahele ma ke kulanui ʻo Bringham Young Hawaiʻi,
a me ka waihona o Ka Leo Hawai‘i ma ke kulanui o Hawai‘i ma Mānoa. No laila, ma kahi o ka noho pū ‘ana me ke kupuna, ‘o ka huli ‘ana i ka ‘iike ma loko o ka nūpepa a me nā waihona leo kekahī alahele kūpono no ka loa’a ‘ana o ka mo‘olelo.

Iā māua e noʻiʻana i nā mana mo‘olelo, ho‘omaka māua i ka palapala ‘ana i ka ‘o kole‘a mo‘olelo no kēlā me kēia mana mo‘olelo i akāka ai nā mea e like ai nā mo‘olelo a me nā mea e ‘oko‘a ai nā mo‘olelo. Me kēia mau ‘o kole‘a māua e kālailai aku ai i nā mana mo‘olelo i loa‘a ma o ka nūpepa kahiko, nā lipine a me nā mo‘olelo i ha‘i waha ‘ia iā māua e nā hulu kūpona. ‘O ka ho‘ohālilikelike akula nō ia i nā mana mo‘olelo apau.

Haku ka‘ina mo‘olelo hanakeaka

Ā hiki i ka wā e pa‘a ai ka ‘ike mai nā waihona like ‘ole no ka mo‘olelo a māua e hō‘ano hou ai i hanakeaka, wili pū ‘ia a‘e nā mana mo‘olelo a haku aku nō māua i ke ka‘ina mo‘olelo hanakeaka. Ho‘i pinepine aku māua i nā ‘o kole‘a mo‘olelo, nā lipine, a me nā mana‘o o nā hulu kūpona i pono ai ka haku ‘ana i nā ‘ōlelo a nā hame‘e i pololei ai nō ho‘i nā hunahuna ‘ike i loko o ka mo‘olelo hanakeaka a mākou e lawelawe aku ai i mua o ka le Hulu. No ka mea, ho‘o‘omano‘o a‘e kākou i ka ‘ōlelo a Kamakau e like me ka i kākau ma luna a‘e, e ho‘opono pono mua kākou ma mua o ka ho‘o‘olaha ‘ana a‘e. Iā māua e haku ana i nā mokuna hanakeaka, waie māua i ke mele, ke oli, a me ka hula i ko‘u pono i ka mo‘olelo ka‘ao i mea kāko‘o i ka hanakeaka ‘ana aku i ia mo‘olelo. Ma o ka ho‘okomo ‘ana i kēia ‘ano hana no‘eau Hawai‘i kahiko e akāka ai ka mo‘olelo hanakeaka i ke anaina, a e ʻike ai ka mea nānā he mea Hawai‘i kāna mea e nānā ana.

Panina

He waiwai anei kēia hoʻomau ‘ana i nā mo‘olelo a ka‘ao o ka ‘āina? I ko māua mana‘o, ‘ae, a he keu ho‘i kona ko‘iko‘i. I ke kama‘ilio ‘ana me ho‘okahi hulu kupuna, ‘o ‘Anakala Eddie Ka‘anā‘anā, no Miloli‘i, Hawai‘i, hō‘oia‘i o mai nō ua hulu kupuna nei i ka waiwai o ka hanakeaka ‘ana i nā mo‘olelo ka‘ao. I ua ‘Anakala Eddie nei e ola ana, kipa mai ‘o ia nei i nā ho‘oma‘ama‘a a hua‘i pū o ia me mākou i ka lawelawe ‘ana aku i nā hanakeaka i nā mokupuni o ka pae ‘āina o Hawai‘i. Ma hope o kēlā me kēia hō‘ike, hāpai mai ‘o Anakala Eddie i nā mana‘o paipai a me kona mahalo no ko mākou ho‘ohanakeaka ‘ana i nā mo‘olelo ka‘ao mai kona wā kamali‘i ma ka ‘ōlelo kupuna. Ho‘okahi manawa, ‘i maila ‘o ia nei iā mākou me ka hālo‘ilo‘ilo‘i ‘ana o kona mau waimaka i kona aloha maoli i ka ‘ike o nā kūpona, "Penei nō nā mo‘olelo a ku‘u tūtū i ha‘i mai ai iā mākou. Nani loa ka hana." Ho‘omau akula ko ia nei paipai ‘ana i ka ho‘ōla mo‘olelo ma o ke kahua hanakeaka me ka mana‘o he ha‘i mo‘olelo ka hana, he ho‘omau ‘ana i ko Hawai‘i pono‘i.
Papahelu Kūmole


ME WHAI TE REO MĀORI, TE REO Ā-IWI RĀNEI?
Jeremy Tātere MacLeod
Ngāti Kahungunu, Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa, Rangitāne

Tau ake au ki te tau nei,
Ko Rua-tipua, ko Rua-tahito,
Ngaru i runga, ngaru i raro,
Ngaru i Te Ihu o Tāne – Te Ihu Tāne;
Ko taku waka, ko Takitimu,
Rere mai te maramara,
Ko Ihu-nui, ko Ihu-roa
Ko Te Āwhiorangi;
E, ko wai kai runga e tūpā whai ake,
E, ko au ko Uenuku e tūpā whai ake,
E Rata, he aha tāu e tūpā whai ake;
Unumia te kawa, tākina te kawa,
Te kawa tuanihinihi, te kawa tuarangaranga,
Te kawa o wai, te kawa o Takitimu;
Unumia te waka o Rongokako,
Unumia te waka o Tamatea-mai-i-tawhiti,
Unumia te waka o Tīrari,
Unumia te waka o Tīrara,
Unumia te waka o Takitimu,
Whano! Whano! Haramai te toki!
Haumi e, hui e, tāiki e!

Ko Ngāti Kahungunu pea tētahi o ngā iwi tuatahi i ngaro ai te reo Māori. Ki roto i ētahi whānau, neke atu pea i te toru ngā whakatipuranga kāore e kōrero tia ana te reo Māori. Kai te tino ruarua rawa atu te hunga i pakeke mai ki te reo Māori, ā, kai te marara hoki te noho a ērā kaumātua. E taea ana te kī, he parekura nui kai te haere ki te kore a Ngāti Kahungunu ki tēna, o kaupapa o te reo Māori rānei ki roto i a ia anō.

Nō ngā tau 1980 pea i tīmata ai te māharahara o ngā pakeke o te iwi i te tāmatemate haere o te reo, ā, tere tonu tā rātau tautoko i ngā kaupapa pēnei i Te Kōhanga Reo me ngā kura kaupapa Māori. Ko Kēnana Wī Te Tau Huata mā nei ngā kaumātua o aua wā rā, ā, ko tā te Kēnana mahi he haere ki ngā rohe katoa o te iwi ki te whakaako i ngā mea tamariki ki te whaikōrero, ki te karanga
anō hoki mā roto mai i tana kaupapa o te *Hau Wānanga*. He rahi tonu ngā pakeke o ērā wā, ā, ko te nuinga ināiane kua riro ki Paerau, he ititi noa rā ngā mōrehu e ora tonu nei i tē ātore o te whenua.

Nō te marama o Hereturikōkā i te tau 2006 i whakarewaina ai e Te Kaporeihana o Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi tāna Mahere Rautaki Hai Haumanu i te Reo o Ngāti Kahungunu (Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi Incorporated, 2006). Kotahi wiki pea i muri iho i te uhunga o Te Ārikinui Te Atairangihaahu, i whakakao katoa mai te āriki ki te marae o Ōmāhu, i Heretaunga, ki te whakapono i te whakarewahanga o te rautaki nei. Ka hia marama āna kaiwhakarite e hurihuri haere ana ki ngā rohe katoa o te āriki, ki reira kohikohi ai i ngā whakaaro o tēnā, o tēnā, nāwai, ka whakaemihia katoa ngā tūmanako o te āriki, ā, ka raua katoa atu ki te ārangi katoa. Ko te karanga nui a te āriki i tau wā rā kia hahua ake ko te reo ake o Ngāti Kahungunu. Ahakoa tonu, i reira anō āna kaiwhakataē me tā rātau pātai tonu, he aha o tēnā mea te reo ake o Ngāti Kahungunu? He aha o tēnā te rerekētanga o tērā reo i te ārangi reo i te ārangi Māori e kōrerotia ana e te ārangi Māori? Taihoa ake tēnā kaupapa āta mātahi a ngā ātai katoa.

E rima ngā whenu o te ārangi, ā, he mea whakahāngai e Te Kaporeihana o Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi ki ngā rangahau a te auti a tangata tangata nei, a Joshua Fishman (1991; 2001):

1. **Whakaoho**
   Ko te whakaohooho tonu i te āriki kia mārama pū ari rātau ki ngā take e pā ana ki te oranga, ki te mate rānei o te reo Māori.

2. **Whakamana**
   Ko te manaaki me te whakatairanga i ngā kupu ake, i ngā kīwaha ake, me te ārangi taketake o Ngāti Kahungunu.

3. **Whakaako**
   Kia whakaako ko te reo ake o Ngāti Kahungunu ki hea noa iho nei.

4. **Whakamahi**
   Kōrerongia, kai ngaro! Whakamahia!

5. **Whakawhanaungatanga**
   Mā te takitini e ora ai te ārangi Māori. Mā te whakaoreore i te ārangi whānui tonu.

I whakaritea ngā whenu o te ārangi nei ki tētahi kaha kira kuri, e kīā ana ko te tōpuni tauwhāinga, he mea tiki atu i te oriori a Nohomaiterangi, he tipuna nō te rohe o Pōrangahau. Nā, ka noho ko te tōpuni tauwhāinga nei hai tūāpapa mō te rautaki me ana kōrero katoa.

Ko te whakarāpopototanga o ngā whāinga katoa e pēnei nei nā: ‘Tae rawa atu ki te tau 2027, kua mātau katoa a Ngāti Kahungunu ki te kōrero i te ārangi o Ngāti Kahungunu.’ Ko ētahi ka tere mai te kī, ‘E hika mā, kātahi te moeheka ko tērā!’ Heoi, koirā te whāinga roa a Ngāti Kahungunu, kia tahuri katoa āna tāngata ki te kōrero Māori, ā, ko te kōrero i te ārangi, te mita ake āna reo o Kahungunu.

Kāore i ārikarika ngā uauatanga kua pā nei ki Te Kaporeihana o Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi ki te whakatutuki i ngā whāinga o tāna rautaki reo. Tērā pea ko te tautohetohe nui i roto i te ārangi tau mai anō i te whakarewahanga o te rautaki nei, he aha o tēnā te mea kia te whāia, ko te ārangi Māori ki

1 He wānanga ānei i whakahaerengia e Kēnana Wi Te Tau Huata i ngā tau 1980 ki roto i ngā rohe katoa o Ngāti Kahungunu. Ko ngā kaupapa o tana wānanga nei, ko te whakapapa, ko te whaikōrero, ko te karanga, ko te ako i te ārangi Māori.
roto o Ngāti Kahungunu, ko te reo ake rānei o Ngāti Kahungunu? Nā, kia āta wherawherahia ake tēnei kaupapa.

Tērā tētahi tokomaha e kī mai rā, e kore rātäu e aho i te reo o iwi kē, o tangata kē rānei. Ko te reo ake o Ngāti Kahungunu anahe tā rātäu e whai ana, ā, e mārō ana rātäu ki tā rātäu i ki ai. Koia nei te hunga kai te whakapono he reo ake tō te iwi nei, he rerekē noa ake i ngā reo o ētahi atu iwi, ā, whakamahia a i Ngāti Kahungunu ētahi kupu kihai e whakamahia ana e ētahi atu iwi.

Hai tāpiri atu ki tērā hunga, ko tēnei hanga nei, he rerekē anō tā rātäu titiro ki tā ērā rā. Kai te hiahia rātäu ki te ako i te mīta ake o Ngāti Kahungunu, heoi, e mōhio ana rātäu e mau ai i a rātäu te mīta ake o Ngāti Kahungunu me mātua mōhio ki te reo Māori i te tuatahi.

Tērā anō te hunga kāre i te paku warea ki te reo ake, te mīta ake rānei o Ngāti Kahungunu, ko tā rātäu e whai nei ko te reo Māori, ahakoa nō hea te kaiwhakaako, ahakoa nō hea te reo, mātua ko te reo Māori, koīrā tā rātäu whāinga. Kāre rātäu i te paku kīte i te rerekētanga o te reo Māori i te tuatahi, te reo ake o Ngāti Kahungunu e kimihia haerehia ana e ētahi. Tukituki ana ngā hunga e toru nei i ōna wā, i ōna wāhi.

Ki tāku titiro, ka whai hua kē atu te whai i te reo Māori i te tuatahi, ahakoa nō hea te reo, ko te mea nui kia tīka taua reo kai te whāngaihia e te kaiwhakaako. Ka hia tau Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori e taunui ana e te motu mō tā rātäu ‘whakahou’ i te reo Māori, ā, e kia ana he reo tēnei kāre e mārama ana ki o ō tātäu kaumātua. Kai te tohe ētahi ki ngā ture kua ote nei i te reo Māori i te Reo Māori te whakatakoto, hai tā rātäu, kua whakaturehia te reo, kua ‘whakataurawhirihia’ te reo, ehara tā rātau ko te reo o ō rātau mātua, me ērā tū kōrero katoa. Heoi, ina whakarongo ki ngā kōrero tahito a ngā tino pakeke o Ngāti Kahungunu, ina āta wetewethia ā rātäu kōrero, ka kīte te hāngai o tā rātäu whakatakoto i te kōrero ki ngā ture a Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, e rua, e rua. Nā reira, he aha tā ētahi e whakahē me whakakē mai nei?

Ki te mate anō hoki, ehara hoki i te mea kotahi te reo, te mīta rānei o Ngāti Kahungunu. Āe, ko te reo Māori tonu te reo mātua o Ngāti Kahungunu. Mai i Te Wairoa piki tonu atu ki te Wairarapa, i mārama ngā kaumātua ki a rātäu anō, nā reira, he aha tā ētahi e kī mai rā he reo ake tō Ngāti Kahungunu? Āe, e whakaae ana au he kupa ake ē tēnā takiwā, ē tēnā hapū, ē tēnā marae, ē tēnā whānau, kāre ariki i te whakahē i tērā. Āe, e whakaae ana au he momo tangi tō te reo o Ngāti Kahungunu. Engari, kia kīia mai e tēnā kāinga te kī ai he reo motuhake, taketake tō Ngāti Kahungunu, rerekē noa ake i ē tētahi atu iwi reo, ā kāi, hai reira kua tohe atu au.

Tēnā, kia tirohia ake te takiwā o Te Wairoa. Ka noho nā āu, ka whakarongo ki ngā kaumātua o tērā takiwā i kōrero ana i te reo Māori, ā, he taringa rahirahi te māhi, me kore noa e rangona ētahi tūmomo whakatakotoranga kōrero, tērā e taea ai te kī no ō Kahungunu anahe pea tēnā tūmomo kōrero. Hai taurira ake, he rerekē te tangi o te reo o ngā kaumātua o Te Mahia i ō Nūhaka, i ō Te Whakakī, i ō Te Wairoa, i ō Waikaremoana. Pēnei i ēnei kupu iitiiti noa rā: aowa, ahau, ‘hau, awau, ‘wau. Nā, ki roto o Ngāti Rākaipaaka rangona ai te awau, te ahau, me te ‘wau. Ki Te Whakakī kua rongo ai i ō rātau pakeke e whakamahia ana i te aowa. Kia hoki rā ki te Wai-kaukau, kua rongo ai i ērā kaumātua e whakamahia ana i te ‘hau me te ahau. Nā, ka mārakerake te kīia he tūmomo tangi tō tēnā kāinga, tō tēnā kāinga.

