Proceedings of the

4TH INTERNATIONAL TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE CONFERENCE 2010

KEI MURI I TE KĀPARA HE TANGATA KĒ RECOGNISING, ENGAGING, UNDERSTANDING DIFFERENCE

NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA

New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence

Kei Muri i te Awe Kāpara he Tangata Kē
Recognising, Engaging, Understanding Difference
4th International Traditional Knowledge Conference
2010

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Convened by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga
New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence

Conference Organiser
Knowledge Exchange Programme Leader
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Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence, is one of New Zealand's eight officially recognised Centres of Research Excellence. Hosted by The University of Auckland, the Centre's participating entities are spread throughout New Zealand. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga undertakes research that addresses the needs and opportunities facing Māori peoples. Our vision is to harness the creative potential of Māori peoples to contribute to New Zealand society, culture, economy and New Zealand's overall prosperity, and to continue to play a significant role in promoting indigenous research and development internationally.

Whakataukī (Proverb)

Whāia ngā pae o te māramatanga	Pursue the thresholds of understanding
Te pae tata, te pae tawhiti	The near and distant horizons
Kia puta ki te whaiao ki Te Ao Mārama	And so emerge into The World of Light

Director of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

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Video Recordings of Invited Speakers

Video of the presentations by the Invited Speakers can be viewed by going to
Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga's Media Centre site
http://mediacentre.maramatanga.ac.nz/2010conference.php

Mihi

Anei rā a manawa e ngunguru, e hotu tonu nei ki a rātau kua riro ki Paerau, ā, moe mai rā koutou. Heoi anō tā tātau ā te hunga moke, he pupuri tonu i a rātau ki te kokonga ngākau, ki te mahara.

Otirā, ka mihi tonu ki ō tātau marae kāinga o te motu, tēnā rawa atu koutou. Ā, ka mihi nā ki ngā kaiwāhi kōrero o te hui nei, ā, ki te hunga rangahau anō hoki huri noa i te ao. Ko koutou rā ēnei i whakapau kaha nei ki te tō mai i te pae tawhiti kia tata, arā, e taea ai pea e tēnei whakatipuranga te whāiro te ao o nehe me te mātauranga taketake o kui, koro mā. Nā koutou hoki rā i whakaara ake anō ai te tikanga o tēnei mea a te mātauranga taketake me te mātauranga hoki o te ao hou, kia kitea ai, kia whakataungia ai hoki ngā rerekētanga i waenganui i te tangata.

Hai konei, ka huri ake ki a koutou ngā mātāwaka i kotahi mai nei ki te karanga a Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, tēnā koutou! Huri noa ki ngā kaitautoko me te pūtea āwhina a tēnā, a tēnā, ā, ki ngā whakapaunga werawera anō hoki a mea, a mea, kia tū rangatira ai tēnei kaupapa a tātau, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātau katoa.

Greeting

We acknowledge our ancestors and all of our loved ones who have passed on to Paerau, sleep in peace. We will hold you within our hearts and memories forever.

We also acknowledge our villages across the land. And we thank our invited speakers and the contributors of articles from across the world. You have drawn on your links to the past, your tribal stories, customary practices and traditions to bring distant horizons closer, thus allowing today's generation a glimpse of ancient times and the traditional indigenous knowledge of our forebears. You have called on knowledge, ancient and new, to show how in today's world we can recognise, engage and understand difference.

To the participants who rallied to the call of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, thank you. Thank you also to our sponsors and all those who worked tirelessly to ensure its success. Greetings to one and all.

Acknowledgements

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Foreword

Kei muri i te awe kāpara, he tangata kē: Recognising, engaging, understanding difference

The full proverb from which the theme of this conference was developed reminds us that our need to belong to a collective also means we are keenly attuned to differences among individuals and social groups. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga's third biennial conference in 2008 undertook to explore peacemaking strategies, drawing on the metaphor of the greenstone door. It focused on traditional indigenous concepts, values and ideals that would enhance and sustain balanced and healthy relationships within and across families, communities and nations and traverse local, regional and global borders. The 2010 conference extended this theme by addressing the costs to communities and societies who fail to understand each other and by highlighting the opportunities that spring from mutual engagement. Such engagement allows reflection on our assumptions and practice, our shared pasts and present, which then can lead to the possibilities of imagining and pursuing a better future together.

The 2010 conference provided the forum to discuss strategies for engaging, understanding and accommodating difference. Reflections on difference and responses to it allow us to appreciate the varieties of knowledge pathways and the experiences of diverse groups of people and to explore how through greater awareness we are able to enhance our knowledge of each other and move towards spaces of connection and creativity. To reflect and engage in the possibilities of embracing our common and uncommon experiences is to embrace our common humanity and thus to connect to the realisation of the many pathways to a fully lived collective life. This is not a task for the faint-hearted as the challenges and grievances are great but the needs of the following generations are greater and we must address them.

The collected papers in this conference proceedings demonstrate the opportunities that come from drawing on diverse contexts from international settings that speak to the interface between indigenous and non-indigenous communities. The papers navigate across all disciplines and move beyond identifying and understanding problems toward creative solutions that seek to meet the needs of present and future generations. The conference theme challenged presenters to envision and develop solutions that in the future would not neccessitate the erection of physical, behavioural, policy or procedual defences against other communities. The conference organisers were delighted to be able to bring together scholars, emerging researchers, community leaders, activists, policy makers and elders from all continents and many islands.

The conference allowed an exploration of the indigenous imagination formed by our material and historical reality and powered by our aspirations for the future. As indigenous peoples or as people acutely interested in the knowledge and life worlds of indigenous peoples, we have learnt that to truly understand is rarely simple, that our life worlds are made up of multiple and complex relationships with our land, rivers, resources and people, and that the nature of each relationship impacts on all others. Our values may be simple but complexity informs the challenges and opportunities that we confront daily and collectively. The following works address that simplicity and the complexity.

Dr Tracey McIntosh and Professor Michael Walker
Former Joint Directors of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

Editor's Notes

This Proceedings of the 4th International Traditional Knowledge Conference is made up of two parts, Part A and Part B.

Part A gives background to the Invited Speakers and their presentations and includes four written papers. First, the abstracts and biographies of the Invited Speakers are provided, with a note that video of their presentations is available at Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga's media centre http://mediacentre.maramatanga.ac.nz/2010conference.php. Then follow the written papers submitted by Senator Clayton Hee, Professor Federico Lenzerini, Mancikam Casimir Raj and Associate Professor Ann Sullivan.

Part B is a collection of papers from those who gave presentations in the parallel sessions of the conference. These papers are listed in alphabetical order according to the surname of the lead author. At the end of Part B there is a special section containing four papers from the Tangihanga Symposium. Within the conference, this particular symposium included eight oral presentations and the organisers of the conference are grateful to the Tangihanga Research Programme from Waikato University for their particular contribution to the conference and the Proceedings. The papers in Part B vary in length and style. Most are formally written papers but some are the author's summary of the material they presented at the conference.

The following conventions with regard to language are used in these Proceedings. When a non-English word is used in a paper for the first time, its English translation follows directly after it in brackets. This translation appears again in the Glossary at the end of the paper. In papers containing Māori and Hawaiian words, the macron—a dash placed above vowels—is used to indicate a double-length vowel sound. These macrons are provided to assist the reader to pronounce the words correctly and to avoid ambiguity, for example, mana (authority) and māna (for him/her). In terms of the English language, the conventions of New Zealand English have been the preference.

PART A

PRESENTATIONS BY INVITED SPEAKERS

Invited Speakers: Abstracts and Biographies

At the 4th International Traditional Knowledge Conference, 2010, 12 Invited Speakers addressed the conference on the theme, Kei Muri i te Awe Kāpara he Tangata Kē: Recognising, Engaging, Understanding Difference, according to their particular fields of expertise. This section provides the abstracts and biographies of the Invited Speakers, and is followed by the papers submitted by four of the speakers—Senator Clayton Hee, Professor Federico Lenzerini, Mancikam Casimir Raj and Associate Professor Ann Sullivan. Video of the Invited Speakers' presentations is available at http://mediacentre.maramatanga.ac.nz/2010conference.php

The opening speaker of the conference was Dr Pita Sharples, Minister of Māori Affairs. In alphabetical order, the other Invited Speakers were:

Professor Chen Bateer
Professor Larissa Behrendt
Professor John Borrows
Mayra Gomez
Senator Clayton Hee
Moana Jackson
Professor Federico Lenzerini
Mancikam Casimir Raj
Professor Dan Longboat Roronhiakewan (He Clears the Sky)
Associate Professor Ann Sullivan
Professor Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku.

Their abstracts and biographies follow.

Dr Pita Sharples
Opening Address

Dr Sharples' opening address focused on the value and contemporary relevance of traditional knowledge. Using stories to illustrate his points, he touched on several issues related to his main focus. He talked of how at school he learned so much about the history of the colonisers from the other side of the world and so little of his own—illustrating the imposition of the colonial settlers' culture on indigenous peoples and their lands. He asked why there is so much resistance to the recognition of tangata whenua in the corridors of power.

"We and our Pacific brothers and sisters grew with the land. This is our traditional knowledge," Dr Sharples said. He spoke of Iz (Israel) Kamakawiwoʻole from Hawaiʻi, whose songs have proclaimed the appropriateness of "our knowledge for our time". He affirmed that "traditional knowledge carries the history of our past and defines a pathway for our future"; that it contains the spiritual and cultural references that are so important to indigenous people; and that it is key to indigenous peoples' survival while being, at the same time, a treasure for all people in our contemporary world.

Dr Sharples thanked all who gave their support when he represented this country in endorsing the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Finally, he spoke of the importance of the Wai 262 claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, which is about the indigenous flora and fauna and the traditional knowledge that is so intimately bound up with these taonga (treasures).

Biography

Born in Waipawa, Hawke's Bay, Dr Sharples attended Te Aute Māori Boys' College. He went on to study at The University of Auckland and Auckland Teachers' College, where he completed his teacher

training. In 1976 he was awarded a PhD by The University of Auckland in Anthropology and Linguistics. He headed the Office of the Race Relations Conciliator for 8 years, and later became Director of Culture at the Department of Māori Affairs. He was also a Professor of Education at The University of Auckland. Pita has been actively involved in the West Auckland community for much of his adult life, having raised his family there. In the late 1970s he was instrumental in establishing Hoani Waititi Marae. He has belonged to numerous Māori, community and education organisations and has been a consultant to many government agencies and professional boards. In 2004 he became Co-leader of the Māori Party, and was elected as MP for Tāmaki Makaurau in 2005. He is currently Minister of Māori Affairs, Associate Minister of Education and Associate Minister of Corrections.

Professor Chen Bateer
Helping Indigenous Students to Finish Higher Education in Non-Indigenous Higher Educational Institutions Under Chinese Control

The Mongolians are a group of indigenous people in China with a population of over 5.8 million, or 0.45% of the national total (2000), with more than 4 million Mongolians, or around 16% of the regional total now living in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in China. There are three types of universities or colleges in China in which Mongolian students can pursue higher education. These are: first, 13 national universities or colleges that recruit some Mongolian students; second, colleges or universities in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, at which most Mongolians study; and third, non-Indigenous higher educational institutions in regular hinterland universities, at which a small number of Mongolians study and achieve a higher level of academic excellence. Compared with the students at the first two types of university, those Mongolian students in the third category are facing new challenges. They meet many more problems than their non-Mongolian counterparts during the four-year course. This author proposes a programme of indigenous higher education assistance. A study of 19 Mongolian students in a hinterland university—Nankai University—was undertaken, and the preliminary findings are reported here. This study involves three stages.

1. Identifying the problems of first to fourth-year Mongolian students in Nankai University, mainly concerning the cross-cultural adaptation problems. These can be divided into two types: psychological adaptation and socio-cultural adaptation.
2. Exploring the factors that influence the effective cross-cultural adaptation of minority students in Nankai University. These can be categorised into two main types, external and internal. External factors include life changes, time, social support, cultural distance, prejudices and discrimination. Internal factors are those such as appraisal, coping style, personality, coping resources, knowledge, skills and demographic factors.
3. Putting forward countermeasures including psychological assistance, consulting services and the corresponding social support required. The suggested countermeasures will depend on the findings of the research.

Biography
Chen Bateer is Mongolian. He is Associate Professor at the Higher Education Research Institute of Nankai University in China. His research focuses on indigenous and ethnic minority education. His recent books include *Higher Education of Indigenous Peoples and Minorities in Asia-Pacific* (2009), *Catcher, Self-Consciousness, Comparison—Educational Studies of Indigenous People and Nationalities* (2009) and *On the Evolution of the Mongolians Higher Education Under Cultural Changes* (2004). As a Chair, he organised the session "Education of Indigenous Peoples and Minorities and Human Cultural Diversity" in the *16th International Anthropological and Ethnological Congress* held in July, 2009, Kunming, China. As a key member of the organising committee, he was involved in organising the *Higher Education of Indigenous People and Minorities: Asia-Pacific Symposium and Workshop* held in February, 2008, Nankai University, China.

Professor Larissa Behrendt
Legal Traditions and Indigenous Knowledge

Dominant Western legal systems have failed to protect Indigenous cultures and knowledges. This keynote presentation explores examples of this failure from both the international human rights regime

and domestic law in Australia. It then argues that principles inherent within Indigenous cultures and knowledges can assist in completely transforming the values of dominant Western legal cultures. The engagement with dominant systems, particularly the international human rights regime poses some opportunities and challenges for Indigenous peoples and this keynote presentation will conclude with an exploration of some of these issues.

Biography

Professor Larissa Behrendt is a Eualeyai/Kamillaroi woman. She is Professor of Law and Director of Research at the Jumbunna Indigenous House of Learning at the University of Technology, Sydney. She is admitted to the Supreme Court of the Australian Capital Territory and New South Wales as a barrister. Larissa is a Land Commissioner at the Land and Environment Court and the Alternate Chair of the Serious Offenders Review Board, a member of the Academy of Social Sciences of Australia and a founding member of the Australian Academy of Law. She is the Chair of the Humanities and Creative Arts panel of the Australian Research Council College of Experts. She is the author of several books on Indigenous legal issues. She won the 2002 David Uniapon Award and a 2005 Commonwealth Writer's Prize for her novel, *Home*. Her latest novel, *Legacy*, was released in October 2009. Larissa is a Board Member of the Museum of Contemporary Art, a board member of Tranby Aboriginal College and a Director of the Bangarra Dance Theatre. She was named as 2009 NAIDOC (National Aboriginal and Islander Day Committee) Person of the Year.

Professor John Borrows
Gidawekaamin Bakaanizi: Recognising and Affirming Different Legal Traditions in Canada

Indigenous peoples in Canada have their own laws which continue to regulate their lives and have an important influence on other societies around them. Yet these laws are little understood by most Canadians and are regarded as too different to be recognised and affirmed within Canada's Constitution. This presentation will suggest that Canadian law schools could play an important role in facilitating the teaching of Indigenous laws. I will contend, however, that such teaching should not be undertaken unless it is done by appropriately trained people, in the proper setting, under the direction of Indigenous communities and leaders, and with the support of other key institutions in Canadian law. In this light, this presentation will examine steps the University of Victoria Faculty of Law has taken to develop an Indigenous Law Degree.