Ko ētahi kāinga kai te kī ērāka, ko ētahi kai te kī wērā. Ko ētahi kai te kī kāretahi, ko ētahi kai te kī kārekau. Ko ētahi kai te kī erangi, ko ētahi kai te kī engari. Ko ētahi kai te kī tonu, ko ētahi kai te kī tou, ko ētahi kai te kī tō. Ko ētahi kai te tohe i te kai me te hai, hai tā rātäu ko te kī me te he ki kē tā Kahungunu. Ka kite mai koutou i te uauatanga o te mahi nei ki te whakawehewehe i te reo kia meahia atu rā he mita ake.
Ki a au nei, koinei te mate o te iwi kua kōnī atu i te rua, kōnī kē atu rānei ngā whakatipuranga kāore e kōrero Māori ana. Ko Ngāti Raukawa ki tai te tauira, ki a au nei, kāre i tua atu i a rātau. Nō te tau 1975 i whakarewhahia ai tā rātau rautakī, *Whakatupuranga rua mano.* Kāre rātau i whakahūītī i tā rātau titiro ki te reo ake o Ngāti Raukawa, kāre i parea o rātau tuarā ki te hunga mata-ā-waka e noho ana ki waengangai i a rātau. Ko tā rātau, ko te akiaki i ngā kaikōrero reo Māori katoa ki roto i a rātau kia kōrero Māori ki ngā wāhi katoa. Nā, e toru-tekau mā whitu ngā tau kua hipa, kai te kīte a ngā hua nui kua paea ake ki roto i a rātau. Nā reira, he aha ētahi i pare ai i ō rātau tuarā ki te hunga kōrero Māori o waho atu o Ngāti Kahungunu me te kī ake ‘kaua koe e whakaako i taku tamaiti ki te kōrero Māori, ehara koe i a Ngāti Kahungunu.’ Kātahi hoki, e te iwi e!

I ētahi wā, he karo noa iho tā ētahi. Takeo ana te rongo atu i ētahi e kī mai ana: ‘he “a” ngā mea katoa,’ ‘ki ai aku tipuna, mō koe’, me te huhua noa atu. E hoa mā, he tika anō te tika, he hē anō te hē! Tēnā, whakaaakona te tangata ki te reo Māori. Kā āhua mātātua ana a ia ka tīmata nā tana rapu haere i ētahi kupu ake a Ngāti Kahungunu. Kai te mōhio au, he nui ngā tāngata kai te hiahia kia motuhake ō rātau reo i ō ētahi atu, kāre kau ētahi he mate a ngā tūranga kōrero, ētahi e whakatauhia e te kōrero ana i ō rātau, tēnā, kia tirohia ake nga whānau, kāre au i te whakahē i ō rātau. Āe, e whakaae ana ō rātau me kia whakawhāiti i ō rātau. Āe, ko te hāngai o tā rātau whakatauhia i te kōrero ki ngā ture a Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, e rua, e te reo, ētahi e whakāhia i te reo a ō rātau mātua, me ērā tū kōrero katoa. Heoi, kāre e mārama ana ki ō tātau kaumātua. Kai te tohe ētahi ki ngā ture kua oti nei i Te Taura Whiri Māori e taunuhia ana e te motu mō tā rātau ‘whakahou’ i te reo Māori, ā, e kīia ana he reo tēnei mea nui kia tika taua reo kai te whāngaihia e te kaiwhakaako. Ka hia tau Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, koinei rātau whāinga. Kāre rātau i te paku kite i te rerekētanga o te reo Māori i te rātau i whai nei ko te reo Māori, ahakoa nō hea te kaiwhakaako, ahakoa nō hea te reo, mātua ko te mita ake o Ngāti Kahungunu me mātua mōhio hiahia rātau ki te ako i te mita ake o Ngāti Kahungunu, heoi, e mōhio ana rātau e mau ai i a rātau te hunga kai te whakapono he reo ake tō te iwi nei, he rerekē noa ake i ngā reo o ētahi atu iwi, ā, he rerekē noa ake o Ngāti Kahungunu anahe tā rātau e whai ana, ā, e mārō ana rātau ki tā rātau i kī ai. Koianei roto o Ngāti Kahungunu, ko te reo ake rānei o Ngāti Kahungunu? Nā, kia āta wherawherahia ake, ko ētahi kai te kī reo Māori, ā, he taringa rahirahi te mahi, me kore noa e rangona ētahi erangi, ā, ko ētahi kai te kī te uauatanga o te mahi nei ki te whakawehewehe i te reo kia ko ētahi kai te kī kei me te aorea kū kōrero Māori, ā, ko ētahi kai te kī me te hau, me te aowa, ‘hau, awau, ‘awa, ‘haia, me te aowa wērā. Nā, ka mārakerake te kitea he tūmomo tangi i rā ki te Wai. Kia hoki te aowia, ā, ‘hau, awau, ‘awa, ‘kaukau, kua rongo au. Kia o Hei te Whakakī kua, ko ētahi kai te kī kei me te aowia kū te reo hei (2011) mō te roanga atu o ngā kōrero mō 2 tā rātau kōrero Māori ana. Ko Ngāti Raukawa ki tai te tauira, ki a au nei, kāre i tua atu i ō rātau. Nō titiro kē atu ai ki te whāngai motuhake ō rātau reo i ō ētahi atu, kāre kaukau ētahi tino kau ai ō rātau mātua i tō rātau nā wā. Heoi, he mahi nui tēnei, e kore rawa atu e oti i rito i te wā poto. E hia miriona tāra me whakapau atu ki te kaupapa nei e tino oti pai katoa ai. Koinei anō ētahi mate nui, ko te pūtea.

Mā tēnei whakatipuranga e kohikohi haere ngā kupu ake a Ngāti Kahungunu, māna anō e whakatau he aha hoki te mita ake o Ngāti Kahungunu. Kia oti rā anō i ngā kairangahau nei tērā te whakatau, hai reira rawa pe aua ka kī, āe, koinei te mita ake o Ngāti Kahungunu. Heoi, kaua i tēnei wā tonu nei. Kai reira tētahi hunga pēnei ē i Liz Hunkin, ē i Liz Hunkin, ē i Tākuta Joseph Te Rito, ē i Lee Smith, ē a Hira Huata mā nei e kaha ana tā rātau whakaemi haere i ngā kupu me ngā tū āhua motuhake o te reo i kōrero tāna i ō rātau mātua i tō rātau nā wā. Heoi, he mahi nui tēnei, e kore rawa atu e oti i rito i te wā poto. E hia miriona tāra me whakapau atu ki te kaupapa hei te tino oti pai katoa ai. Koinei anō ētahi mate nui, ko te pūtea.

Mā te pakiaka e tū a i te rākau. Ahakoa e hia manomano kē ngā moemoeā o te iwi, e mārama pāi ana, e kore e taea ērā te whakatutuki ki te kore e kīte a he taha pūtea hai tautāwhi i ērā whāinga. Ahakoa e autoa ngā moni e hōmai ana e te Kāwanatanga ki ēnei tūmomo kaupapa, me tīmata te keri a ngā rūnanga ā-iwi ki rito i ō rātau ake pūkoro hai tautoko i ngā kaupapa whakaroa reo nei. Ahakoa tohea atu ngā rūnanga ā-iwi kia aro nui rātau ki te reo, i te mutunga iho, he maha noa atu ngā kaupapa kai te mātārae o ō rātau whakaaro, ā, ka parea ko te reo ki rāhaki, ki hea noa iho rānei.

Ahakoa te tautoko ā-waha, ā-kōrero nei, he aha hoki te aha! Kī tāku titiro, koinei te mate: ka whakapaua ana he moni ki ētahi atu kaupapa, ka hoki mai he rawa; ka whakapaua ana he moni ki te reo Māori, he aha te aha ka hoki mai? Ahakoa tāku kāwa rawa atu ki tēnā kōrero, e whakapono ana au, he nui ngā rangatira ā-iwi e pēnei ana tā rātau titiro. Nā reira, kua mate ko te tokoiti nei ki te whakapātaritari atu me kore e tahu ki mātua mai ō rātau whakaaro e kore ai rātau i te wāriu nui o te reo. Koinei a u rangirua nei i ngā Māori e kaha nei te whawhai ki te Pākehā kia whakaaro nutritia e rātau ngā āhuatanga o te ao Māori, inā hoki, kāre anō te Māori kia tauri mai ki tōna ake ao.

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He nui tonu ngā mea kāore i te whakapono kia te tāmatemate haere te reo. Kua puta ngā whakatūpato a Te Taraipiuionara o Waitangi (2011), a Te Paepae Motuhake (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011), a Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori e whakahau mai rā ki te kore te iwi e tahuri mai, ka mate te reo. Ahako kīa atu, kīa atu, tē aro mai a ētahi. Hai tā rātau tūtūro, kai te pai noa iho te reo, kai te kōrerotia i ngā kōhanganga reo me ngā kura kaupapa, nā reira he aha tā ētahi e anipā nei? Hai whakamataku i taku iwi, kua tata tonu taku ki atu, ’he parekura nui kai te haere!’ Kua tātai tonu taua parekura ki runga i tō tātau reo Māori, ki te kore e tika i a tātau o tēnei reanga, ka tino mate te reo. Ka aroha hoki a Ngāi Taringa Morimori nei e noho mai rā i te a o moemoeā.

Ahako e ēnei mahi katoa a Te Kaporeihana o Ngāti Kahungunu iwi, ko te pātai nui kai ngā hinengaro te mōtai noa, me pēhea e ngākau reka mai ai te iwi whānui ki tō tātau reo? Me pēhea te whakawai mai i a rātau ki te reo, kia kītea a i rātau, āe mārika, he hua tō te whai te iwi ngā Māori? Ehara i te mea ko Ngāti Kahungunu anahe kai te waha i ēnei tūmomo pātai, auare ake te kītea o te whakautu.

Ahako te pai o ngā rautaki reo Māori, te rawe o te whakakotoko, te ātaahua o te whakaaatu mai, ki te kore e tahuri mai iwi, he aha hoki te aha ka pahawa i te rautaki nei? He kore rawa atu. Ko te mate o ētahi, ka noho nā ki waenganui i o rātau hou kōrero Māori, hai reira ka pōhēhē kai te pai noa iho te ora o te reo. Engari, i roto i te mātoru o te tangata, he tokoitoi noa iho e mōhio ana ki te rautaki a te iwi, he tokoiti kē atu kai te whai hua i te rautaki a te iwi.

Hai reira, ka rere te pātai he aha hoki te wāhi ki ngā rūnanga ā-īwi? Ko ētahi ētahi kai te ki me tūrakī te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, me hoki kītea te mana ki ngā rūnanga ā-īwi, mā rātau anō e whakahaere ngā mahi whakawhauora reo ki rito i a rātau. Ki a u nei, uaua ana tērā kē ētahi iwi. Ākuni pea koirā te whāngia roa, heoi, i tēnei wāhī tonu nei, e kore pe'a te taaea.

E tautoko rawa atu ana au kia māhi tahi te Kāwanatanga me ngā rūnanga ā-īwi, memea rā ka tae ēnei mahi tahi. Ko Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga me Mā Te Reo anahei te whāngia pūtea a te Kāwanatanga e tino tōnoa ana e mātātau. Ko te mate o Mā Te Reo, kāre i te mōhio kia hīia te roa o tērā tahua pūtea, tōna tikanga ka pau ana te ngahuru tau, nā, kua pau. Heoi, kua waimarie anō a Mā Te Reo, ā, ki reira ngā kaitono tuku a i i ērā rātau tōna me kore e makerei mai he paku kongakonga i te tēpā a te Kāwanatu. Kua waimarie a Ngāti Kahungunu i ngā tau nei me te whakaaehia o ērā rātau tōna kē whakataua kaupapa te whakatutukihou, Heoi, e taaea a ki kē ti mōtai o ērā rātau wāhia te whakatautukihou, me tino nui kē atu te moni e whakawhiahi akinana ki ērā tūmomo tahua pūtea pēnei i Mā Te Reo, e ēheia ai te iwi ki te kōtūno ērā rātau. Kua nui taku māharahara mō tō tātau reo Māori hai ngā tau e tū mai nei. E aroha ana au ki ngā rangatira ai.

Hai te Whiringa-ā-nuku o 2013 ka whakatūtia e Ngāti Kahungunu tōna kūtea reo tuatahi ki Ahuriri. Ko te reo Māori tonu te whāngia o tērā kūtea reo, he mea āta whirirangi ngā kāiwhakakao. Ehara i te mea, me Kahungunu te whakapapa, engari he mātanga kītea ki roto i ērā rātau nā māhi. Ko te kūtea reo tōtahi kaupapa me āta tiaki e te Kāwanatanga. Kua rua-tekau-mā-whā ngā tau Te Kūra Reo o Waimārama, ā, koia tonu te mātāmua o ngā kūtea reo kītea. Kai te arotakehi te kaupapa nei i e Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, kia kītea he aha ēnā hua, he aha ēnā painga. Ko te painga o ēnei tūmomo wānanga, he hui rumaki, ka mutu koinei anahe pea te wā e whai wāhi atu ai ngā tauira ki te mōtai o te kaiwhakakao pēnei i a Tākuta Timoti Kāreto, i a Tākuta Te Wharehau Milroy, i a Te Paire Blake, i a Pānia Papa, i a Paraone Glyne, i a Te Haumihia Mason, i a Materoa Haenga, i a Rāhera Shortland mā nei te me te huhua noa atu. Koinei anahe pea te wā o te tau e noho ai te tauira ki roto i te mātotorutanga o te reo Māori. Nā reira, ki a u nei, me uaua ka kore e kītea ngā hua o te kūtea reo.
Ehara i te mea ko te reo anahe, ko tōna kaitautoko, ko ā tātāu tikanga Māori, e haere ngātahi ana, tē taea te whakawehewehe. Ko te kaiwhakatinana o te tikanga ki runga i ō tātāu marae ko te kawa – e haere ngātahi ana. Nā reira, koi wareware ērā tino kaupapa whai take ā tātāu, arā, te tikanga me te kawa me te pānga o ērā ki te reo Māori. Tērā anō tētahi taupatupatu nui o te wā nei, ko te hiahia o etahi kia kotahi te kawa o Ngāti Kahungunu, huri noa. Tutu ana te puehu i ērā huhihuinga, ā, ē kore nō mea i hiahia kia tohutohu e mea, ē kore nō te marae o mea i hiahia kia tāia tōna kawa e te marae o mea mā. Kua tīno pōhara ngā paepae tapu o runga i ngā marae o Ngāti Kahungunu, ā-kaiwhaikōrero mai, ā-kaiwaiata mai, ā-kaiwhaiata mai. Katoa ngā iwi o te motu e pēnei ana.

Nā, kia hoki anō ki te pātai i whiuia mai a ngā kaiwhakarite o te kaupapa nei, arā, e hua rānei tō te reo Māori mō ngā rā kai te heke mai? Tērā tētahi kōrero i kapohia atu e aku taringia i ngā tau nei, e mea ana, 'Tukuna taku reo kia mate rangatira, koi tukuna kia mate taurekareka noa.' Tumeke ana au i tērā kōrero me te whakaaro ēhia, 'e hika mā, nō hea au e whakaae kia mate i a au te reo nei.' Heoi, kai te mārama au ki te tikanga o te kōrero nei. Kai konei tātāu e ngana ana ki te whakaaora i te reo kua tata tonu te manawakiore. Hāi reira, ka rere te pātai, āe rānei me kahua tonu tā tātāu whakaora i te reo kua tata nei te hemo, me tuku rānei e tātāu kia mate rangatira atu? Kai te mōhiotia e kore tātāu e whakaae kia mate te reo ahakoa pēhea, he pai noa ake ina kōrero tōia e te tokoti, i te kore noa ēhia?

E ora ai te reo, me tautoko mai te katoa o Aotearoa whānui. Me tahuri te katoa ki te kōrero i te reo, koirā anahe me huarahi e ora ai. Ahakoa whakapaua atu te hia miriona tāra e te Kāwanatanga, ahakoa te maha o ngā rautaki, ngā wānanga reo, ngā kura reo, aha atu, aha atu, me kōrero te reo e ora ai. Me timata i te kāinga. Ki te kore e kōrero tōia te reo i te kāinga, e kore e kōrero tōia kī wāhi kē atu. Me kōrero Māori te whānau katoa – kuiia mai, kouora mai, mātua mai, tamariki mai, mokopuna mai. Ko tā te hunga kōrero Māori he whakatuitira ake i te wāriu no o te reo Māori ki te ao.

Kai te tino whakaae au ki te whakatenatena a Te Kōhanga Reo e kī nei, 'Ko te reo kia tika, ko te reo kia rere, ko te reo kia Māori!' E kore ngā mātua e whakaae kia whakakona tā rāua tamaiti kī te reo Pākehā e te tangata e kūtū ana kia taua reo rā. Nā reira, he aha rā i whakaaetia ai kia whakakona te tamaiti kī te reo Māori e te tangata e kūtū ana kia taua reo rā. Ka nui ngā takunga ka puta hai taupatupatu i tēnei o aku whakaaro, engari, me whakaae tātāu kia kounga te reo e rangatira aī.

Ka nui taku māharahara mō tō tātāu reo Māori hui ngā tau e tū mai nei. E aroha ana au ki ngā mātua tipuna nā rātāu te reo i whakahere mai kia tā tātāu. Kai te ahatia e tātāu? Kai te ahatia e te whakarēhia e tātāu, kai te pareparea e tātāu, kai te tāmīa e tātāu, kai te tātāhia e tātāu, kai te tukuna e tātāu kia mate. Ko ētahi ka tohe mai, ehara i a mātua te hē, nā tauiwi mātua i hē ai, nā wai atu hoki. Māori mā, kātū rā te kimi takunga. Kai roto i ō tātāu ringaringa te ora o tō tātāu reo. Me pēhea hoki e tautoke mai a ēhia te whakaae kia tūra te tou te ao Māori te whakapau i tōna kaha ki tōna reo? Kai te tino mīhi rā au ki ngā Pākehā e kaha nā tā tātāu ēhia i te reo, ka mutu, he kaha kē atu rātāu i te nuinga o ngā Māori o Aotearoa nei.

E whakaae rawa atu ana au he hua tō te reo Māori mō ngā rā kai te heke mai, heoi anō kia whiuia rā anōtia tēnā pātai ki te motu whānui, kāre e kore, hai reira ka kitea te kore e whakaae mai a te nuinga, kātahi te hanga aroha ko tērā.

Nā reira, tiakina tā tātāu taonga, whakamanuhiritia, whakatairangahia, kōrero tōia! Mā reira pea e kiai ai e te motu, ‘Āpāia! He hua tō te reo Māori mō ngā rā kai te heke mai, ē mārika rawa atu!’
References


*Abstract*

Ka Puananī o te Reo Māori is an innovative one-day a week te reo immersion (Level 1) programme which addresses access to quality te reo education in mainstream schools for years 1-8. This study focused on why the participants chose this programme as a successful model for the delivery of quality te reo Māori education, and what aspects of the programme supported this choice via ‘interviews as chats’, with nine tamariki and 11 whānau members, using semi-structured questions. Ka Puananī whānau identified three initial assumptions underpinning the programme: that students will greatly increase their skills in te reo Māori me ōna tīkanga; that within this enrichment environment participants would form new linkages between the tamariki and whānau across the city; and the potential creation of a new cohort of tamariki and rātākāhia who will be the next generation of te reo speakers. The research found three major themes emerging from the interviews: engagement, whānau tīkanga and cultural identity. The majority of participants reported that they were happy with the programme, that the tamariki were learning and using more te reo, and increasing their reading and writing skills in te reo. All of the whānau and half of the tamariki identified the theme of whānau tīkanga as important. There were numerous cultural benefits identified, such as increased emotional wellbeing, self-esteem, and sense of pride to ‘be Māori’. Whānau also reported wider cultural affiliations, strengthening their links with Kura Kaupapa Māori ki Otepoti, whānau, hapū, and iwi.

*Introduction*

The quality and fluency levels of te reo Māori in educational settings today remains a critical issue for Māori and educators (Hutchings, Barnes, Taupo, Bright, Pihama, & Lee, 2012; Bishop, Berryman, & O’Sullivan, 2010; Penetito, 2010), including whānau in Dunedin who are committed to raising their tamariki in a te reo speaking home environment. For these whānau, transition from their te reo speaking home to the local mainstream school, identified the gap between whānau aspirations of seamless te reo Māori education and the capacity of kura auraki (mainstream) schools. Initial discussions were held among whānau, the local te reo Māori speaking community, Kāi Tahu iwi representatives and the Ministry of Education to explore an alternative te reo environment for tamariki who had attained a high level of fluency of te reo at home and attended their local English speaking school. This paper outlines the benefits and challenges that participants identified from the implementation of a One Day School model as a whānau-led solution to access to quality te reo Māori education in Dunedin: Ka Puananī o Te Reo Māori.

The ‘Ka Puananī o te reo Māori’ name was suggested by a local iwi member, and can be translated as meaning ‘the wind blown seeds of te reo Māori’, which when nurtured, are able to be dispersed out into the wider world, to share their te reo skills. This programme was launched on the 4th of February 2010 as a mobile satellite classroom, initially hosted at Dunedin North Intermediate.
**KA PUANANĪ O TE REO MĀORI AS AN EFFECTIVE MEANS OF TE REO ME ŌNA TIKAKA ENRICHMENT: FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF WHĀNAU AND TAMARIKI**

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**Abstract**

Ka Puananī o te Reo Māori is an innovative one-day a week te reo immersion (Level 1) programme which addresses access to quality te reo education in mainstream schools for years 1-8. This study focused on why the participants chose this programme as a successful model for the delivery of quality te reo Māori education, and what aspects of the programme supported this choice via ‘interviews as chats’, with nine tamariki and 11 whānau members, using semi-structured questions. Ka Puananī whānau identified three initial assumptions underpinning the programme: that students will greatly increase their skills in te reo Māori me ōna tikanga; that within this enrichment environment participants would form new linkages between the tamariki and whānau across the city; and the potential creation of a new cohort of tamariki and raokatahi who will be the next generation of te reo speakers. The research found three major themes emerging from the interviews: engagement, whanaukataka and cultural identity. The majority of participants reported that they were happy with the programme, that the tamariki were learning and using more te reo, and increasing their reading and writing skills in te reo. All of the whānau and half of the tamariki identified the theme of whanaukataka as important. There were numerous cultural benefits identified, such as increased emotional wellbeing, self-esteem, and sense of pride to ‘be Māori’. Whānau also reported wider cultural affiliations, strengthening their links with Kura Kaupapa Māori ki Otepoti, whānau, hapū, and iwi.

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Based on the principle ‘kōrero i te reo Māori anake’ (speak only te reo), Ka Puanani operates as a single class ‘enrichment’ or ‘extension’ programme for one day per week. It is a te reo immersion class for 10 – 20 tamariki from years 1 – 8 who have already developed a high level of fluency in te reo, but whose local school did not have the capacity or skill level to build upon and/or maintain education in te reo Māori. The programme operates as a Level 1 immersion programme (80 – 100% te reo Māori) and is a highly specialized setting where the students not only develop and extend their vocabulary in academic subjects, but also enhance their thought patterns in the target language in a culturally authentic setting (Hinton & Hale, 2001).

Ka Puanani whānau made three initial assumptions about outcomes of the programme: that the students in this programme would greatly increase their skills in te reo Māori me ōna tīkanga; that there would be increased links across the city for the te reo speaking community; and that these linkages would build a cohort of tamariki to be the te reo Māori leaders of the future. The aim of this research was to support the above whānau goals by exploring this initiative as a ‘potential model of success’ for teaching te reo Māori from the perspective of whānau and tamariki. This study focused on why the participants chose this particular programme as a successful model for the delivery of quality te reo me ōna tīkanga, and what aspects of the programme supported this choice.

Method

The overarching framework for this study is Kaupapa Māori research, chosen because it reflects the evolving process from which the research has been instigated and is a ‘cultural fit’ for Māori research (G. Smith, 2003; Bishop, 1995). Ka Puanani is instigated by Māori, predominately for Māori (but not exclusively), and assumes the legitimacy and validity of te ao Māori (Māori worldview) based within Māori philosophies and Māori cultural principles (Bishop, 1999; G. Smith, 2003). When research is initiated and carried out by local people working within local settings, generating local solutions to local problems, it sits appropriately within a Kaupapa Māori framework (L. T. Smith, 1999).

The methodological perspective adopted was designed to measure success from the perspective of whānau and tamariki and for on-going sustainability issues in relation to funding and credibility. This presented an opportunity for the researcher to document the process on behalf of and for the whānau. This research project used the ‘kanohei-ki-te-kanohei’ approach with the participants, through the method of semi-structured, informal ‘interviews as chats’ to elicit information (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). The researcher positioned herself as an ‘insider/outsider’ researcher (L. T. Smith, 1999). The ‘insider’ perspective developed from being part of the local Māori community, sharing similar interests and views on things Māori; specifically to support the kaupapa and build an evidence base of the programme from the participants’ perspectives (Bishop, 1999).
The researcher met with 11 whānau members and nine tamariki at a place and time that was suitable to them, at the initial and year-end stages of the programme. The raw data were transcribed into interview transcripts and analyzed using a thematic analysis approach (Mutch, 2005). The researcher used this qualitative strategy to look for synergies and discrepancies between the two interviews. As the themes emerged, these were subsequently sorted, along with quotes and expressions, into piles that align (Weller & Romney, 1988, cited Bernard & Ryan, 2003). A coding system was developed that allowed the quotes from the participants to remain unaltered and anonymous. Each tamariki was allocated a number between one and nine, and under each heading the researcher identified matching quotes or transcripts of their responses for each of the five questions. The same method was applied for whānau and ascribed a letter from A – I.

Three Kete of Kōrero

There were three major themes emergent from the data: engagement; whanaunakataa (building relationships); and cultural identity. The discourse around engagement included the advantages and challenges of the engaging ‘process’, how the level of te reo Māori impacted on the programme and the role of kaako. The second theme explored is whanaunakataa - a sense of connectedness and the process of growing relationships within te reo Māori speaking communities. The emergence of cultural identity as the third theme highlights the important role of cultural dissemination, cultural benefits realized from the programme and the wider cultural affiliations gained by participants outside of their home.

Engagement: Opening the doorway

Several layers of the engagement theme emerged as critical components of the programme. Initially, how the participants became involved in the programme and their levels of enjoyment were reviewed. Another aspect explored was the challenge of a one-day a week programme. The third topic covered the continuum of te reo Māori levels. Lastly, the role of kaako in creating an environment that is conducive to an immersion environment is discussed.

There were two reasons why all of the tamariki were involved in Ka Puananī: the desire of their whānau for them to participate; and the opportunity for enrichment of te reo me ōna tikanga Māori. Seven of the tamariki had developed an understanding about what they expected from the programme, such as “It helps me learn Māori and more words than the start of the year, when I didn’t know lots more kupu” (5); and “The use of te reo is important to me” (6). The majority of the tamariki were able to articulate potential ‘measurements of success’, from an increase in the amount of words known, being happy with the programme, to “He pai te mahi (the work is good)” (7). The older tamariki identified specific reasons why te reo was important to them: “To learn Māori, to do it at high school, to talk Māori again” (4); or the desire to apply their language skills “to try to use the language as much as I could” (3). Such comments reflect that tamariki are cognisant of the pivotal role te reo has within the programme, an appreciation of the language, eagerness to learn, and the desire to develop their language skills (Hinton & Hale, 2001).

For all of the whānau, the importance of te reo Māori was the overarching theme for enrolling the tamariki into the programme. One whānau added “All of us as parents want our children to have te reo opportunities because it is important for them and, in securing their mindset, more important than anything else” (e). Whānau desired an authentic cultural context (Hinton & Hale, 2001) to deliver “good quality reo, creativity with language, using te reo actively, love of the reo,
reo in action, different style of learning, out and about with the reo” (f). None of the whānau referred to a language ‘test’ as evidence of increased te reo levels, preferring a broader vision of what success looked like to them, such as loving it, valuing te reo as a taoka, or using te reo as the language of communication, especially with their siblings. Whānau had high expectations of a quality te reo Māori learning environment that validated and legitimized te reo Māori as the language of instruction, thus ‘naturalizing’ the (Māori) culture to alter the cultural behavior to be the natural way that things are performed (Lo Bianco, 2000).

The challenge of ‘engaging’ with a one day a week programme was an issue for some tamariki, especially with regards to the expectation of having to ‘catch up’ on the loss of one day’s work each week, with some initial resistance from older tamariki. Eight out of the 11 whānau reported that their tamariki seemed happy with the programme; with three whānau identifying that te reo fluency levels can be a challenge. This can impact on the ability of the tamariki to engage in the programme, which may result in a ‘drop off’ or withdrawal from the programme. Several whānau further identified that their own levels of te reo were also a challenge to supporting their tamaiti as a majority of the whānau are “second language learners also” (a): “My reo is not as good as his, it’s holding him back. We are disappointed because of my commitment to the reo at home. We didn’t support as much as we could have, should have been doing more to strengthen our te reo” (c). This reinforces the importance of continuing to use te reo as the main language within the home after their tamariki start school (as whānau often did during the early years) (Fishman, 1994, cited in Cantoni, 2007; King, 2009, cited Reyhner & Lockard, 2009; McCarty, 2008).

The level of te reo Māori excellence is an integral component to the success of Ka Puananī as an enrichment programme. With regard to the ability to engage and participate, over half of the tamariki reported that they did not find the fluency levels difficult. Their perceptions are contrasted by two whānau members who expected the fluency levels to be higher: “In reality I thought that there would be a higher level of reo and a higher level of understanding. The reo isn’t as strong, and the difficulty is when the children only have 20-40% understanding and it makes it easy to fall out of the programme” (i). The challenge for immersion programmes can be the lower level of fluency in the target language and/or the lack of whānau support and subsequent difficulties of maintaining a te reo environment (King, 2001, cited in Hinton & Hale, 2001).

The role of kaiako is integral to creating a safe and secure second language environment. Several tamariki and whānau noted that kaiako supported them to overcome any language difficulties and were appropriate indigenous role models: “I have no concerns that it is going to be modeled in the wrong way. It’s emotionally safe for your child”(e). Overall the comments reflect that the two kaiako are a good combination, work well together and offer a well-developed programme. Kaiako were acknowledged for their skills, effort and expertise in engaging the students whilst also being able to develop strong, robust, working relationships outside of the classroom: “The relationship between the whānau and the schools, the schools willingness to support, and how much the children had accomplished. They’ve done a lot of mahi” (i).