Biography

Professor Borrows holds the Law Foundation Professorship of Aboriginal Justice and Governance at the University of Victoria Faculty of Law and the Robina Chair in Law, Public Policy and Society at the University of Minnesota Law School. Previously, he was Associate Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Toronto; Associate Professor and Director of First Nations Legal Studies at the Faculty of Law at the University of British Cololumbia; and Associate Professor and Director of the Intensive Programme in Lands, Resources and First Nations Governments at Osgoode Hall Law School. Professor Borrows has served as Visiting Professor and Acting Executive Director of the Indian Legal Program at Arizona State University College of Law in Phoenix, Arizona; Visiting Professor at the Faculty of Law of the University of New South Wales, Australia; New Zealand Law Foundation Distinguished Visitor at The University of Waikato in New Zealand; Visiting Professor at the University of Minnesota Law School; and Visiting Professor at J. Rueben Clark Law School at Brigham Young University. He teaches in the area of Canadian and US Constitutional Law, Indigenous Law, and US Federal Indian Law. His book, *Recovering Canada; The Resurgence of Indigenous Law*, received the Donald Smiley Award as the best book in Canadian political science. Professor Borrows is a recipient of an Aboriginal Achievement Award in Law and Justice, a Fellow of the Trudeau Foundation, and a Fellow of the Academy of Arts, Humanities and Sciences of Canada (RSC)—Canada's highest academic award.
(Source: http://www.law.uvic.ca/faculty_staff/faculty_directory/borrows.php)

Mayra Gomez
Indigenous Peoples in Bolivia: Claiming Ownership of Our Own Destinies
Mayra will present an historical perspective to contemporary Indigenous movements in Bolivia and examine how the convergence of class-struggle and Indigenous identity politics created a crucial set of circumstances for their rise to political prominence and worldwide attention by bringing about change in the Plurinational State of Bolivia. She will highlight the various political and economic policies paving the way to change, starting with the 1952 revolution, the military dictatorship and the massive privatisation of the 1980s and 1990s leading to the Water and the Gas Wars. Mayra will show how the protests launched a movement of participative democracy, propelling the peaceful political transition of 2006 and opening the path to a "refounding" of Bolivia to overcome legacies of political exclusion. And as global concern rises over social and environmental impacts, the speaker will report on how the current Bolivian government has assumed initiative in the defence of the rights of Mother Earth by convening the social movements of the world to advance a strong position in the global climate policy debate.

Biography
Both of Mayra's parents were born and raised in the Andes in a small Aymara village called Chijmuni in the Aroma Province. They later emigrated first to the city of La Paz, where she was born, then to Chile, and later to California. As an adult, Mayra lived and worked in Nicaragua and Europe for an extensive time and presently resides in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Mayra has been an activist of Aymara/Indigenous people for much of her adult life, leading her to be in Genève in 1993 as the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was being completed. There, she denounced the effects of uranium mining on life and indigenous peoples. Her work experience is varied: she was a partner in an international literary agency where she dealt with copyright issues; she was an outreach coordinator for the United Nations Foundation and she also worked in Bolivia as the International Media Liaison for the government. Mayra holds a Masters degree in Pacific International Affairs from the University of California, a multi-disciplinary programme including economics, finance, and politics; she has particular expertise in international environmental policy and Latin America as regional area of concentration. She has also studied human rights and Latin American studies at the University of Sorbonne, France.

Senator Clayton Hee
The Politics of Being Indigenous

> In the midst of these evidences of prosperity it is but too apparent that the natives are steadily decreasing in numbers and gradually losing their hold upon the land of their fathers. Within a century they have dwindled from four hundred thousand to a little more than a tenth of that number of landless, hopeless victims. They are slowly sinking under the restraints and burdens of their surroundings, and will in time succumb to social and political conditions foreign to their natures and poisonous to their blood. Year by year their footprints will grow more dim along the sands of their reef-sheltered shores until finally their voices will be heard no more forever. And then, if not before, the Hawaiian Islands will pass into the political, as they are now firmly within the great American Republic. (King Kalakaua, 1887)

In less than a decade from his observation, his kingdom would be overthrown, his successor Queen Liliuokalani imprisoned and his islands annexed to the United States. Who could have known that in less than a generation the natives would lose their land and their language—and thereby their identity? This was not by accident but rather by a calculated effort that began in 1820 with the arrival of the missionaries and culminated a century later with a state of affairs in which the indigenous people were rendered mere facsimiles of their forefathers, mimicking without understanding their songs and hula. Is the Hawaiian situation unique, given the fact that as native peoples we are intrinsically linked by our cultural similarities and connected one to another by our ocean that has served as a highway since time immemorial? How do we as indigenous people regain our identity in a moneyed economy where the poor principally live out their culture while the elite merely talk about it? What role can institutions like universities undertake and assume

other than being an arm of the ruling class? Can politics be successfully utilised to reverse the reality of the loss of our identity and to promote the wellbeing of Pacific indigenes? These issues will be discussed as they relate to self-determination for native Hawaiians and the long road that must be taken to achieve this.

Biography

A keiki o ka 'āina, Clayton Hee was born, raised and still lives on the windward side of O'ahu. He is an educator by profession, and has spent 24 years in elective office and public service. He currently chairs the Committee on Water, Land, Agriculture and Hawaiian Affairs of the Hawai'i State Senate. In June 2008 Hee received the Arthur P. McCormick Award from the Hawaiian Humane Society for his work in protecting animals, most recently for authoring legislation making cruelty to animals a felony and including for the first time equines (horses) in the protected category. In 2010, Hee introduced and was instrumental in passing the first ban on shark-finning in the entire country, making Hawai'i the lead state in helping to end this practice devastating to the ocean's ecology. A horseman, Hee is a member and competitor of the Hawai'i Rodeo Association. He was President of the Student Body in his senior year at Kamehameha Schools. A native Hawaiian, Hee has studied in several areas of the Pacific while earning a Master's Degree in Pacific Islands Program, a multi-disciplinary programme whose core belief is that in Oceania the Pacific islands are connected by the sea that binds us as Pacific people one to another. As Chairman of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) he passed programmes to benefit Hawaiians including low-interest mortgages for Hawaiian Homelands residents, funding for Hawaiian language programmes, the creation of the Ke'elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai'i, the establishment of the Master of Arts Degree in Hawaiian Language and the establishment of the PhD in Hawaiian language and cultural revitalisation. He oversaw the growth of OHA's assets from US$19 million in 1990 to over US$400 million during his tenure as Chairman. He has a strong legislative record of supporting the environment, organised labour, programmes benefiting Hawai'i's lower-income residents and furthering the interests of native Hawaiians and Pacific islanders.

Moana Jackson
Power, Law and the Privileging of Difference

Developing strategies for generating social, educational, intellectual and economic opportunities should be an essential part of any reclaiming and development of Indigenous Knowledges and indeed Indigenous self-determination. However it is important to contextualise them in the need for Indigenous Peoples to engage in the political and constitutional debate about power that has so inhibited our potential to both generate these opportunities as well as foster positive relationship building. This presentation will consider difference and the question of who defines and privileges difference in the context of constitutional transformation and the potential for Māori law to promote relationship building. It will also consider the need to reclaim Māori and other indigenous laws and philosophies as a basis for social and intellectual as well as well as political self determination.

Biography

Moana Jackson's tribal affiliations are Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine and Ngāti Porou. Moana is a much loved Dad and Koro to his beloved whānau and mokopuna and a highly regarded lawyer and activist throughout Aotearoa and internationally. Moana graduated in Law from Victoria University in Wellington; was Director of the Māori Law Commission; was appointed Judge on the international People's Tribunal in 1993 and has since then sat on hearings in Hawai'i, Canada and Mexico. He was appointed Visiting Fellow at the Victoria University Law School in 1995, and was elected Chair of the Indigenous People's Caucus of the United Nations Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Moana teaches on the Māori Law and Philosophy degree programme at Te Wānanga o Raukawa and wrote about restorative justice in a highly acclaimed report in 1996 called *Māori and the Criminal Justice System*.

Professor Federico Lenzerini
The United Nations Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Amending Five Centuries of Wrongs

The adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) by the UN General Assembly September 13, 2007, has represented a landmark event in the struggle of indigenous peoples for the recognition of their rights, and for retrieving their liberty to retain their identity and to decide autonomously what their future must be. The text of the Declaration was adopted by an overwhelming majority of 143 States voting in favour, 11 abstentions and only 4 voting against (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America). Subsequently, Australia drastically revised its position on the Declaration through endorsing it in April 2009. Similarly, on April 19, 2010, the Government of New Zealand announced its support for the Declaration, while on the following day the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations announced at the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues the intention of her government to review its position concerning the UNDRIP. This reality shows clear evidence of the existence of universal support within the international community towards the affirmation of indigenous peoples' rights. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples solemnly recognises a number of individual and collective rights in favour of indigenous peoples, affirmed by 46 articles; the content of which has been drafted with the active participation of indigenous representatives. These rights—including those to self-determination; to autonomy or self-government; to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions; to the dignity and diversity of their cultures and traditions; to the lands, territories and resources that they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired; to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over their cultural heritage; traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions; as well as to redress for the wrongs suffered—are shaped in a culturally sensitive manner, taking into account the specific needs and ways of life of indigenous peoples. The 2007 Declaration represents the completion of a long evolution of pertinent international law and practice, in the context of which a number of international institutions — including the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights as well as many domestic judges—have progressively recognised and affirmed the rights of indigenous peoples through an evolutionary interpretation of human rights standards.

Biography

Professor Federico Lenzerini was born in Poggibonsi, Italy, on October 7, 1968. He was Juris Doctor magna cum laude at the University of Siena, Italy, in 1998 and was granted his PhD in International Law from the University of Bari, Italy, in 2003. He is Professor of Public International Law, Private International Law and European Union Law at the University of Siena in Italy. Occasionally, he is Consultant to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and Legal Advisor of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at international negotiations concerning the protection of cultural heritage. Lenzerini is also a Rapporteur of the Intern ational Law Association (ILA) Committee on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Member of the ILA Committee on Biotechnology. His main research areas include the rights of indigenous peoples; international protection of human rights; rights of asylum and refugee protection; international safeguarding of cultural heritage; international environmental law; and international trade law.

Mancikam Casimir Raj
Dialectic Engagement in a Multicultural Society

Dalits, known and treated as untouchable people in India and in some countries in Asia, are the original indigenous people of India. Untouchability was imposed on them by the Hindu religion, with the arrival of the Aryans in India 3500 years ago. Aryans came into India and colonised the country and have made it their own through multifarious projects of Brahminisation. Dalits still remain in virtual colonisation in their own country. The subjugation of Dalits has been wrought through many centuries of oppressive scheming, subsuming assimilation and banning of education for Dalits. The British came and opened up education for Dalits. Among the many who used such opportunities was Dr B. R. Ambedkar, who later became the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution of post-British India. Through affirmative actions known as "reservation", Dalits have made inroads, though grossly inadequate, into many level playing fields. The recent cultural resurgence of Dalits in

pockets of India has led to stronger assertion of cultural and political identity. In line with their cultural history Dalits have deeply respected multiple spaces of all people in India, including their oppressors. They have recognised the differences that exist in Indian society but have struggled hard not to let differences become the foundations of discrimination. Their political assertion has taken them to assert the need for a dialectic democracy in India, thus recognising the space for thesis and counter-thesis among indigenous and non-indigenous groups, slowly leading to a transformation of social hegemony into social harmony. There are very recent efforts to forge a cultural and political unity among Dalits and other indigenous groups of people, especially in the North Eastern parts of the country. We recognise the need for respecting different cultures within the Indian nation. Without such mutual respect India will cease to be a nation. The Hindutva forces are making an all-out effort to make India a nation of one culture, one history and one politics. It will be very interesting to see how Dalits weave a path of living together while at the same time recognising and accepting multiplicity as an essential way of living in India. We Dalits are also now aspiring to forge unity among the different indigenous communities of the world. It will be a path-breaking effort and an unprecedented success when it is achieved.

Biography
Manickam Casimir Raj is a rare combination of Dalit activism and intellectualism. He hails from a historically unseeable people in India and has enhanced himself with academic qualifications in philosophy and in sociology. He is an international campaigner for Dalit liberation, and travels all over the world building up alliances for the promotion of indigenous systems of governance and values. Together with his wife Jyothi he has a built up a very successful Movement of Dalits in Karnataka. They have established the first ever Dalit Ashram in a village and live there in South India. Raj has now initiated a major Campaign for Electoral System in India (CERI). Recently he started the same campaign in Nepal. He is an established author with more than 15 published books. He writes on philosophy, spirituality, psychology and politics. His book on Dalit Psychology is the recipient of an international award. Raj also writes novels, published in the USA. Raj is now working on the formation of a World Parliament of Indigenous People. He is invited by many universities in different countries to deliver lectures on Dalit issues.

Professor Dan Longboat Roronhiakewan (He Clears the Sky)
Indigenous Environmental Studies: The Changing Face of Environmental Education
The "education" brought by colonial governments to many Indigenous Peoples was used as a blunt tool of assimilation. It conducted frontal attacks on languages, religions and cultures, eroding both Indigenous identity and Indigenous rights. It is not ancient history. Living survivors of abusive institutions and policies continue to suffer, and there is strong evidence that the damage resounds through generations. As contemporary Indigenous peoples, we must approach formal education pragmatically, carefully weighing its challenges and opportunities. Education offers us the tools to join or challenge a globalised economy. It offers our future leaders the tools to ensure that we will not be marginalised in development; that we will never again be poor spectators as our lands are exploited. Knowledge can be used to protect the land as an ancient trust or it can be used to participate in its destruction. The global economy gives us choices, each with its own cost to humans and environment alike. We are all too aware of the costs. The cost of unchecked development is unacceptable. Indigenous peoples feel this keenly. We are the first to be hurt. We suffer the deepest pain. It will take generations to reverse the environmental damage that threatens life's existence today. Both developed and developing nations need to change their ways, quickly and deeply. My people, the Haudenosaunee, explained this in 1975 with *A Basic Call to Consciousness*. The message has not changed. We need to change the face of education to begin to serve the environment, the people who depend on it and we must do this for the benefit of all Life. These issues are the focus of the evolving discipline of environmental studies. Less than 40 years old, it is still in its infancy as an academic discipline. Environmental education finds its roots in the natural sciences and the social sciences. It is often depicted as a combination of "sciences" and "studies". From scientific inquiry we draw part of our understanding of the biology of the natural world. From social sciences we learn about our own relationships with it. More recently, traditional Indigenous knowledge has been recognised as an important component of environmental understanding. Indigenous people are now beginning to take

their rightful place among educators. One intersection of Indigenous knowledge and environmental education is located at Trent University in Canada. Indigenous Environmental Studies (IES) is a new academic discipline but not a new idea. It is based on the precept of Indigenous resiliency and adaptability. It fosters necessary conversations between Indigenous environmental knowledge and scientific environmental knowledge. It seeks to identify differences, similarities and commonalities in these knowledge systems, to create a mutually beneficial, focused perspective. This shared perspective, in turn, encourages a broader and deeper understanding of environment, ecology, place and spirit. This presentation will provide an overview of both the process and content of the programme. It will stress the need to create IES programmes in other academic environments. To address the environmental crisis we all face we need to share our best thinking and our most powerful knowledge, in the most effective ways possible.