Whanaukata: The importance of relationships

The theme of whanaukata (building relationships) is illustrated by three interconnecting segments: ‘whanaukata’, whakawhanaukata and Kura Kaupapa Māori. ‘Whanaukata’ was specifically mentioned by all of the whānau and four of the tamariki. One tamaiti noted what was good about being part of the programme was “being with my mate” (7), and another shared that s/he “liked being part of the whānau and looking after the younger kids” (3). The skill of being able to share knowledge and take care of those younger ones is reflected in the cultural concept
of tuakana/teina. The building of a caring whānau-like environment is the optimal ingredient in any learning environment (Bishop & Berryman, 2006).

Whanuakatanga plays an essential role in the aim of connecting together te reo Māori speakers. For Māori, it is the ‘glue’ that supports inter-dependence and the drive towards a collective vision. The idea of coming together as a ‘collective whānau’ was described by a whānau: “We see each other outside of kura, the parents know the other parents, the parents all know the tamariki, it is a Matua, Whaea situation” (e). This reinforces that the Ka Puanani whānau already have an established level of kinship, which aligns with King’s (2001) view on Te Kōhanga movement in providing an environment where traditional values are renewed and strong kinship ties are maintained (Hinton & Hale, 2001). Similarly, Lo Bianco’s (2000) states that such bonds are more than just parents of children who go to school together. He states that for some parents: “ethnic school is an extension of the family where they can find models of good behavior and experience mutual respect and love. The teachers are often called ‘Uncle’ and Auntie’ (Lo Bianco, 2000:25).

The concept of ‘whakawhanaungatanga’ was also a common thread amongst whānau. Whakawhanaungatanga has been described as the art of establishing connections between friends and family, or the activity of building or growing whanaukataa or kin relations (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). For example, one whānau identified that Ka Puanani offered a much wider circle of friends and community for their tamariki to be a part of: “At mainstream she has one friend but at Ka Puanani she thinks of all of them as friends, it’s a joy to go . . . She loves coming, loves the kaiako and Ka Puanani tamariki. We are also friends with the Ka Puanani community. It’s about whakawhanaungatanga” (e).

The idea of growing a community of te reo speakers was a concept expressed by two tamariki who had expectations that they would be spending time with “a group of children that speak Māori and everyday their level of Māori goes up” (8 & 9). Both tamariki and whānau were cognisant that if te reo is going to survive as an indigenous language, then there is a need to build a community of te reo Māori speakers to keep it alive. One whānau said, “We have reo in our home but that’s te reo between the parent and the child, not the language amongst children themselves. [It] builds a group of friends that they can speak Māori with” (i); with another whānau pinpointing the programme as “a place where other tamariki who could interact in te reo. One of the purposes was to create a community of te reo speakers” (b).

For several whānau, the level of ‘whakawhanaungatanga’ had grown beyond the walls of the classroom and led to more involvement within the local Māori community. One whānau talked about their growing involvement: “Kōhanga, Kura Kaupapa, mainstream, we are growing his involvement of te ao Māori. On Tuesday we go to mau rākau together, and for holidays we participated in the tamariki programme at Puketeraki Marae. We are growing our participation in the Māori community and his sense of being part of it” (f).

Several other whānau have also committed to extending their support networks and building their own te reo Māori skills. One parent has recently taken on a role as a bilingual teacher in a new bilingual unit, one of Ka Puanani contributing schools. Two other whānau have enrolled in Te Ara Reo at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and they are hoping to enroll at Kura Reo, a Kāi Tahu iwi-based immersion week. The resurgence of interest in learning te reo as a whānau, suggests that they are cognizant of extending their own levels of fluency in the home (Hinton & Hale, 2001). The commitment to immerse tamariki within a te reo Māori environment goes hand in hand with the expectation that their whānau will also provide a te reo Māori speaking environment within the home (Hornberger, 2008; May & Hill, 2005; Tangaere, 2006).
The next generation of te reo Māori speakers in Dunedin are attending Ka Puanani. This is a critical component, as "creating a community is the hardest part of stabilizing a language" (Cantoni, 2007:80). Six out of the 11 Ka Puanani whānau shared that they had already been engaged in a Māori medium education setting, either attending Te Kōhanga Reo or Kura Kaupapa Māori. Ka Puanani shares a similar bonding pattern in relation to the socialization of other families that belong to ethnic schools (Lo Bianco, 2000) and the creation of a ‘new space’ where friendships, experiences and ideologies can be nurtured (Hornberger, 2005 & 2008; McCarty, 2008; Tangaere, 2006).

The theme of ‘whanaukata’, the desire to come together to support each other and grow te reo is an integral ingredient in keeping people connected. It was an important concept to almost half of the tamariki and to all of the whānau. Whānau also described the process of ‘whakawhanaukata’, and both whānau and tamariki had a vision of uniting te reo Māori speakers from across the city to have the opportunity to speak Māori at school. Several whānau reflected on their prior experience within Māori medium education and identified a natural link to these settings. These six whānau highlighted the growing connections and inter-relationships between their tamariki and the wider te reo Māori speaking community, including links to Kura Kaupapa and Kāi Tahu.

Cultural Identity: Sense of belonging

The third theme that emerged from the data is the concept of ‘cultural identity’: how people view themselves, compare themselves, and relate to others. For many indigenous programs, the notion of cultural identity and appreciation comes through more strongly than academic considerations (Lo Bianco, 2000). This theme explores the role of mother tongue; the natural process of intergenerational transmission within the home; the holistic approach of the programme; and how Ka Puanani acts as a driver for cultural connectedness of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Indigenous languages are inseparable from cultural identity (Cantoni, 2007), and this message is also consistent within Māori-medium education in Aotearoa (Ministry of Education, 2008). The home is the fundamental key to keeping the mother tongue and culture alive, making it the cornerstone to language and cultural revitalization (Fishman, 1994 cited in Cantoni, 2007). The majority of Ka Puanani whānau are second language learners and bilingual in te reo Māori and English, with some whānau being multi-lingual. These whānau have taken their “rightful position as first teachers of the indigenous language within their homes” (Cantoni, 2007: xii). Whānau identified their responsibility to use the language within their homes, both at an individual and whānau level: “The reo is our responsibility as whānau, we can’t expect others to do it for him, but we expect him to use the skills that he has” (g).

Several whānau identified the natural process of intergenerational transmission within their home, valuing te reo as a gift to be handed down to future generations. One whānau identified both future benefits and their role in it: “To sit around the tea table and converse in te reo would be ideal. For him to recognize and value the reo as a toanga, to be passed down, and we were part of that growth” (f). The intergenerational component was also articulated by another whānau: “[It’s] intergenerational transmission, doing it for us but also the bigger picture, for future generations. The journey is worthwhile and successful when I hear our kids speak to their kids in te reo and our mokopuna speak te reo” (g). The fact that whānau identified that they are responsible for passing te reo on to their tamariki is a strong sign that whānau are passionate and committed to inter-generational transmission within their own home (Fishman, 1994, cited in Cantoni, 2007; Hinton & Hale, 2001).
Ka Puanani whānau valued the programme’s holistic approach to the wellbeing and security of not only their tamariki and whānau, but the future health of te reo Māori. One whānau emphasized the responsibility and urgency of maintaining te reo: “We are in a crisis situation with language revitalization. With the level of excellence and fluency of our native speakers [diminishing], it’s up to our generation to do something and for the next generation to carry it through” (b). This whānau realizes the rapidly declining status of te reo as less people speak Māori within their home, and the potential loss of knowledge through the attrition of native speakers (Cantoni, 2007). The urgency for this generation to make a difference is also raised by Littlebear (2007), who states that the “responsibility for saving our language is ours and ours alone; we are the pivotal generation” (Cantoni, 2007: xiii).

Fishman (1994) suggests that a sense of responsibility to save one’s language stems from a moral commitment which is imperative because it is kinship related, and the loss of a language equates to the loss of how your family lived (cited in Cantoni, 2007). Ka Puanani also operates on a kinship level, and became a driver for cultural connectedness of tamariki and whānau. Several whānau identified that knowing te reo strengthens the pride, cultural identity and emotional wellbeing of their tamariki and whānau: “To feel confident and competent to go on to a marae and do a mihi, to be comfortable as a Māori, to help him to be strong, to know who he is” (g); or, from another point of view, “To be part of a unique rōpū, to have pride with te reo and pride in themselves, to be self confident and for their emotional wellbeing” (e). These whānau were able to identify that their tamariki feel confident to participate proudly within their culture and te reo, which subsequently contributes to their pride, cultural identity and wellbeing. Language is a major indicator of cultural identity and critical to confirmation of one’s self-identity (Penetito, 2010; Reyhner & Lockard, 2009; Duff & Duanduan, 2009).

The experience of Ka Puanani opened the door for several whānau to wider cultural affiliations with other whānau, hapū and iwi. Authentic Māori cultural practices undertaken and taught within the programme help build a sense of belonging, pride and cultural affiliation between the participants: “She now has peers that she knows as a community. She loves ‘being Māori’ and has a sense of pride. At Manu Kōrero poroporoaki, when the waiata started she jumped up and said, “He mōhio au” and ran off and joined them on stage” (e). Her participation in the programme provided the platform for her to participate because she felt confident in her own skills and expertise in this area.

For several other whānau, participating in Ka Puanani was an opportunity to connect with other whānau of similar whakapapa, to extend and widen their local tribal links. One tamaiti added that s/he was “Kind of less whakamā . . . The language is living on and speaking more Māori . . . I’ve learnt more about my iwi and where they’ve lived” (1). The opportunity to learn about tupuna is a vital link to whakapapa and cultural identity, because it provides an overview on where they fit. One whānau said that the programme offered “a chance to extend their knowledge on Ngāi Tahutanga, to live it and share it with others” (b). Classroom knowledge was enhanced by whānau through a number of mechanisms: “They receive culture through Ka Puanani, through kapa haka and dance, the process, mihi, mihi. We took a hikoi in November, we are in regular contact with Huirapa, knowing whānau, and there is a sense of belonging. We now have chunks of quality time instead of bits and pieces” (f).

Cultural identity is maintained and preserved for participants in Ka Puanani. Several whānau articulated their role in the responsibility of raising their tamariki within a te reo Māori speaking home, the natural process for transmitting reo to the next generation, and the role Ka Puanani
plays in wider cultural revitalization. Both tamariki and whānau appreciated the holistic approach towards wellbeing and/or cultural security, including benefits such as increased sense of pride, self-confidence, emotional wellbeing, and ‘being Māori’. Whānau and tamariki appreciated the opportunity to learn more about the local history and knowledge of Kāi Tahu, the local iwi. This resulted in strengthening the links of two Kāi Tahu whānau with their local hapū, marae, and whenua.

Conclusion

In summary, tamariki enrolled in Ka Puananī are learning and using more te reo, whilst also increasing their reading and writing skills in te reo Māori. The level of te reo could be a challenge for half of the tamariki and one third of the whānau, which motivated whānau to further develop the reo within their home environment. The kaiako were acknowledged for their skills, effort and expertise in engaging the students. Whānau clearly identified their responsibility in the role of intergenerational transmission within their own homes and the urgency of carrying te reo into the future. Some tamariki and all of the whānau acknowledged the importance of ‘whanaualuka’ as intricately connecting Ka Puananī whānau, and their shared experiences of ‘whakawhanaualuka’ deepening over time as a result of a collective shared vision.

The benefits of the programme ranged from an increased self-confidence, to emotional wellbeing, to a sense of pride or stronger identity in ‘being Māori’. Whānau also reported wider cultural affiliations, through the strengthening of links with Kura Kaupapa Māori ki Ōtepoti, whānau, hapū, and iwi.

Ka Puananī is largely driven by committed whānau who are also community leaders in te reo Māori, sharing a vision of creating a te reo speaking community for their tamariki and for the survival of te reo in Dunedin. These key leaders have the skills, drive, determination, expertise, commitment and experience to make a vision become a reality. Ka Puananī tamariki and whānau have achieved their three initially set goals: an increase in te reo me ōna tika skills; greater links between the Dunedin te reo speaking community; and establishing and maintaining a cohort of te reo speaking tamariki.

Ka Puananī o te Reo Māori is an effective means of te reo me ōna tika enrichment from the perspective of tamariki and whānau. It is tino rākatirataka in action, a te reo Māori speaking community committed to thinking and working outside of the square to meet the educational needs of their tamariki and the aspirational desires of whānau and tūpuna. Ka Puananī has provided a portal for tamariki and whānau to access and enhance their cultural and historical knowledge of the local environment and to become more involved within the local iwi and Māori community.
References


RESEARCHING CRITICAL AND SENSITIVE ISSUES

DR PAUL REYNOLDS AND DR CHERRYL SMITH

Te Atawhai o Te Ao

Researching Critical and Sensitive Issues

Many Indigenous peoples share an understanding of how colonisation or historical trauma has forced them from homelands, removed languages and even reshaped their identities. Indigenous research is now providing a substantial evidence base for the impacts on the health and wellbeing of people through the generations. Research by Māori and Indigenous Peoples is increasing in this area (for example: Hirini et al, 2005; Walters et al, 2011). Historical trauma intersects with the current high rates of trauma exposure by Māori across a range of health and social indices. The too often quoted negative statistics about Māori invisibilise the fact that many Māori are victims of contemporary trauma as survivors of violence, imprisonment, self-harm, victims of assault, victims of motor vehicle accidents, victims of traumatic brain injury, victims of combat trauma, first responder trauma, and many other reasons.

The critical and sensitive issues we talk about in this article apply to those who have faced highly traumatic events. For Māori, sensitivity is also often underlain with ‘tapu’ and ‘mana’ (Edwards et al, 2005). For Māori there are implicit actions and protocols required when tapu is a consideration. Protocols regarding death, dying and memories of the dead can invoke these protocols. Issues of the trampling of a person’s mana or the mana of a whanau collective are issues that require restoration and rebalancing. Again these are situations that require sensitivity to process.

What can also make research sensitive is if there is potentially significant risk to the participants. Sensitive research can involve dealing with often very private and stressful memories. Sensitive research can involve exposure of information that can cause the person to be stigmatised or even incriminated. At the extreme end of risk are potential health risks, such as sending a participant into a catatonic state or into depression.

Sensitive research can also have risks for the researchers. Interviewing prisoners for example can be potentially life threatening. The personal safety of researchers can be threatened. Research can also be politically sensitive in the sense that there can be a public backlash to the research; for example, research on same sex rape could be viewed as subverting traditional values by conservative groups.

This article outlines methods and approaches that we as researchers have found to be important when working with Māori trauma survivors. Research work undertaken at Te Atawhai o te Ao over a number of years has resulted in the development of specific research practices and skills. These practices and skills were learnt working with Māori whanau across a range of research projects. There was no manual and there were no guidelines when undertaking this work. Although there was literature on researching with trauma survivors, this literature focused on western practices and assumed a western cultural setting. Parts of it we found useful, as we will explain in this article, but overall it was Māori themselves who had faced specific trauma events that we learnt the most from. Also, the strong cultural values that underpin Māori relationships were a natural fit.
Kaupapa Māori Research

We locate ourselves as Kaupapa Māori researchers, which means that our methods and practices are informed by Māori ways of doing things, Māori values and principles and Māori communities. We often have to define our view of 'health', as health can mean different things to different people. If you work in forensics in a laboratory, your definition of health is completely different from someone who is nursing children with respiratory conditions. Our definition of health comes from the Māori notion of health as 'Te Hauora o te Taiao – o Papatuanuku; o Tangaroa; o Rongo; o Tane Mahuta; o Te Tangata' (health in terms of the environment, the earth, the seas, lands, forests and of people).

Through the early years of Te Atawhai o Te Ao the focus of our research was on individuals and whanau within the context of their iwi. These projects were about how contemporary trauma events impacted on individuals and their whanau. Colonisation was not ignored but the historical iwi trauma events were in the background. Our focus tended to be on specific contemporary issues with an implicit understanding of the historical and social context, for example in projects that looked at Māori infertility, Māori Communities exposed to toxins, and the health of Vietnam Veterans and their whanau.

Asking Questions That Māori Feel Are Valuable

Each topic of inquiry has taken at least two years to develop into a research project. This has been because each topic has been spoken about and canvassed a great deal among whanau, kaumatua, Māori providers, and others. Research topics are usually brought to us or are conversations within iwi communities. These ideas are then talked about with a range of experts1 and people affected by the topic in particular. The topic has to last through extensive discussion to see if it is important for communities to know about. Also, experts in the field, if there are any, are consulted about the issue. This part of the research process is critical because it shapes the topic and the way in which data will be gathered alongside of, and within, communities.

Creating and Building on Relationships

Special access and consent processes were required for each project. Examining and researching sensitive issues such as infertility, rape or impacts of war can mean that there can be barriers to accessing appropriate participants. The underlying ethic we as researchers operated by was that those closest to the issue are tuakana (respected elders) in the research. For example, with the Vietnam Veterans project, key Māori veterans were leading the process of the research and had final say over those processes. Sometimes our key contact at home would travel with us to the interviews out of town.

For each project that was carried out by Te Atawhai o Te Ao there was often a pre-existing relationship to some of the participants or people affected, which sometimes included ourselves as researchers. From this starting point, the research team that was put together utilized their

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1 Experts can be a range of Māori who have experience in the topic, who have developed analysis, who have a strong cultural base to consider the issues, whanau workers, people who work across whanau, hapu and iwi or in urban areas.
extensive networks and connections with Māori from around the country in order to identify key players in the research area and experts in the field. Researchers and interviewers therefore already had established relationships or links to key interviewees, community, organizations and providers. As much as possible we wanted these contacts to lead the research within their own communities and networks. But if this was not possible, there was another layer out which was utilized which included for example whanau of the issue, friend of the issue, or iwi location of the issue.

**Storage of Data**

Because the purpose of the Vietnam Veterans project was to gather filmed testimonies from veterans for their whanau, testimonies needed to be available for future generations. Currently toxin impacts appear to be continuing to exacerbate health problems of Veterans’ children and grandchildren. At this time, it is unknown how many generations will continue to feel the effects of toxin exposure by the veterans. We estimated that there are approximately 20,000 Māori descendants from the Māori vets who went to Vietnam (Te Atawhai o te Ao, 2010). Future generations need to hear the testimony of their grandfather or great grandfather. Veterans were in agreement with this process, but special consideration needed to be made on who would have access to this archive. This necessitated conversations and negotiations over more than a year with Māori staff from within the National Film Archives, who we believed would be the appropriate repository for the films, in absence of iwi archives. At the time, Barry Barclay was working with them to develop ethical consent processes for depositing Māori film footage and archives. We also had several meetings with Barry and his team to discuss the best method for depositing these testimonials. The process that was agreed upon involved gaining consent from each veteran at the time of filming and for them to nominate a kaitiaki from within their whanau who would act as their representative if they were unavailable. A copy of the filmed testimonial was sent to each veteran for their use, and a copy was sent to the National Film Archives to be deposited and only accessible by whanau or by someone who had gained consent to view from the veteran or their kaitiaki.

**Breaking Silence**

Silence can be a common response to trauma events. Many times when talking to Māori who have had traumatic events in their lives, we have found it to be a common experience that they would not have discussed the topic with anyone else before in such depth. The interviews lasted for over one hour, which can be an intensive process. We found it common for the person to have maintained a silence around the actual events even though others, such as whanau, may have known that they had been through traumatic events. Because of the strength of family as a way of interpreting the world, Māori can believe that an assault against a person within the whanau is an assault against them all. In the case of Māori veterans, some purposely maintained silence so as not to burden whanau.

Being silenced is an ongoing issue for Māori. Racism is an ongoing issue for Māori as many Māori commentators have noted and this is documented across a number of studies, for example Harris et al. (2006). High rates of failure in schools mean that Māori can also leave schools believing they have little to contribute to analysis, to reflection, to understanding life and assisting in providing solutions for change among Māori.
Interviews can be times of profound reflection for a person who has been through traumatic events. During interviews they can gain significant understanding in talking through their experiences and can be strengthened. The talking can give shape and language to complex feelings and experiences that can enable them to rehearse a way of talking their story to others. Grief and loss can be expressed, which again interviewers need to be able to appropriately respond to. When undertaking interviews this can also lead into people reflecting about making plans for the future.

Decolonisation

Throughout all of our projects is an awareness of us as a people in a context of colonisation/decolonisation, and the ways Māori are struggling to revive and retain language and cultural strength. When looking at the issue of trauma, what impacts one, impacts the many. There is a range of writing that looks at traditional responses to traumatic impact, such as assaults on women (Pere, 1982: 17-18), and instances of abuse against women and children (Milroy, 1994). What was clear was that violence and abuse were not culturally sanctioned and were punished. Also, there is no inherent tendency for Māori to be violent, despite the search for the 'warrior' gene and the numerous talkback assertions. But stigma is causing some Māori to assume these arguments are true. This is an ongoing important part of research work also, to dispel myths, to decolonize and deconstruct these myths.

Understanding place

Place is an important underlying issue for Māori research because of the initial process of making iwi connections before beginning conversations. Finding out if there are whakapapa and whānau connections, if any, is an important starting point. These conversations often provide important information, as they not only give vital information of a person’s iwi and hapu connections but also how culturally strong they are in terms of affiliation to hapu and their own iwi. They provide information on their experience as urban based Māori and which marae, if any, they may associate with. Often iwi connections are highly valued in Māori research, for example, for most of our projects local researchers were employed to interview people from their rohe who had a connection to the research areas. However, when this was not possible, for example when projects were not funded as in the Māori Vietnam Veterans project, access was facilitated through key contacts or through personal networks.

Another issue related to place was where the interview was conducted. For Māori prisoners the place was pre-determined but how and where the interview was held was dependent on the where the Management for each Correctional facility was able to house us during the normal operation of the prison. For some, interviews were held in small meeting rooms with guards waiting outside, others were in the programme facility rooms along with a class of prisoners doing a carpentry course for example, and others were held in specialist meeting rooms with panic buttons under the desks, and for another a prisoner was locked in a containment cell while the interview was conducted through bars. The place in these circumstances was not the most conducive to conversation but they allowed us a maximum of one hour with each prisoner to talk about issues that related to their successful reintegration.
For Māori Vietnam veterans however, the most common place for interviews was at the local RSA. Veterans felt comfortable there and could go straight from the interview to the clubrooms for a drink with their mates afterwards. The interviews themselves were more often than not emotional and few veterans left the interview without shedding tears at various points, so being able to go straight to the bar afterwards was important.

**Trust**

A key understanding of any research is trust between researchers and the researched. This is particularly an issue for Māori who have suffered exploitative and damaging research. It was important to participants in some projects that Te Atawhai o Te Ao was an independent Kaupapa Māori research institute, that is non-governmental and non-university, but based within community. The veterans were particularly happy that we were non-governmental because they had had enough of telling their stories and concerns to Government appointed Commissioners who did not listen to them or their whanau. This was also important to Māori prisoners who were interviewed in prison. Talking to someone who was independent of the Corrections Department made talking about the issues related to reintegration easier.

A key factor in trauma research is the issue of trust and comfortability with the interviewer. Whilst gender, age and ethnicity are considerations when thinking about an appropriate interviewer, these are not the primary consideration. Trust and comfortability is important and this is often only worked out in interaction. Sensitivity, silence and a preparedness to hear the worst aspects of human behavior and to be able to suspend judgement during the time of the interview is extremely important. Emotional responses in the Māori world can vary significantly to emotional responses in the Pakeha world. Trust is also shown throughout the research process in stages, and through appropriate behavior through the life of the research project. When we interviewed in prisons, a key issue for the prisoners was not whether we looked or sounded like them but whether we were trustworthy and honest.

**Keeping everyone safe**

When working with participants who have been impacted by trauma, which is often multiple and complex, we were aware that we had to develop methods that were cognizant of ‘vicarious trauma’ and the potential to ‘retraumatise.’ This was particularly relevant when conducting interviews with Māori Vietnam veterans.

The purpose of these processes was to keep the veterans safe from secondary traumatisation, or re-traumatisation, or triggering trauma responses such as flashbacks. PTSD of Māori veterans is well recognized (MacDonald et al., 1997). What is not as well recognized is the PTSD impacts or vicarious trauma, on wider whanau post-war (Davidson & Mellor, 2001).

Non-Indigenous research draws a clear line between ‘therapy’ and ‘research’. This distinction can only exist when whanaungatanga is not the basis of your connection.

Specific processes were developed for interviewing participants. In considering the impacts of trauma we had to think of the impacts of the interview on the participants and also the interviewers, which included the film person we used in the Vietnam veterans interviews. What needs to be acknowledged here is that veterans were already politically active in raising the issues affecting themselves and their whanau, and were therefore seeking ways of telling their
stories so that they could lobby government and the Veterans Affairs Department for much needed assistance.

The processes we developed came out of a pilot interview with a Māori veteran who we had known for several years. He was able to assist and guide us around what issues were potentially problematic with veterans in the interview process. He became a navigator for all dealings with vets, an intermediary who explained our work to the veterans, vouched for our trustworthiness and also identified and pre-arranged meetings with the veterans. Once he had been through an interview he was able to vouch for the safety of the process to the veterans. Despite all this, the interviews were never going to be easy for the veterans because of the traumatic memories they would be talking about. What strengthened their resolve in doing the interview was the fact that without doing the interview, their children and grandchildren would be worse off when attempting to deal with any arising health issues.

We were aware in interviewing combat veterans that there was a need to change interviewers so that one interviewer was able to rest. Listening to account after account of harrowing traumatic incidents can have an impact. What we couldn’t do was change the camera person who had specific technical expertise. He began to experience harrowing dreams and became upset after listening and filming continuously. Out of that we moved to seek specialist help to better understand ‘vicarious trauma’ and worked with a specialist psychiatrist who gave us specific techniques for alleviating trauma during the filming and interviewing. Veterans and whanau also attended that training.

For interviewers, there were some stories that have remained and will remain for life. You have to accept as a researcher a certain amount of stress, anguish, anxiety and that the stories can trigger sadness, horror and other responses. To a certain degree that is normal but there is a point at which it can be harmful or have longer term consequences.

We wanted the veterans to be as comfortable as possible during the interview so we ensured there was flexibility in our processes. Anyone could be in the room who they wanted there. Some vets were interviewed in groups, some with a partner, some with children, some alone, and some had key whanau members present. Other veterans were always around the interview venue. If the person was fearful or anxious when we met them we tended to ask them if they would rather we got straight on with the interview first and did everything else later. When in a state of anxiety, small talk can exacerbate anxiety as their desire is just to get the interview over as soon as possible. Others wanted to know who we were first by having a cup of tea, eating, chatting, and looking at photos.

**Talking trauma**

The ways in which people talk is also important when recalling traumatic events. It became apparent that when they began talking they would appear to enter a different world. As a listener it appeared that they were really in dialogue with themselves. It was therefore better to keep silent because the more you intervened, the more you took them out of their world. You also needed to trust as an interviewer that the interviewees were going into this world to talk their story, and understanding that they would come out of that world once they had completed the process. From a Māori perspective, this entering another world is logical as Māori beliefs acknowledge that we live within Te Ao Marama, the world of light, but can move into other worlds when we are in other states, such as into Te Po, in order to access particular knowledge.
Māori process can often be clearly demarcated by having clear entry and exit points to process. These clear points of entry were demarcated by karakia, to acknowledge the importance and sanctity of what was to be discussed, to provide protections for the journey for all those present and all those who had passed on. Two significant exits are important for coming back to the present time. One was to end the interviews with questions that affirmed health in this world, whether it is discussion of a strength of the person or discussion about children or grandchildren. The important thing is to bring the person back to this world. The other can be karakia to conclude and to acknowledge and settle the talk and to bring the person back to this world. Food and drink is also another clear movement from that world to this world, and it is considered extremely important to share relaxed talk.

The veterans had their own processes at the end of the interview to de-stress and come down from the interview, which included talking to other veterans, and most of the interviews with veterans were conducted in RSA’s.

**Have there been transformations over time?**

Kaupapa Māori research is about transformation (Smith, L.T., 1999; Smith, G.H., 1997; Pihama, 2001). Research has to have a focus on transformative outcomes. Part of this process of transformation includes providing an analysis of the wider impacts of trauma that include looking at: the impacts on whanau, hapu and iwi; the political context; and the historical/colonial impacts of trauma.

When looking back on the work that Te Atawhai o Te Ao has been doing since 2004, transformations have occurred over time. We have seen an increase in visibility of the health issues that we have researched across a range of forums. We have seen a range of changes from personal stories through to systematic overhaul of a government department’s processes with Māori. We have also seen an increasing focus on the impacts of historical/colonial and intergenerational trauma.

The critical and sensitive issues we talked about in this article apply to those who have faced highly traumatic events. This outline of methods and approaches was developed when working with Māori who themselves had faced specific trauma events.

This relationship with Māori trauma survivors continues beyond the research project completion date. Kaupapa Māori research means that the relationships that began with research, do not finish, they are ongoing. The responsibility to the kaupapa and the people does not disappear at the end of a project as there is always an ongoing relationship and responsibility to the researched community.
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SITUATING EZIKO SIPHEKA SISOPHULA THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN RESEARCH IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract
The purpose of this position paper is to locate the eZiko siPheka siS sophula theoretical framework within social science research. It further illustrates the seven pillars which are African ontology, epistemology, cosmology, teleology, ideology, logic and axiology that embody the African worldviews in which eZiko is rooted. eZiko creates spaces for engaging in processes and practices that promote opportunities for learning, teaching and conducting research that is rooted in the African/indigenous cultural backgrounds, worldviews and languages that participants bring.

Introduction and Background Information
Within the academy, social science research has historically been constructed in ways that maintain and privilege the centrality, legitimacy and superiority of western thinking and ways of conducting research. As stated by Guba and Lincoln (2005) social science research needs emancipation from hearing only voices from western academics, from seeing the world in one color, and from the silence generations of indigenous researchers and scholars have endured. To address existing inequities and injustices, indigenous scientists are embarking on efforts to create spaces for enquiry based on relational realities and forms of knowledge production that are rooted in African/indigenous worldviews, philosophical assumptions, cultural values and languages. Thus social science research in African contexts should move beyond western epistemologies in order to embrace indigenous cultural values that include spirituality and respect for collective and relational forms of living. Current research methodologies that are rooted in western thinking tend to disconnect and distance researchers from multiple relations that emphasize interconnectedness and interdependence of family, community, the living and non-living. This interconnectedness that extends and covers the unborn, the living, non-living and ancestors is expressed in different ways that include panegyric legends, and totem trees and animals.