Biography
Dr. Dan Longboat Roronhiakewen (He Clears the Sky) belongs to the Turtle Clan of the Mohawk Nation. He is a citizen of the Haudenosaunee, originally from Ohswe:ken, the Six Nations community on the Grand River Territory, and now living in Peterborough, Ontario. From Trent University he earned a Bachelors Degree in Native Studies with a special interest in Human Psychology. He received with distinction a Masters Degree in Environmental Studies and a PhD in Environmental Studies. His dissertation is nominated for an award of excellence through the Faculty of Graduate Studies at York University. Longboat is currently a Professor in the Department of Indigenous Studies and is the Founder and Director of the Indigenous Environmental Studies Program at Trent University. This is the first and only university level programme for Indigenous Environmental Studies in the country. The programme is founded upon a basis of cultural knowledge, which serves to support research and development of culturally based courses and integrated science programmes focused upon Indigenous: human health and the environment, foods and medicines, natural resource restoration, community sustainability, international Indigenous networks, Indigenous languages, cultures and the recognition of traditional life skills and practices. Noted as an exceptional speaker, Longboat guest lectures in numerous communities, schools, colleges and universities throughout Canada and the eastern United States. Longboat strongly encourages the recognition of Indigenous knowledge and study with traditional peoples and Elders. He recognises the critical importance of language learning and the support for culturally based programmes. Longboat encourages youth to participate in initiatives that work to create positive change that serves to benefit their communities and the natural environment. He believes direct involvement and active participation through working together, and always using a "Good Mind", to be a major part of our responsibilities as human beings and in particular as Haudenosaunee (The People of the Longhouse of One Family) to work together to create positive change.

Associate Professor Ann Sullivan
It's Not About Race, It's About Rights
The right to vote is the foundation of democracy. The rules, policies and governance structures of New Zealand flow from the act of voting. The focus of this paper questions whether the process of democracy in local government is inclusive when there is a lack of engagement with and by Māori. Few Māori participate in local government elections and very few Māori are elected to district, city or regional councils. The deep rooted public sentiment "no taxation without representation" extends to the lands of Tāmaki Makaurau, much of which was transferred by Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei in exchange for good governance, good health and good education practices. Today, local Māori, as Treaty partners with major social and economic investments and interests in the region, have a right to be represented on Auckland's soon-to-be-established, political decision-making, local authority. Auckland's supercity will not, despite the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, have dedicated Māori electorates or representatives. The popularised sentiment "the one pervading evil of democracy is the tyranny of the majority" characterises our government's refusal to safeguard Treaty of Waitangi principles and Māori rights to partnership, protection and participation in local government politics.

Ann Sullivan's tribal affiliation is Ngāpuhi. Ann is a political scientist and Associate Professor in Māori Studies at The University of Auckland. Ann's teaching and research cover a range of areas of Māori development with an emphasis on Māori representation, electoral behaviour and public policy.

Professor Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku
Tānenuiārangi—Difference Through a Metaphor of Death and Memory

Tānenuiārangi, the monumental carved house, offers a vivid representation of everything meaningful to Māori—our histories, our rituals, our tribal narratives, our spirituality, our core values, our adornment, and our differences from each other and from the others. By engaging with this house in the context of te awe kāpara, this presentation considers recent conflicts and their resolution, the significance of inscribing identity, and the potential of remembering, memorialising, and reflecting on common human experience.

Biography
Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku is a Professor at The University of Waikato where she is co-leader of the Tangihanga Research Programme. The Programme successfully bidded for funding from three generous sources, the Health Research Council, the Marsden Fund and Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku grew up in a family of Te Arawa (Ngāti Whakaue) weavers, carvers and storytellers in Ohinemutu, Rotorua. In 1981, she gained her PhD, her dissertation being an investigation of the socio-cultural impact of tourism on the Te Arawa people. A veteran cultural activist, she has published extensively on heritage issues, tā moko, ethics, gender and indigenous sexualities. Her books include *He Tikanga Whakaaro: Research Ethics in the Māori Community* (1991) and *Mana Wahine Māori—Selected Writings on Māori Women's Art, Culture and Politics* (1991). She main-authored the Māori Book of the Decade, *Mau Moko: The World of Māori Tattoo* (2007). Her creative work includes two collections, *Tahuri: Stories* (1989) and *Ruahine: Mythic Women* (2003). She has worked in the museum and university sectors for over 30 years. Until July 2009 she chaired Te Waka Toi, the Māori Arts Board, following 6 years service on the Council of Creative New Zealand/Toi Aotearoa.

The Politics of Being Indigenous

The Honourable Senator Clayton Hee, M.A.
Native Hawaiian
Hawai'i State Senate, Chairperson Committee on Water, Land, Agriculture and Hawaiian Affairs

Abstract

In the midst of these evidences of prosperity it is but too apparent that the natives are steadily decreasing in numbers and gradually losing their hold upon the land of their fathers. Within a century they have dwindled from four hundred thousand to a little more than a tenth of that number of landless, hopeless victims. They are slowly sinking under the restraints and burdens of their surroundings, and will in time succumb to social and political conditions foreign to their natures and poisonous to their blood. Year by year their footprints will grow more dim along the sands of their reef-sheltered shores until finally their voices will be heard no more forever. And then, if not before, the Hawaiian Islands will pass into the political, as they are now firmly within, the great American Republic. (King Kalākaua, 1887)

In less than a decade from his observation, King Kalākaua's kingdom would be overthrown, his successor Queen Lili'uokalani imprisoned and his islands annexed to the United States of America. Who could have known that in less than a generation the natives would lose their land and their language—and thereby their identity? This was not an accident but a calculated effort that began in 1820 with the arrival of the missionaries and culminated a century later with a state of affairs in which the indigenous people were rendered mere facsimiles of their forefathers, mimicking without understanding their songs and hula.

Is the Hawai'i situation unique, given that native peoples of the Pacific are intrinsically linked by our cultural similarities and connected by our ocean that has served as a highway since time immemorial? How do we as indigenous people regain our identity in a moneyed economy, where the poor principally live out their culture while the elite merely talk about it? What role can institutions such as universities undertake and assume other than being an arm of the ruling class? Can politics be successfully utilised to reverse the reality of the loss of our identity and to promote the well-being of Pacific indigenes?

These issues will be discussed as they relate to self-determination for native Hawaiians and the long road that must be taken to achieve this.

Keywords

Invited Speech

'Auhea 'oukou e ko ka lani, e ko ka honua, e nā mea i 'ike 'ole 'ia a me nā maka ola o kēia hale, nā kama'āina 'ōiwi nona ka 'āina e ho'okipa mai nei, e mālama mai nei ho'i iā mākou, nā malihini i hiki mai i kēia mau lā. 'Auhea nō ho'i 'oukou e nā 'ohana hānau o ka iwi ho'okahi me ko'u, o ka 'i'o ho'okahi me ko'u, a me ke koko ho'okahi me ko'u, nā mamo a nā 'ohana o kākou i 'au mai i Aotearoa nei i luna o ka moana kai hohonu ma luna o nā wa'a kaulana o kākou, a pēlā nā 'ōiwi 'ē a'e o ke ao, a me nā kānaka a pau o kēia hui 'ana.

Aloha nui kākou.

I begin by addressing those of the sky and the land, those invisible and the living faces here in this building, those native people indigenous to this place who are welcoming us as visitors who have come here during this period. I address especially those to whom I am related through sharing the same bones, flesh and blood, the descendants of our shared relatives who travelled here to Aotearoa over the deep sea upon our famous canoes, as well as all other indigenous peoples and others here at this conference.

My deepest aloha to you all.

It is my honour to speak before you as an elected member of the districts of Koʻolau Loa and Koʻolau Poko on Oʻahu in the Hawaiʻi State Legislature, and as a former elected Chairman of the Hawaiʻi State Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Since I was first elected in 1982, I have had the time to participate and bear witness to political changes affecting native Hawaiians over the last generation.

My ancestry on my mother's side is ʻōiwi Hawaiʻi, native Hawaiian from Waipiʻo—ka ʻāina kaulana o ʻUmi-a-Līloa, ancestor of the aliʻi of Hawaiʻi, and home to the Pākaʻalana heiau—ka hale o Liloa a me ka wailele o Hiʻilawe. My mother and I belong to the lost generations where, although her parents spoke Hawaiian to each other, she and her siblings were spoken to only in English—the great homogeniser and disinfectant whose profound impact on all native peoples is self-evident.

My father's ancestors came to ʻōlelo from China. They came at a time when, under the Hawaiian Kingdom, native Hawaiians were the dominant ethnic group in community, social and political life. My father, like native Hawaiians, is one of those who we refer to as "the local people"— people who speak our unique Hawaiʻi form of English we call Pidgin.

The arrival of others to Hawaiʻi, attracted primarily by the burgeoning sugar industry, coincided with the decline of the native population, which British seafarer James Cook estimated at 400,000 in 1778. Fifty-four years later, in 1832, the population had decreased to 130,000, then to 40,000 in 1887 and to 20,000 in 1920. Today not only are native Hawaiians a minority in their homeland but local people like my father have also become a minority to the new "majority" of people, who live in Hawaiʻi but were born elsewhere.

Politics, on the other hand, has continually existed as the bastion of local control. In overwhelming numbers, those elected to office are born in Hawaiʻi, a distinction that over time is sure to change. As a local, I am part of a majority in the Hawaiʻi state legislature. As a native Hawaiian, I am a minority, coming from Hawaiʻi a keiki hanau o koʻu aina aloha, a native son of my beloved land. Ironically, my culture is recognised as the core of being local. I should note here that nearly 30 years ago, when first elected to the House of Representatives, I earned the scorn of other local non-Hawaiian legislators for speaking Hawaiian on the chamber floor of the House. Nearly 30 years later, the attitude has changed significantly although I am not sure why.

Similarly, when growing up in the 1950s and 1960s, I was constantly reminded of my heritage—that I was a Chinese Hawaiian lad. The Chinese, you see, were destined to become bankers and businessmen while Hawaiians were certain to earn a living strumming guitars, paddling surfboards or consuming bottles of beer. Fifty years later I have become a native Hawaiian who is also Chinese, a subtle yet profound change to the overt institutional racism practised during the lifetimes of my grandmother, mother and me.

This conference provides the opportunity for us to understand the stranger behind the tattooed face—the face marked by a distinctive culture that differs from others. While understanding the stranger in order to achieve a level of working together is important, I believe that one reason that distinct cultural groups in Hawaiʻi—such as my mother's people and my father's people—have been able to work together as locals is because of a perspective that derives from our indigenous heritage.

Central to the native Hawaiian perspective is the belief that you cannot fully understand the other person, even one from your own ancestry. "No lākou nō ko lākou poʻopoʻo" (They alone own their own deep recesses), is the saying used for this value. The other side to this perspective is that we must "*aloha* ko kakou ʻohana i ka Pakipika". Thus, no matter how strange the tattoo on the face, we have a connection of aloha to our brothers and sisters of the Pacific. After all, unlike the Eurocentric perspective that views our homelands as tiny islands scattered throughout Oceania and divided by the great Pacific, we as natives view the ocean as our highway that connects and binds us one to another. In that context, the man behind the tattooed face is me.

This native Hawaiian perspective is supported for the most part by local people. It is manifested by a native Hawaiian identity for people of the first nation of our islands. Thus, our state flag is the flag of the Hawaiian monarchy, our state motto (that exists only in Hawaiian) is the motto of the Hawaiian monarchy and our state song is sung only in Hawaiian and refers to defending our king— and our sovereignty—despite the fact that Hawaiʻi is a state of the United States of America (US), a country that outlaws all titles of nobility, including the titles of our aliʻi.

Speaking Hawaiian, or should I say re-learning Hawaiian, is essential to being Hawaiian. Or put another way, can we be native without speaking or understanding our native language? And is understanding who we are one of the first steps towards nationhood? Noted Hawaiian scholar Mary Kawena Pukui (1983, p. 66, ʻōlelo noʻeau #570) wrote, "He Hawaiʻi ʻuala Kahiki." This ʻōlelo noʻeau describes a term of derision applied to a native Hawaiian who apes the ways of the whites instead of appreciating the culture of his or her own people. It is also said of one who is absolutely ignorant of his or her culture, as in "He Hawaiʻi ʻuala Kahiki ʻai ʻole, he kanaka Hawaiʻi ʻoia, aka, he ʻuala mai kahiki nui mai" (He is Hawaiian but he is distanced from the culture of his people).

This shared indigenous perspective of many dedicated local people of Hawaiʻi has facilitated progress in addressing indigenous language education in Hawaiʻi. Yet, it is a perspective that in and of itself cannot produce results. In other words, laws must be introduced, passed and implemented. This is the politics of being indigenous.

I have addressed many things in my legislative career but my work in indigenous language education is something that binds Hawaiʻi and Aotearoa in an especially strong way. I should like to focus on this aspect of indigenous politics as a vehicle for change.

Our native tongue in Hawaiʻi is a Polynesian language closely related to that here in Aotearoa. The struggle for Hawaiian language education has been closely tied to that of Aotearoa, particularly through collaborations in recent times. However, there are considerable differences. ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi is much more endangered than Māori. My mother, who is 80, cannot speak Hawaiian fluently, and as a result will not speak it at all, regardless of the fact that those in her parents' generation did. That generation has all passed on. By 1920 the last vestige of Hawaiians who used Hawaiian as their peer-group language was found on the tiny, highly isolated island of Niʻihau, home to just 200 people.

Thirty-nine years ago in 1971, I learned my language at the University of Hawaiʻi when Hawaiian Studies was still in its infancy. I then became a teacher of Hawaiian Studies on small, rural Molokaʻi Island. At that time there were still older native speakers of Hawaiian living on Molokaʻi. I never forgot them and they, my kūpuna, have been my inspiration on native issues involving land disputes and education struggles to this very day.

I was first elected to the House of Representatives from Molokaʻi. Soon after, I was approached by friends, some of whom had been my Hawaiian language teachers, to overcome legal barriers to establishing language programmes like Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori in Aotearoa. You see, as part of the process of the overthrow of the government of our independent kingdom and the US annexation of Hawaiʻi, the Hawaiian language medium schools were closed. Moreover, in 1896, just 3 years after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, spoken Hawaiian as a language of instruction was made illegal.

I worked on this legislation with Hawaiian language teachers who were in close contact with Māori language activists—people such as Tāmati Reedy, Tīmoti Kāretū and Iri Tawhiwhirangi. It took 3 years to pass a law to legalise the Hawaiian language as a medium of instruction. Implementing the new law took several years of dedicated language activists, through many public hearings, to compel the State of Hawai'i Department of Education to comply.

The University of Hawai'i has had a critical role in the success of Hawaiian language revitalisation by providing teachers for the public education system. Led by dedicated Hawaiian language believers, legislators and other public officials worked to establish a separate Hawaiian language college at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo. With a separate Hawaiian medium teacher education programme, two graduate Master of Arts programmes and a PhD programme, all administered in Hawaiian, Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani became the first of their kind. These benchmark initiatives could not have happened but for the political changes and social changes in Hawai'i. Political changes included the establishment of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, the centennial observance of the overthrow of the kingdom of Hawai'i and the birth of 'Aha Pūnana Leo—despite the difficulties and institutional obstacles that were present then and continue today.

Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani now includes a pre- to high-school Hawaiian language medium laboratory school called Ke Kula 'O Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u, and an affiliated bilingual museum of science and culture called 'Imiloa. Thus, today in Hawai'i a full preschool to doctoral programme is taught and administered through the Hawaiian language. The programme is especially strong in the full use of the Hawaiian language as a daily language of peer group communication—an especially difficult accomplishment in many language revitalisation efforts. Today, the State of Hawai'i is the only state where the native language has realised these achievements. Hawai'i has become an international model for indigenous language education, partly as a result of the collaborative partnerships whose roots are firmly planted here in Aotearoa.

It is important to note that a single programme or college cannot be the "end all" of an indigenous language movement. Native legislators have insisted that our government support kindergarten through to grade 12 immersion schooling throughout the Hawaiian Islands, second language high school study of 'ōlelo Hawai'i, and college and post-graduate study of the language in our state 4- and 2-year universities and colleges.

Over the past few years I have focused on teacher education and educational leadership in the state's largest university, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. The goals of Ho'okulāiwi 'Aha Ho'ona'auao 'Ōiwi are to prepare teachers for Hawai'i Department of Education (DOE) Title I schools in native Hawaiian communities, for the Hawai'i DOE Hawaiian Language Immersion Program and for Hawaiian charter schools, and to prepare native Hawaiian educational leaders in areas such as research, school administration and teacher education through study at master's and doctoral levels.

Providing opportunities for children in English medium classrooms to be instructed by teachers grounded in the Hawaiian language and culture has important implications. A child whose parent has enrolled him or her in an English language programme with such teachers is likely to end up being a strong supporter of the Hawaiian language later in life. I am such a case. A good example of this manifestation in serving these children is a native from Aotearoa, Dr Margie Maaka. Margie (Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Awa and Ngāi Tahu) is an important part of the College of Education at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and has been instrumental in working with me to establish Ho'okulāiwi. Ho'okulāiwi prepares educators for both Hawaiian and English medium classrooms who have strong backgrounds in Hawaiian language, culture and education; who are well-versed in English language, culture and education; and who have the expertise to research and develop new theories, pedagogy and curricula that reflect the needs of Hawaiian communities. Margie is an example of several non-Hawaiians with whom I work to raise the educational achievement of native Hawaiians through the revitalisation of the Hawaiian language and culture, especially those native Hawaiians in

underserved communities. Openness to non-Hawaiians participating with Hawaiians reflects the local values referred to earlier as the core strength of Hawai'i. Although Māori is about as close to Hawaiian as is possible, Margie is a testament to the fact that no one island group can go it alone and reasonably expect to succeed.

I am constantly reminded that Hawaiians are, culturally, brothers and sisters of Māori and other Pacific peoples. More often than not we share the sad history of the banning of our languages as part of the process of the political domination and cleansing of our islands by colonial governments foreign to ours. That we find ourselves working together now makes perfect sense.

A major concern in Hawai'i has been to ensure that the US Government does not once again destroy our language, but instead provides the means to maintain and strengthen the native Hawaiian language. Furthermore, we Hawaiians seek to support the language revitalisation aspirations of fellow indigenous peoples who share with us political control by the US. This has been difficult, due to the history of the US relative to indigenous peoples, but we have made some progress.

Twenty-three years ago, in 1987, with the support of others, I introduced a resolution in our state legislature calling on the US Congress to establish an official policy statement in relation to native American languages: that these include Hawaiian, American Indian, Alaska Native and US Pacific Island languages (such as the native languages of Guam and Samoa). At that time it was still standard US practice to expedite the transition from these languages to English with no provisions for indigenous language education or other official uses of these languages. Wording from this resolution was lifted by our US senators Daniel Inouye and Daniel Akaka to produce the Congressional Native American Languages Act of 1990. The passage of the Native American Languages Act involved a national coalition of indigenous peoples from throughout the US with intense involvement, participation and leadership of Hawaiian language activists.

The Native American Languages Act is just a beginning and much remains to be done relative to indigenous language-medium education. As a result, Hawaiian language-medium and immersion education has struggled to deal with US laws on testing, grants and accreditation that fail to reflect the aims or the spirit of the federal act. This is illustrated by the fact that only 3% of native Hawaiian children are in the Pūnana Leo school system compared with approximately 40% of Māori children in Te Kōhanga Reo.

On a policy level, the US has failed to endorse the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Hopefully, pressure from the few US state and federal legislators of indigenous ancestry can further the adoption of the UN Declaration by the US. I congratulate my fellow Polynesian legislator Peter Sharples and those working with him in recently obtaining New Zealand endorsement of that declaration.

As indigenous legislators, we cannot forget that much remains to be done once a policy statement, law or even funding is secured. I vividly recall visits to persuade administrators, university presidents, chancellors, bureaucrats and school principals to carry out what we in the legislature had passed and made the letter of our law. Even with the strides made—programmes in schools and use of our languages in the media and other public venues—true success advances when those languages are actually used by teachers, children and families in an authentic way.

To me the credibility and truth of our Hawaiian language rests in that duality of the values I stated earlier: First, ho'āno, a respect for the differences of others with a sense that they have a distinct genealogy and mana that can be appreciated but never fully known. And second, aloha for the fellow humans and fellow creatures of this world. The tattooed face deserves our respect and our allowance to be his or her own person, and aloha for being an integral part of our work.

In closing I am reminded of the words of the last Queen of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Lili'uokalani, who spoke in desperation of the duality of political change and aloha. In 1917, 24 years

after the overthrow of the Hawaiian nation, she said "I could not turn back the time for political change but there is still time to save our heritage. You must never cease to act because you fear you may fail." She continued:

> The way to lose a kingdom is to be inflexible, intolerant and prejudicial. Another way is to be too flexible, tolerant of too many wrongs and without judgment at all. It is a razor's edge. It is the width of a blade of pili grass. We must be able to hear what is not said, to see what cannot be seen and to know the unknowable. Then and only then we will know the true meaning of aloha.

Mahalo nui loa iā ʻoukou a pau, e nā kamaʻāina o Aotearoa, e nā ʻōiwi o ke ao, e nā kānaka a pau i ʻākoakoa mai i ka malu o kēia ao i puka mai loko mai o Wākea a me Papa.

My heartfelt gratitude to all of you, the hosts from Aotearoa, the indigenous peoples of the world, and all those who have gathered here in the shelter of the world that emerged from Papa and Wakea.

Glossary

aliʻi	rulers
aloha	affection
hoʻāno	a respect for the differences of others
hula	dance
kūpuna	ancestors
ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi	Hawaiian language
ʻōlelo noʻeau	proverbial saying

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The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:
Amending Five Centuries of Wrongs

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Abstract

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted by the General Assembly on September 13, 2007. It represents a major milestone in the struggle of Indigenous Peoples to recover their cultural identity and dignity as different peoples, and proclaims customary international law in the field. In addition, proper implementation of the main provisions of the UNDRIP is an essential requirement to ensure compliance with some obligations proclaimed by the United Nations Charter. It is particularly notable that a number of the provisions in the UNDRIP are characterised by unprecedented cultural sensibility and consideration for the philosophy of life and legal schemes typical of Indigenous Peoples, making the Declaration unique in the international legal arena. However, the UNDRIP should be considered as just a starting point in the struggle of Indigenous Peoples to properly recover the place to which they are entitled in the contemporary world.