For example, the authors of this paper, Vuyiswa and I, both belong to the Xhosa speaking group in South Africa, which puts emphasis on the importance of relations among family and community members and with non-living matter, such as rivers, mountains, forests, etc. Nomalungelo (first author) is the daughter of abaThembu, ooQhudeni, and the totem animal (bird) of abaThembu liQhude, the cock. Thus certain birds, including cocks, have a special place in my family, and we have a way of expressing respect towards them when performing special rituals. Vuyiswa (second author) traces her panegyric legend from ooHlathi! ooMfene, and her totem animal (baboon) yimfene yasehlathini. This totem explains her relation with baboons and the forest (ihlathi), the home for baboons. When rituals are performed in African families certain ‘prayers’
and activities are carried out to show respect towards ‘all our relations’, and research as an activity performed with family and community members should not be an exception. Within African contexts, therefore, a common bond and relationship through panegyric legends and totems exist among family, community, living and non-living members, as well as the ancestors who are in the ‘other world.’ This is what the Lakota people or Natives of North American refer to as ‘mitakuye oasin’ or ‘all my relations.’ According to Maroukis (2005) this is a ‘prayer’ of oneness and harmony with all forms of life: other people, animals, birds, insects, trees and plants, including rocks, rivers, mountains and valleys.

Thus, when one conducts research within African communities, it is important to first establish a rapport that goes beyond first names, but also covers panegyric legends and totem animals, birds, plants and non-living matter through which communication is expressed in relational terms that connect individuals to ‘all their relations.’ This manner of communication dictates protocol and research procedures that need to be followed to invoke and appease the ancestors and show respect to one another and to totems (animals, plants and nonliving matter). As Wilson (2008) also notes, the importance of connectedness and relationships is not unique only within African contexts. For example, among the Aborigines of Australia and other indigenous people around the world, expressions of close relationships with one another, plants, animals and nonliving matter are observed. The multiple connections that indigenous researchers and scholars have with those around them and with the living and the non-living should inform how they see the world and how they relate with each other within the research process (Chilisa, 2012).

Indigenous researchers and scholars that include but are not limited to Chilisa (2012), Goduka (2005), Battiste (2002), Cajete (1999), and Smith (1999) are moving the research process to include decolonizing protocols and procedures within social science research. They are also generating decolonizing frameworks and research methodologies for rethinking the nature and structure of education for all learners, and research for, with and by indigenous peoples. These indigenous-based theoretical and methodological paradigms set foundations for spaces to conduct research that has a potential for relevance within rural contexts. These paradigms are also an affirmation that indigenous research is not research conducted for no purpose or direction. Rather, it is research for addressing socio-economic challenges within rural contexts. This sentiment is also articulated by Nabudere (2006) when he writes:

*African scholars must pursue knowledge production that can renovate African culture, defend the African peoples’ dignity and civilization achievements and contribute afresh to a new global agenda that can push us out of the crisis of modernity as promoted by the European Enlightenment. Such knowledge must be relevant to the current needs of the masses, which they can use to bring about a social transformation out of their present plight. We cannot just talk about the production of ‘knowledge for its own sake’ without interrogating its purpose … Eurocentric knowledge is not produced just for its own sake. Its purpose throughout the ages has been to enable them to ‘know the natives’ in order to take control of their territories, including human and material resources for their benefit. Such control of knowledge was used to exploit the non-European peoples, colonize them both mentally and geo-strategically, as well as subordinate the rest of the world to their designs and interests. Therefore, for knowledge to be relevant to the needs of indigenous people within rural contexts, it must be rooted within indigenous worldviews, cultures, languages and ways of knowing. This knowledge must also speak to aspirations, and efforts that will lead to transformation of existing
socio-economic and political situations. Indigenous research also animates fundamental indigenous knowledge theories and methods as a means to raise its intellectual, economic, political and social value and its status as a system of scientific knowledge. This is done without mystifying Western-based knowledge systems, i.e. raising them to a position of superiority, and without mythicizing indigenous-based knowledge systems, i.e. relegating them to a lower status. Therefore, this renewed focus on indigenous knowledge and its role within rural contexts raises questions about the Western/colonial view of indigenous people and their heritage as exotic objects that have no history, no culture, and have not made any contribution to world civilization, science and progress. These views are now competing with a developing intellectual nexus of constructivist and indigenous theoretical frameworks that affirm and validate the importance of IK, indigenous worldviews, philosophical foundations, cultural values and languages for strengthening sustainable livelihoods within rural contexts.

Theoretical Frameworks that undergird Indigenous Research (Decolonizing Theories)

Thus, the struggle for the re-discovery and re-affirmation of indigenous knowledge and theoretical frameworks has grown significantly in the past 20 years. In Aotearoa (New Zealand), the Kaupapa Māori theory has been presented as an indigenous theoretical framework that is grounded in Māori worldviews, language and culture. “Decolonizing Research Methodologies” is a concept coined by Smith (1999), to de-colonize and de-construct research approaches that emerged from Western scientific research and are codified within ideologies such as imperialism, colonialism and Western science as ‘regimes of truth.’ eZiko siPheka siSophula (eZiko, for short) is a relational theoretical framework coined by Goduka (2005), for teaching and researching for sustainable development within rural communities. It seeks to de-colonize Western-based knowledge, and questions the relevance of Western/colonial positivist approaches for addressing challenges that rural communities face. The goals of decolonizing theoretical frameworks are thus to re-cover, re-store re-cognize, re-create, and ‘research back’ utilizing indigenous relational ontological, epistemological, axiological and methodological constructs.

What Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) and e-Ziko Theoretical Framework have in common

Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) has been presented as an indigenous theory which is grounded in Māori worldviews, language and culture. It is important to first present principles and foundations of KMT as these principles inform and form foundations for eZiko. According to Pihama (2001), KMT is simultaneously local and international. Local, in that it is defined by Māori for Māori, drawing on fundamental Māori values, experiences and worldviews. It is international, in that there are many connections that can be made through a process of sharing Indigenous Peoples theories. For example, KMT and eZiko Theoretical Framework share commonalities with the Critical Theory, yet, they also differ from it:

- All three theories are emancipatory and transformative. However,
- Both Kaupapa Māori Theory and eZiko Theoretical framework do not depend on Critical Theory for their existence.
- In the same vein, the Critical Theory (CT) does not depend on KMT and eZiko for its existence.
- Both are rooted in indigenous lands, worldviews, philosophical foundations, cultures and languages of Africa and Māori.
• On the other hand, the Critical Theory is founded in European land, cultures and languages.
• Both KMT and eZiko must be cognizant of indigenous peoples’ historical, cultural and linguistic realities in all their complexities.
• Both KMT and eZiko are not theories in the Western sense. They do not subsume themselves within European philosophical assumptions which construct and privilege one theory over another; one rationality over another; one research paradigm over another; and one knowledge and world view over another.
• Both KMT and eZiko are rooted in African and Māori praxis. The term praxis comes from Friere’s (1973) critique of western-based education. In the two instances, praxis refers to action and reflection that are informed by and linked to specific values that are grounded in African and Māori contexts. Therefore, it is not enough for people to come together in dialogue in order to gain knowledge of their social reality. They must act together upon their environment in order to critically reflect upon their reality and transform it through further action and critical reflection.
• Both KMT and eZiko struggle to reassure that ethnic identities and pride of indigenous learners are not subtly undermined within the ‘hidden curriculum’. Rather, their languages, ways of knowing, and cultural values are validated and legitimated (Smith, G., 1997).

KMT and eZiko also take a position that within the curriculum, research methodologies and community engagement practices affirm and validate the:

• Legitimacy and relevance of indigenous languages and cultures;
• Survival and revival of indigenous worldviews and philosophical foundations as imperative; and
• Struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing, and over our own lives.

Transformation is also a driving element of KMT. How that transformation is defined and brought to light is determined by how socio-economic and political community issues are understood, theorised and engaged with (Pihama, 2001).

eZiko siPheka siSophula Proposed Theoretical Framework

eZiko siPheka siSophula (Eziko for short) is a process of “gathering around the hearth (iziko) to cook (sipheka) and dish out (sisophula). This process is rooted in the African worldviews, languages, cultures, and relational/ecological perspectives. eZiko is also described as holistic, relational, feminine, experiential and participatory. Foundational assumptions around eZiko process are that our world does not consist of separate elements, rather these are described in terms of relational ontology, epistemology and axiology. This process is built on relationships and interactions among humans, as well as between humans and the natural environment which is a source of our livelihood. We participate in our world, so that the ‘reality’ we experience is a co-creation. In the process of co-creation, we become increasingly aware of the benefits to society and the damage we are doing to the planet’s ecosystems. As we participate in co-creating knowledge, we are already embodying and breathing beings who are engaged around eZiko for collective and communal knowledge production that will benefit our families, communities and the world. This process requires us to be both situated and reflexive, to be explicit about knowledge production within indigenous research articulated around eZiko.
eZiko siPheka siSophula (eZiko for short) is a theoretical framework proposed by Goduka (2005 and 2012) to create spaces for indigenous research that has a potential to strengthen sustainable livelihoods within rural contexts. In the African contexts, this practice literally means “gathering around the hearth (e-Ziko) to cook (sipheka) and dish out (sisophula).” Metaphorically, eZiko theoretical framework provides spaces/processes to engage in dialogues to interrogate and deconstruct western-based knowledge systems that the system of education elevates whilst marginalizing indigenous knowledge systems. It is rooted in the African worldviews, languages, cultures, and builds on a relational/ecological perspective.

eZiko can also be described as holistic, feminine, experiential and participatory. It is holistic as indicated by the circle around which spiritual, intellectual and psychological rituals, dialogues and intergenerational and intercultural teachings take place. It is feminine because of the qualities of caring, loving and nurturing that emanate and radiate from the fire and whatever is cooked (sipheka) and dished out (sisophula) around eZiko. It is experiential and participatory because it provides all participants opportunities to engage in action and reflection for the welfare and good of all. Foundational assumptions around eZiko process are that our world does not consist of separate elements. Rather these assumptions are described in terms of relational ontology, epistemology and cosmology. This process is built on relationships and interactions among humans, as well as between humans and the natural environment which is a source of our livelihood; therefore, around the fire the spirit sobuntu and oneness is not only felt but is lived. The assumption is that we participate in our world, so that the ‘reality’ we experience is a co-creation. In the process of co-creating this knowledge, we are already embodying and breathing beings who are engaged around eZiko for collective and communal knowledge production that will benefit families, communities and the world. Activities around eZiko also raise awareness of the damage we are creating to the planet’s ecosystem.

The eZiko theoretical framework is informed and draws on the principles and foundations of the Kaupapa Māori Theory. Characteristics that both KMT and Eziko share were discussed above. In addition, eZiko seeks to de-colonize western-based knowledge, and question the relevance of western/colonial positivist approaches for addressing challenges that rural communities face. The goals of eZiko as a decolonizing theoretical framework, therefore, are to re-cover, re-store re-cognize, re-create, and ‘research back’ utilizing indigenous relational ontological, epistemological, axiological and methodological constructs (Chilisa 2012). However, given that indigenous groups in Africa are not monolithic but, rather, they have diverse cultures, languages, unique experiences and varied attempts to resist colonization, such an approach cannot be reduced to a singular, one-dimensional and monolithic solution. For example, for the Nguni/Sotho group of South Africa, indigenous scholars/researchers and students should create spaces for the creation of multiple and varied indigenous/African theoretical frameworks that:

- emerge from Nguni/Sotho indigenous ecological contexts;
- emerge from Nguni/Sotho indigenous social and cultural frames of reference;
- embody Nguni/Sotho indigenous worldviews, philosophical foundations, languages, cultural and spiritual values and beliefs;
- are anchored on ancestral knowingness which ensures that indigenous ways of knowing do not only have cultural, spiritual and historical roots, but are also ancestrally generated and constantly evolving, therefore inextinguishable; and
are built on synergistic knowledge that is used to overcome the western binary and oppositional logic that demands adherence to one so-called ‘absolute truth’ and rejection of its opposite.

Therefore, the proposed eZiko theoretical framework emerges within the Nguni/indigenous ecological, philosophical, cultural and linguistic contexts. It involves the collective struggle and efforts of indigenous scholars/researchers and students to interrogate and deconstruct the impact and the continuing legacy of the European conquest, the domination of indigenous lands, peoples, cultures, languages, religions and worldviews, but above all the colonization of their minds through the western-based science and knowledge systems. Specifically, eZiko theoretical framework creates spaces in order for indigenous identities, realities and knowledge systems that were part of the colonizing mission to be deconstructed. This process will lead to the construction and reconstruction of new identities and knowledge systems, etc., that resonate and are rooted within indigenous world views, cultural values, languages and ways of living within African communities. As stated above, eZiko is rooted in African cultures, experiences and worldviews. It is derived from the African design of a circle. African life is perceived from a circular perspective. Life goes in cycles, and eZiko represents the cycle of life.

The following are specific pillars, building blocks/principles of eZiko theoretical framework – namely: African/relational ontology, epistemology, axiology, ideology, cosmology, teleology, and logic – adapted from Karanja (2008):

- **The African ontology** addresses questions pertaining to the nature of reality and of being. This suggests that the nature of reality and being is spirit/energy. Therefore, at the most fundamental level of all that exists within the universe is a spiritual/energy force manifesting itself in material and immaterial phenomena. Wilson (2001) also adds that there is an apparent inter-relationship between ontology and worldview. Thus how people see the world will influence their understanding of what exists, and vice-versa.

- **An African epistemology** refers to the nature of knowing and processes used in order to know phenomena. Processes of knowing are subjectively based and describe “the capacity to tap the creative life forces of the inner space by the use of all the faculties that constitute our being – it is to exercise inwardness” (Ermine, 1995).

- **An Indigenous axiology** refers to the nature of values. Questions addressed by this assumption are: What does a researcher value? Or, what does one’s values consist of?

- **The African ideology** involves the prophetic vision of a thought as well as the action orientation of a moral commitment to serve. Thus, ideology combines an interpretation of the social world with a moral commitment to change it.

- **An Indigenous cosmology** is based upon an assumption that humans and non-humans are interconnected and interdependent within their environments. Therefore, according to this assumption all phenomena are connected within a fundamentally communal universe.

- **The African teleology** suggests that there is an intended goal for research, scholarship and intellectual projects designed and carried out. This assumption clearly demonstrates a difference from the idea of “knowledge for knowledge sake,” (see Nabudere, 2002) which is so common within the western intellectual tradition. The teleological assumption is clearly reflective of the calls for relevant and functional education.
An Indigenous logic, according to Dixon (1997), refers to the canons and criteria of validity in reasoning or how one organizes what one knows. Distinct approaches to logic exist. These will vary in relation to the researcher’s worldview. Among the Euro-American the logic is either/or, and among indigenous people it is diunital. The term diunital refers to phenomena that are part and united at the same time. Figure 1 below illustrates the seven pillars of the eZiko theoretical framework.

In summary, African/indigenous ontology, epistemology, axiology, ideology, cosmology, teleology and logic play central roles in defining the worldview orientation of research methodologies. A researcher’s values and logic shape the content and form of assumptions implemented in the research process. These assumptions are in turn developed into research questions and procedures that are verified through a particular way of knowing and knowledge production that are imbedded in the African worldview within which eZiko siPheka siSophula theoretical framework is situated.
As stated above, eZiko is one of indigenous theoretical frameworks for decolonizing and deconstructing western-based frames of reference. It also probes the inherent ideology of the supremacy and legitimacy of western-based knowledge over indigenous-based knowledge. Specifically, eZiko creates spaces in order for indigenous identities, realities and knowledge systems that include teaching, learning and the process of conducting research which were part of the colonizing mission to be deconstructed. This process will lead to the construction and reconstruction of new identities and knowledge systems, etc., that resonate and are rooted within indigenous world views, cultural values, languages and ways of living within rural contexts.

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References


TIKANGA

AN EXPLORATION INTO THE CONSTRUCT ‘CONNECTEDNESS’
FROM AN INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVE
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NGĀ TAONGA O NGĀITERANGI
Matiu Dickson
AN EXPLORATION INTO THE CONSTRUCT CONNECTEDNESS FROM AN INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

This paper is the result of an initial literature review of the construct ‘connectedness’ undertaken for the larger research project He Whakaoranga Kia Puta, Kia Ora. The aim of the project is to explore the relationship between Waikato-Tainui cultural connectedness and Waikato-Tainui whaanau wellbeing. While the literature review conducted for the current paper is not comprehensive, it identified key features of the construct, including its functional diversity and that it is multidimensional. An additional observation made throughout the review process is the assumption that ‘connectedness’ takes place primarily within a social context for example self-in-relation-to-others. The implications of this narrow hegemonic view are challenged from an indigenous lived perspective that argues connectedness in relation to wellbeing extends beyond the social and includes cultural, environmental and spiritual. The paper concludes with unanswered questions rather than answers within a Waikato-Tainui context, thus reflecting its inquiry focus.

Introduction

He Whakaoranga Kia Puta, Kia Ora is an iwi-centric research project. The research seeks to answer a number of questions including: What is wellbeing from a Waikato-Tainui perspective? and What is cultural connectedness for Waikato-Tainui whaanau? Cultural connectedness will be analysed across three dimensions: 1) Experiential connectedness; 2) Generational experience including a) kaumaatua, pakeke and rangatahi and b) kaupapa/whakapapa connectedness – the nature of connectedness to both Kiingitanga and iwi; and 3) Locational connectedness - whaanau located within the rohe or afar (either entirely or in part). Findings from the research project are intended to inform tribal organisations of effective ways to support the continued growth of Waikato-Tainui whaanau wellbeing. The data collection method will entail photovoice. The theoretical model is the capability approach which recognises diversity across and within cultures and conceives that in this instance, how Waikato-Tainui whaanau perceive wellbeing is in accordance to what Waikato-Tainui whaanau value. The research project will explore how Waikato-Tainui whaanau, through diverse, fluid and multiple pathways and dimensions, reconnect to Waikato-Tainui and how this ‘connectedness’ influences whaanau wellbeing.

The current exploratory paper provides a brief review of literature that examines connectedness. Noted throughout the review process is that the literature is largely located within a western framework. Conducting a literature review is, in most cases, one of the initial starting points of research. However, in this instance and from indigenous researcher perspectives (the authors’) this method of inquiry, while a starting point, is also about gaining understanding of how the ‘other’ view their world and the basis of their view. More specifically, it forces the ‘inquirer’ into a critical space that incites critical thinking and critical inquiry.
The late Sir Robert Te Kotahi Mahuta, a member of the paramount Tainui family and chief negotiator of the 1995 Waikato-Tainui Treaty settlement, speaks in the following excerpt to the reasons why he attended Oxford:

One of the fundamental reasons why I was pushed to go to Oxford was because I used to wonder why had haikutero persisted for so long, and why had the Paakehaa ignored it? I came to my own personal conclusion that I had to understand the Paakehaa, and I had to understand their roots, how they think and why they think the way they do. I had to get back to where the base of Paakehaa thinking was all coming from (Mahuta, 2003, p. 129).

The point that is being made in relation to the above excerpt is presented in the following sections of this paper. The ‘front end’ or first half of the paper presents western conceptualisations of the construct ‘connectedness’, as well as their application. The ‘back end’ provides a critical analysis of the dominant view from an indigenous lived perspective.

**Construct Connectedness**

The utility of the construct connectedness is noted in the breadth and depth of scholarly literature available today. Research interest and inquiry initially came from the field of healthy moral development (Townsend & McWhirter, 2005). However, in more recent years its utility and evolution is largely attributed to and derive from human development, counselling and psychology (Riggs & Bright, 1997). The collective attention from the social sciences debunked the western myth that positive human development originates predominantly from self-sufficiency and individual independence (Riggs & Bright, 1997). Rather, it has been found that positive developmental processes which occur throughout the lifespan are related to notions of interdependence and communality (McWhirter, 1994). This shift in focus from a separate self-paradigm to a supportive agent that facilitates and helps resolve interpersonal and intrapersonal concerns has been identified by a number of authors (Karcher, 2002; Rude & Burham, 1995).

Most conceptualisations of connectedness involve two key components, the first being the self-in-relation-to-others and the second a more internally focused self-component. Moreover, there is general theoretical consensus among scholars who posit that connectedness is a basic psychological need and when satiated produces positive outcomes (Jose, Ryan & Pryor, 2012; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Connell & Wellborn, 1991; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Ryan & Powelson, 1991; Phillips-Salimi, Haase & Kook, 2012). According to Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky and Bouwsema (1993), the state of connectedness is “when a person is actively involved with another person, object, group, or environment, and that involvement promotes a sense of comfort, wellbeing, and anxiety-reduction” (p. 293).

The following literature illustrates different types of connectedness for example, social connectedness, community connectedness and school connectedness. Specifically, literature that describes connectedness with an emphasis on relationships with others and systems were reviewed. For example in their study of health-compromising behaviours of adolescents Neumark-Sztainer et al. (1997) measured school connectedness by determining how adolescents felt about attending school. Similarly, a study by Shochet et al. (2006) measured the relationship between adolescent and school connectedness by posing questions that related to adolescents feeling like a real part of the school. Lee & Robbins (1998) described social connectedness as a psychological sense of how people perceive themselves in relation to others. The authors further
state that “Social connectedness does appear to operate as a ubiquitous social lens with which to view and interact with the world” (p. 343).

Interpersonal connectedness explained by Newcomb (1990) involves different types of social support, for example “bonding, attachment, friendship, intimacy, and companionship” (p. 479). Community connectedness according to Maton et al. (1998) entails five components including extended family, religious environment, extracurricular activity, peers, and teachers. Within a health context Phillips-Salimi, Haase and Kookan (2012) maintain that connectedness between a patient and service provider is dependent on the relationship strength and the degree of connection as predictors of future patient decisions such as engagement in the same or similar health service providers.

**Cultural Connectedness**

The concept cultural connectedness has also received considerable scholarly attention. While a comprehensive review was not conducted, observed in the literature sighted is a prevailing focus on cultural and ethnic differences. For example collectivistic versus individualistic cultures, or, as a framework, cultural connectedness has been used to investigate and describe different kinds of ‘human’ relationships within cultures - for example, work by Kundu and Adams (2005) that looked at the relationships between identity formation, individuality and connectedness in East Indian and non-Eastern Indian female Canadians. The study found that young East Indian females socialization experience consisted mostly of interdependence and connectedness as individuals and group members, whereas non-Eastern Indian females socialization as youth entailed a more Western individualistic experience. In separate studies by Daneshpour (1998), and Tamura and Lau (1999), the researchers found that the most significant difference in relation to values system between both Muslim and Japanese families and that of mainstream ‘West’ families was a greater tendency for family connectedness in the former two communities. Wong (1997), in examining the risk and protective factors in relation to African American and White American students’ perceived racial discrimination at school found that strong feelings of connectedness to their ethnic community buffered or protected African students from injurious consequences. This was not demonstrated for White students (as cited in Townsend & McWhirter, 2005).

Evident in the literature reviewed is the functional diversity of the construct connectedness, and that it is a multidimensional one. Moreover, the most salient observation made is that connectedness as a construct is largely examined through a ‘social’ lens. This suggests that conceptualisations of connectedness and their application take place exclusively within a social context. This narrow and hegemonic view of connectedness is problematic as it discounts peoples and cultures that see the world through a relational lens that extends beyond the social realm. For many cultures, relationships with others, their natural environment including relationships of a spiritual or wairua kind are just as important to their everyday health and wellbeing as is achieving a good night’s rest. Cram, Smith and Johnstone (2003) make this point in their research that investigated how Māori talk about health. Participants in their study “described healing as occurring at the level of wairua, rather than solely through the treatment of symptoms of disease” (p. 5). In a parallel fashion, Panelli and Tipa (2007) assert that “key sociocultural and environmental dimensions need to be integrated for a culturally appropriate approach to Māori wellbeing” (p. 1).
Connectedness and Indigenous Cultures

The dominant nature of Indigenous worldviews is relational (Te Huia & Liu, 2012); connectedness between the social, natural, spiritual and cultural are fundamental to this view. This contrasts with a predominantly western view that positions the ‘disease free autonomous self’ as the pinnacle achievement of a ‘quality life’. The following literature portrays the relational nature of indigenous communities holistic approach to wellbeing. For example in their study that employed an ethnographic approach to the meanings and qualities ascribed to well-being within the Matsigenka culture of Peru, Izquierdo (2005) found that “productivity, goodness, and maintaining harmony with their social, physical and spiritual environment” (p. 776) were of significant importance. The connection between indigenous peoples and their natural environments, and the reciprocal nature of a shared relationship within a wellbeing context is illustrated in work by Dyall et al. (1999). The authors found that Tongan conceptualisations of wellbeing included spirituality, land, extended family, and mutual obligations. In their work with the Nywaigi tribe of northeast Queensland, Australia, Greiner et al., (2005) extended existing social science models of wellbeing to incorporate ‘culture and country’. This ‘extension’ emphasises the connection between the traditional land owners and their country. Connection between wellbeing and spirituality in a study by McLennan (2003) found that spirituality is an important factor in wellbeing and identity for the Yaegl peoples of northern New South Wales.

In Te Ao Maaori (the Maaori world) developments of Maaori health models, which are invariably holistic (Cram, Smith & Johnstone, 2003), have gained currency over the last two decades. The most influential in Aotearoa/New Zealand are Te Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 2001) and Te Wheke (Pere, 1997). The models, while reflective of increased Maaori understanding of what moderates Maaori health and wellbeing or what enhances and diminishes it, are historically founded on traditional Maaori cultural concepts (Cram, Smith & Johnstone, 2003). For example Te Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 2001) consists of a four wall house, representing the dimensions of wairua (spirit), whaanau (family), hinengaro (mental) and tinana (physical). It is the connectedness between the dimensions and the synergy created that influences harmony and ultimately wellbeing. It is the connectedness that is important – the synergy that is created and sustained (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003).

Conclusion

Social, cultural, environmental and spiritual connectedness between Waikato-Tainui whaanau and Waikato-Tainui and its relationship to whaanau wellbeing is of significance to the larger research project. Understanding how and what meanings are attributed to Waikato-Tainui connectedness in the 21st century will play a critical role in Waikato-Tainui increasing their understanding of the health and wellbeing of Waikato-Tainui whaanau.
Glossary
Iwi: tribe
Kaumaatua: respected elder
Kaupapa: plan, topic, project
Kiingitanga: King Movement
Paakehaa: New Zealander of European descent
Pakeke: adults, parents
Rangatahi: young adults
Rohe: geographical area or boundary
Wairua: spirit
Whaanau: family, extended family
Whakapapa: genealogy

References


Abstract

Tērā te marama e . . . ka mahuta i te pae . . .

The singing of traditional tribal waiata on the marae is sadly becoming a rarity. Speakers now tend to opt for the well-known waiata of other iwi as a relish for their whaikorero. When I was younger only the songs of my own iwi were sung on our tribal marae. The singing of waiata by our Ngāitukairangi hapu elders was well reknown in the Tauranga rohe. One of those waiata is titled ‘Tērā te marama’ a waiata composed by Te Anipatene to commemorate the sudden death of a young man of the tribe who was destined for leadership. This waiata is considered a classic of the waiata of the tribe, difficult to learn and to sing properly. It is therefore the waiata that future leaders of the tribe, male or female, aspire to learn to perform and to lead, as did their elders. It provides inspiration for the future leadership of the tribe as a cultural icon of tribal identity.

The waiata speaks of the loss of a young person and the need to cherish those other young people of the tribe who will some day lead it. It refers to the whakapapa connections of each hapu which were reinforced by the taking of the deceased’s body to each of the hapu marae where it was mourned. This presentation will discuss the use of traditional waiata as an inspiration for tribal leadership. Within this waiata are indicators of the importance of the Ngāiterangi tikanga practice and mātauranga which every leader of the tribe should know.

I was fortunate to be raised in a hapū whose elderly members loved to sing the traditional waiata of our hapu and īwi. This article is about the singing of traditional waiata but before that subject can be discussed and according to proper methods of Māori information sharing, it is appropriate that the origins and history of the tribal people, the owners of the waiata, be dealt with first. These waiata reflect the culture and identity of these people so we should know more about them. Thus follows a brief history of the tribe.

The hapu is Ngāitukairangi, a hapu of the wider īwi of Ngāiterangi based in the Tauranga rohe. The tribal background usually begins with the ancestor Tōroa who led the waka Mataatua from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. However, the whakapapa stretches back to Hau and Nuiho who lived in Hawaiki, the homeland of the Māori, our oral traditions recall these ancestors in the karakia called Te Tau o Mataatua. It is still recited on marae by Mataatua speakers and the words are:

Ko wai rā, ko wai rā te tangata tūtū taua?
Kāore koā ko Hau, ko Nūaiho, ko Nūake, ko Manu, ko Weka, ko Tōroa, ko Ruāihona
Ko Tahingaoterā!
Tenei te maro ka hurua, huruhuru nui nō wai?
Huruhuru nō Manu nō Weka
Ka tū tapori atu, ka tū tapori mai
Tōroa’s arrival\(^1\) in the Bay of Plenty allowed the tribal members to meet with the people of Toi (sometimes referred to as Toikairakau\(^2\)) who were already here and with whom the newcomers intermarried thus extending their tribal whakapapa.\(^3\) Settlement began in Whaka tane at Kakahoroa and spread throughout the middle of the North Island of New Zealand. According to the traditions, the waka Mataatua was taken to the North by Tōroa’s younger brother Puhi where the latter’s descendants now form the largest tribe in the country, the Ngāpuhi tribe.

Ngāiterangi are therefore the direct descendants of Tōroa although the history has meant that they ended up living in another part of the Mataatua rohe at what used to be known as Te Awanui (Tauranga). This is the whakapapa:

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Tōroa
| Ruāihona
| Te Hīngaoterā
| Te Awanuiārangi
| Rongotangiawa
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\(^1\) Songs of a Kaumatua, M Mclean & M Orbell, (Auckland University Press 2002) at p 22 for a translation and explanation of this karakia.

\(^2\) Some anthropologist estimate the time of arrival during the 1600s but it may have been earlier.

\(^3\) When Toi arrived here, he and his people survived by eating the plants of the forest, thus the meaning of his name.

\(^4\) Tradition says that Tōroa was sent here by Weka to find Toi and had followed Toi’s sailing instructions to find the new land thus debunking the theory that Māori came to Aotearoa by accident.
Rōmainohorangi = Paewhitu

Te Rangihōuhiri = Pūkai

Tāpuiti = Kahurere

Tūkairangi

Thus we belong to the Mataatua waka tradition and originally we occupied with our relatives, the traditional settlements of our ancestors at Kapūterangi, Tawhitirahi and Te Awa-o-te-Atua. We are the descendants of Te Rangihōuhiri, thus we are called Ngāiterangi. The hapu are descended from the ancestor Tūkairangi who is recalled as a skilful warrior who fought for both his father Te Rangihōuhiri and his uncle Tamapahore. Despite our close affiliation with the rest of the Mataatua tribes, Ngāiterangi have maintained their own independence and mapped their own destiny.

For a long time, the tribe have either found themselves at the mercy of the goodwill of other tribes and near to extinction as a tribal people or at the peak of their powers. For a short time they lived under the protection of the Ngāti Konohi chief, Te Wah-o-te-rangi on the east coast but they soon moved from there with their leader Te Rangihōuhiri to live among the Ngāi at Hākuranui. They gradually migrated along the coast northwards to Maketu where they entered into a very long dispute with the Ngāti Whakaue tribe of Te Arawa over the manawhenua of that place. It was during one of these battles that the eponymous leader Te Rangihōuhiri was killed.

During that battle, Tutengāehe was killed during the afternoon tide. When Te Rangihōuhiri heard of his son’s death he predicted his own demise by the saying: **Haere e Tama, mōu tai ahiahi, mōku tai awatea.** (Farewell my son, you died on the evening tide and I will die on the morning tide).

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5 Whakapapa Book of the writer’s grandfather, Te Whana Tawhiao.

6 Ngāi meaning the descendants of. The tribe was named Ngāi Te Rangihōuhiri but the name was changed to its present form after the death of Te Rangihōuhiri and his eldest son Tutengāehe at the battle of Pōporoheua at Maketu.

7 The writer’s marae on his father’s side is Hungahungatoroa at Matapihi. The meeting house is named Tāpuiti and the dining hall is named after his daughter Whakahinga.

8 Ngāi Awa, Ngāi Tūhoe, Te Whakatōhea, Ngāitai and Te Whānau a Apanui. The ancestors that link Ngāiterangi to these tribes are, Rōmainohorangi (Ngāi Awa); Rongokārae (Ngāi Tūhoe); Te Aoreke (Te Whakatohea) and Turāpaki (Te Whana a Apanui).

9 In tribal kōrero this is referred to as Te Heke o Te Rangihōuhiri, the migration of Te Rangihōuhiri.

10 This land near Tōrere was recently returned to Ngāiterangi by the Pakeha farmer who owned it. A trust made up of Ngāiterangi people administers the land.
After that incident the tribe was led by Te Rangihouhiri’s younger half-brother, Tamahahore11. A dispute with the Ngāti Ranginui people of Tauranga, gave the tribe an excuse and opportunity to attack the pa at Mauāo mountain. The battle was called Te Kōkōwai recalling the method used to breach the pa12. Ngāiterangi were successful and this was the last time that the tribe moved to settle. They assumed the manawhenua of the Tauranga rohe by conquest.

Like other tribes in the country, Ngāiterangi was subject to the colonising effects of Pakeha settlement during the 1800s. Initially the contact was friendly and provided opportunities for both races to prosper but by the 1860s the Pakeha desire for land and the Māori refusal to sell caused friction and eventual warfare. Ngāiterangi and the other tribes of Tauranga suffered for their resistance and at the conclusion of the hostilities,13 50,000 acres of their best tribal land was confiscated. That land is now occupied by the city of Tauranga.14 Other lands were also confiscated or taken for public use. Throughout all of this, Ngairerangi have maintained their cultural identity and persevered with the practice of their tikanga and kawa laws, on their marae and in their homes. There is a concern about the survival of the Ngāiterangi reo and it is hoped that the recently opened Kura Kaupapa Māori o Mauāo15 will revitalise reo use, together with other strategies that the tribe has in mind. It goes without saying that the vitality of reo is necessary for the survival of traditional waiata singing. Up until the 1960s, te reo was spoken as a first language in some pockets of the Ngāiterangi rohe particularly at Matakana Island where I was raised for a time and at Rangiwaea Island.

At Matapihi on the mainland where the Ngāi Tukairangi lived, te reo was spoken in the main by parents and older members of the hapu. However the practice of waiata singing on the marae was very strong and it was said anecdotally by members of the tribe that most of the very good singers came from this hapu. There was naturally a sense of competition among the hapu as to who were the best in carrying out all of the tikanga practices of the tribe. Besides singing ability, the ability to be hospitable to visitors was a major competing factor as much then as it is now. However when the tribe united to visit other tribal groups particularly in the Mataatua or Te Arawa rohe these little differences of opinion were replaced by a sense of pride in being Ngāiterangi and in displaying tribal unity and identity. This showed itself in the singing of traditional waiarawa rohe particularly at Matakana Island where I

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11 He and his people settle eventually at Papamoa and Rangataua Bay where they were referred to as Ngā Pāpaka o Rangataua, (the crabs of Rangataua) to recognise their fighting skills which they learnt on the mudflats of the Bay.

12 Kōkōwai powder was valuable and used to paint carvings the sacred red colour. It was offered to the pa people as gifts but the baskets were really filled with dirt with kōkōwai sprinkled on the top. The pa people invited the visitors in and later paid the price for letting down their guard.

13 At Pukehinahina and Te Ranga.

14 The tribe is about to sign a settlement to their treaty claim against the Crown, it is expected to happen in December 2013 after several decades of negotiations.

15 There are three Kura in Tauranga, Mauāo, Kōkiri and Otepou.

16 Visits to Te Arawa marae were of importance to the tribe because of the long history of conflict between the two. Some Ngāiterangi waiata were composed in answer to other derogatory Te Arawa waiata and would be sung as reminders of the past. One such waiata is called I murimuri ahiahi by Ira in which the
I recall individuals who were reknown for their singing ability, in their knowledge of many songs, their willingness to participate, the dignity of their stance and the strength of their voices. Most of the participants that I recall were the elderly women or kuia of the hapu\(^{17}\) whose repertoire included all of the types of traditional waiata that Māori sing, from entertaining songs to sorrowful waiata tangi and moteatea. They were also the *kaikaranga* of the marae in our rohe. Some kuia were experts in the singing of *pao* which were short songs composed by the singer at the time of singing to make her feelings known about an occasion, to express her gratitude to the hosts or to farewell a deceased friend. Any number of reasons could be used to compose these *pao* which sadly are not heard all that often now.

In our tribe, the male singers or koroua generally held the consistent *rangior* ‘drone’ of the waiata whereas the kuia added the ‘drama’ to the waiata either in the use of their voices or in their actions and facial expressions. As to the first point, the drone, almost all of waiata in the tribe are led by male singers\(^{18}\) therefore it was desirable that the leader, the person who carried the *hi* of the waiata, should know the words and be able to stop the singers going off on another tangent. This doesn’t always happen and the leader is often rescued by others in the group so that the song does not *whati* or break in sound. This was considered bad form and it used to have dire consequences. The *hi* carrier should drag out (*hi*) the last sound of each line and be prepared to lead in to the next line so that there is a continual sound. This is regarded as good singing. Kihi Ngatai one of the main orators and singers of the tribe says that if a *whati* is made, the singer should go back to mistake with as little fuss as possible and correct it. If done properly the audience is often not aware that there has been a break\(^{19}\).

With reference to the drama of singing, Ngāiterangi waiata are peculiar in that their composition allows the kuia to utilise the voice known as *te reo irirangi or te reo kōrīhi*. It is the sound of the voice that has a high pitch and is between the sounds of a karanga and a loud sobbing wail, difficult to describe but very distinctive when heard. It is also very difficult to teach new singers how they can achieve that sound, elderly women are better at achieving the sound that is required and it is probably to do with the deepening of their voices as they get older. It is therefore a work in progress for most tutors of waiata.

The waiata *Tērā te marama* which will be discussed later, is a very good example of a waiata that allows kuia to sing in this fashion although all Ngāiterangi composed waiata have this characteristic. Another waiata like this is *Kapokapo* composed by Tupaea for his younger brother Te Korohiko. This waiata sets out the responsibilities of a *tuakana* or older brother to his *teina*, the younger brother. Here, Tupaea laments the passing of the younger sibling whom he allowed to go into battle.

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\(^{17}\) Including the writer’s great grandmother, Ngāwiki Rikihana and her close friend Te Pare Tukaki the writer’s grand aunt. More recently, Hinerau TeKani and Ngaroimata Cavill.

\(^{18}\) The exception is *Te Tauarai*, composed by a woman who was defamed.

\(^{19}\) Wharehua Milroy a kaumatua of Ngāi Tūhoe related to the writer a story of when he and Hirini Melbourne sung a very long waiata ‘*E Moe Kaihau*’ twice because they had missed a part of it and thus repeated the whole song.
It is probably for this reason that waiata singing was considered to be the prerogative of the elders of the tribe and rarely did a young person (30 – 40 years old) participate because their role on the marae was usually in the kitchen or doing other tasks for the hui, like food gathering and preparation. When I was growing up, as children, we were not allowed to go near where the elders where carrying out their speeches or whāikōrero on the marae and/or where the ceremonies were taking place. The marae ātea was no place for children (and dogs!) until at the end of the day when the welcoming ceremonies were over and the elders were eating their evening meal. Only then would the children play in front of the meeting house until the bell was rung for the church service later in the evening.

Thus, the oral traditions and history of the tribe are contained in these traditional waiata and complement the whaikōrero heard on our marae. The speaker or members of his group will choose a waiata for a host of reasons. For example, to reinforce a point they have made in the whaikōrero, to identify themselves, to mourn the deceased or more commonly acknowledge the connection between themselves and the visiting people. Regretfully songs nowadays are chosen because that is the only song known by the group so it can have little relevance to the kaupapa at hand. For some hapu and iwi, songs that are chosen are songs of other iwi which have become popular or which are not defined as traditional waiata.20

For our hapu the waiata that is usually sung first at tangihanga is E Tama Wāhakore a waiata composed specifically for the hapu. The waiata laments the passing of a young male member of the hapu who died before he could assume the mantle of leadership for which he had been groomed. The waiata awakens the spirit of the young person and takes him on a journey of the hapu territory ending with a reference to the flight of the toroa or albatross above the tribal mountain Mauāo. This waiata was sung by members of the hapu at the tangihanga held in 1900 for the children who drowned in a boating accident at Motu River in the Te Whanau-a-Apanui rohe. The Te Whanau-a-Apanui people like the words and meaning of the waiata so it was gifted to them to alleviate their sorrow and strengthen the whakapapa connections between the tribes.21

One of the most important waiata of Ngāi Te Rangi is the one composed by Te Anipatene called Tērā te Marama for the young child named Te Ati. This is a waiata of Ngāi He22, the Ngāi Te Rangi hapu that lives around its marae at Maungatapu. Te Ati was the son of Toroa and he was being raised as a future leader of the tribe but he died from the introduced sickness, smallpox. His body was put onto a floating platform so it could be taken around the Tauranga harbour to various marae to be mourned over. Taiaho the Ngāi Tukairangi chief asked that the deceased be brought to his marae of Whareroa at Mt Maunganui. However the Ngāi He people kept the deceased and took him to their meeting house Te Hono. The deceased’s body was according to traditional custom,

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20 For example, the Ngāi Apakura waiata E Pa to hau is sung throughout by tribes as is the love song Ma wai e Taurima. There is a growing trend to sing songs which are like ditties as complements to whaikōrero, for example Maku ra Pea and Ehara i te mea. One reason this has probably come about is because not only Māori are involved in pohiri on the marae and songs which are easy to learn are preferred.

21 At the 2009 Matatini held in Tauranga, the kapa haka of Te Whanau-a-Apanui honoured this connection to Ngāi Tukairangi by singing the waiata using the words in the original waiata when it was given to them.

22 Ngāi He received its name when the people were mistaken in believing that their ancestor Turāpaki was safe in the Te Whanau-a-Apanui rohe. However he was returning home and had been murdered along the way. Hikarukutai a son of Apanui Ringamutu married Ngapareatau of Ngāi Te Rangi.
hung in a sacred Pohutukawa tree to dry. When the time was right the bones of the deceased were gathered in, cleaned, then bound together and hidden in a burial cave.

This is first verse of the waiata:

\[
\begin{align*}
Tērā te marama e \ldots ka mahuta I te pae \ldots ko tuku tau pea e
Tēnei ka ora mai \ldots hoki mai e tama e
Kia tirohia iho \ldots to matarau nui e
I wāenga i te hono \ldots i te nui Ati He nā!
\end{align*}
\]

(There sets the moon over the horizon . . . is that you my beloved?
Come to life again . . . come to me my son
So I may see your handsome face
Amongst those (the dead) who have gathered and belong to Ngāti He!)

The waiata starts typically with a direct reference to the spirit of the deceased that has come to life. The time immediately before waking is regarded as a time when most people dream. This spirit has appeared and the composer hopes in vain that the deceased has come back to this world.

The language used in the waiata is poetic and has double meanings which express deep sorrow. The deceased is gathered with others of the tribe (te matarau nui) who have passed so there is some comfort that they are with other kinsfolk. Looking at the face of the deceased allows the mourners to confirm the person’s death and remember them. I recall that elderly kuia sometimes went right up to the deceased so that their tears fell onto the deceased’s face. Photos of deceased hapu members displayed around the coffin remind mourners of others who have passed. Photos of the deceased are also used at the unveiling ceremonies later.

During karanga at a tangihanga, the caller will refer to the faces of the dead being the same as those who are entering the marae now, hei kanohi mō rātou that is a mirror of those gone before. Thus the words of this waiata as with other waiata tangi reflect the emotions that the deceased’s relatives are going through not just for that person but for all of the dead of the hapu.

This waiata has five verses and as it is very long it can be difficult to learn and to perform correctly. The leader is always a male so this allows the kuia to add the ‘drama’ to it.

During the time (20 years or more) that I have learnt to sing Ngāi te rangi waiata this waiata has been the most difficult to master and to lead confidently. However the challenge to master this waiata has been used as an impetus to learn other Ngāi te rangi waiata, culminating in the mastery of this one. Leading Tera te marama or being part of a group singing it is the high point, for me anyway, of Ngāi te rangi waiata learning and performance.

The words and meaning of the waiata are but one of its attractions; the other is the singing style required to perform the waiata, that is, the sound of it. The rangi of this waiata is one that can be described as mournful or morose as is typical of the genre of waiata tangi. I remember seeing and hearing elderly kuia who while wailing and showing their utter grief at tangihanga; they would speak words of love to the deceased and or express their deep hurt for the loss. These kuia would mourn in this way for an hour or so sometimes until they were exhausted, but even then they

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23 Takiri ko te ata... (at the break of dawn) is a common introduction to Ngāi te rangi waiata and refers to this phenomenon. An example is Takiri ko te ata he tunga no te makau... a waiata from Ngāi Tangarau.
remained in their own ‘world’ in their communication with the deceased and the dead. This is the setting in which this waiata was usually sung, this is the waiata where the ‘te reo irirangi’ and ‘te reo korihi’ were heard.

When I have finished singing this particular waiata, I feel the satisfaction of knowing that I have sung for this deceased person or for this occasion the ‘ultimate’ song of the iwi, which celebrates their identity because no other tribe sings it, and which expresses properly my love and respect for the deceased and those who are listening. Regretfully this article cannot adequately demonstrate the sound that this waiata carries in its performance but I hope the explanations given go some way in setting the tone for the singing of this particular waiata.

To conclude, one of the main points I want to make in writing this article is to impress upon other Māori that the singing of their own tribal waiata is the ‘tika’ approach to tribal cultural practice. Many tribes have many waiata that were composed by their own elders which tell their unique stories. The knowledge of how to sing these waiata is fast disappearing and in some tribes only individuals have the ability to sing them properly. This needs to change.

We need to move away from the lazy approach of singing waiata that everyone know and are easy to learn. Tribal waiata hold the stories of the tribe and for a long time the elders of the tribe used every opportunity to share this kōrero with their own kin and with others. Now is the time to continue what they started for us and to re-own our waiata tawhito or traditional songs.

The accompanying photo (see below) was taken at the opening of the Dining Hall Te Ohaki at Hangarau marae in Tauranga during the 1960s. The people in the photo are singing a waiata to complement the whaikōrero given by the kaumatua on the right. They are left to right: Teiaro Taikato from Matakana Island, Te Nau Lawson from Rangiwaia Island, Tangiwai Williams from Matapihi (the writer’s great-grandmother) and Turirangi Te Kani from Matapihi.