Introduction: A Trail of Tears

It is well known that the last five centuries of the history of Indigenous Peoples have been like a trail of tears, paved—stone by stone—with an innumerable series of atrocious wrongs perpetrated by Western people and their insatiable hunger for power and wealth, including genocide, massacres, slaughters and subjugation in slavery-like conditions. These atrocities have been "philosophically" justified by the argument of racial superiority, self-perceived by the perpetrators, and have sometimes been blessed in the name of God (for example, with the Papal Bull, Inter Cetera, issued by the Roman Pontiff Alexander VI on May 4, 1493, where he expressed the desire that "barbarous nations" be "overthrown" and brought to the Christian religion) (Taliman, 1994). One of the darkest pages of the history of humanity has therefore been written, in the context of which occupation and exploitation of the lands belonging to Indigenous Peoples has been legally grounded on the basis of fictional arguments, particularly the doctrines of discovery, conquest and terra nullius (land belonging to no one). The absolute lack of foundation for these doctrines was proclaimed by the International Court of Justice in the advisory opinion of October 16, 1975, concerning *Western Sahara*. On that occasion the Court emphasised in particular that, at the time indigenous lands were occupied by Western colonisers, the holders of those lands "were socially and politically organized in tribes and under chiefs competent to represent them", therefore possessing all the necessary attributes for being considered sovereign entities equivalent to modern states.

In recent times, a process of redress to amend for the crimes perpetrated in the past against Indigenous Peoples has been activated within the international community (Lenzerini, 2008). Even though this process is inevitably slow and so far its outcomes still partial (a long distance being yet to be covered in this respect), some of its results are notable, as the process epitomises a very significant revolution in the aptitude of the international legal world towards Indigenous Peoples, and provides more or less effective reparation for the victims of the said crimes. According to contemporary international law—in fact, it is undeniable—Indigenous Peoples are a legal *subject*; that is, they are holders of rights and obligations and therefore an active part in the processes of formation, development, implementation and enforcement of international law, along with states and other

collective entities as well as individuals. This reality was first symbolised by the adoption in 1989 of International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, which recognises a number of rights in favour of Indigenous Peoples, including the safeguarding of their cultural and spiritual identity, and their social and cultural development consistent with their ways of life and beliefs. Significantly, this convention drastically reversed the assimilationist and neo-colonialist approach followed by the previous ILO, Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention No. 107, adopted in 1957.

However, so far the most significant legal outcome arising from the rebirth of Indigenous Peoples in the contemporary world is in all probability represented by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), adopted by the General Assembly on September 13, 2007. The UNDRIP has been correctly defined as "a milestone in the re-empowerment of the world's aboriginal groups", reaffirming customary international law in the field (Anaya & Wiessner, 2007). Although it can appear a paradox, overall the UNDRIP is much more significant than ILO Convention No. 169. Despite the binding character of this Convention, states can easily evade any legal obligation arising from it by simply avoiding to ratify it. (At the time of this writing the Convention had been ratified by only 20 countries, mainly from Latin America.) Conversely, while, as a matter of international law, the UNDRIP cannot be considered binding in itself, it automatically extends its effectiveness—to the extent that it can be considered effective—to all countries in the world, being a legal instrument adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly on behalf of the international community as a whole. Furthermore, the UNDRIP was adopted after more than 20 years of lengthy and exhausting negotiations (with the direct participation of indigenous representatives), during which time all the details of its text were carefully discussed, demonstrating that all parties involved were particularly concerned with its content.

It is notable that the UNDRIP received overwhelming support from the international community, with 143 states voting in favour of it and only four countries against (with 11 abstentions—Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burundi, Colombia, Georgia, Kenya, Nigeria, Russia, Samoa and the Ukraine). While the four states who originally voted against the Declaration (Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States of America) are, objectively, of special importance in the context of the international legal dynamics concerning Indigenous Peoples, all these countries later endorsed the UNDRIP or promised to endorse it in the near future. The Declaration was endorsed by Australia in April 2009, followed by Aotearoa/New Zealand a year later. And, on March 3, 2010, the Canadian Government declared it "*will take steps to endorse this aspirational document in a manner fully consistent with Canada's Constitution and laws". Finally, on April 20, 2010,* the permanent representative of the United States to the UN announced at the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues the intention of her government to review its position on the UNDRIP. Moreover, as far as *the abstaining countries are concerned,* Colombia and Samoa have formally expressed their support for the Declaration.

Drafting History and Legal Significance of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
The first nucleus of the UNDRIP was represented by six principles prepared by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) in 1985. A lengthy discussion developed around those principles. This discussion involved, on the one hand, state delegates, who were particularly careful to try to minimise the content of the rights recognised by the future Declaration in favour of Indigenous Peoples and to guard the prerogatives of their territorial sovereignty. On the other hand, indigenous representatives were very conscious that the future Declaration could represent an unprecedented opportunity to affirm their rights at the legal level in the international arena; for this reason they held out for a Declaration that would address their rights adequately, even though the perspective of having such an instrument adopted in a very short time by the General Assembly was very appealing. In spite of pressures to compromise, the indigenous representatives followed a very courageous and proper strategy (Lenzerini, 2008), fighting for adequate recognition of their rights for decades and defending the dignity of both their ancestors and of present and future generations. They did not accept solutions that they considered inappropriate to their needs. At no point did they accept, for example, the

solution supported by most state delegates to use the expression "indigenous people" (without the final "s") in the Declaration text, even though this would make the adoption of the instrument much easier. The debate concerning such a "semantic" issue was decisive in terms of the legal significance of the Declaration, as international law recognises certain rights and prerogatives in favour of peoples (with the "s"), particularly the right to self-determination, that are not contemplated for people (without the "s"). States were particularly reluctant to accept the use of the term in the plural form—which they perceived as a potential threat to their territorial integrity and sovereignty—because it implied self-determination and was therefore supportive of a right to secession for peoples under foreign domination. This tension triggered the so-called "Battle of the 's'" (Porter, 2002; Wiessner, 1999), which ended with a remarkable and legally significant victory by Indigenous Peoples.

In this atmosphere, the WGIP completed its work in 1993. The text of the then Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was sent to the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1994, and approved by the Sub-Commission with Resolution 1994/45. While not perfect, the text of the draft Declaration was considered sufficiently adequate to meet the concerns of Indigenous Peoples, at least with respect to the "minimum standards" necessary to ensure the safeguarding of their basic rights and needs—but states were not satisfied with its content. For this reason, further years of negotiations proved necessary before the Declaration was ready to be adopted by the General Assembly. An ad hoc UN working group—the Working Group on the Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (WGDRIP)—was established by the Commission on Human Rights with Resolution 1995/32. After 11 annual meetings, the WGDRIP elaborated a proposal that was adopted by the Human Rights Council on June 29, 2006, with Resolution 1/2, approved by a vote of 30 in favour to 2 against and with 12 abstentions. While expected to finally adopt the Declaration on November 28, 2006, the Third Committee of the General Assembly—pushed by African states (van Genugten, 2010)—decided to defer its decision by a vote of 82 in favour to 67 against, with 25 abstentions. The UNDRIP was eventually adopted by the General Assembly on September 13, 2007.

As stressed above, the UNDRIP belongs to the legal category of "declarations of principles", which, by themselves, are unable to produce binding effects on states. In principle, a declaration is considered an "aspirational" instrument, generating moral duties only that states are recommended to comply with, and not legal obligations capable of producing international legal responsibilities by states that do not respect them. Having said this, a number of considerations must be added.

First, while the instrument of the recommendation is the typical tool the UN General Assembly uses to pursue its goals—and the Assembly adopts hundreds of recommendations every year—only in a very limited number of cases do these recommendations take the name of "Declaration". This happens only when the aim pursued by the General Assembly relates to an especially significant value that the international community as a whole perceives to be worth safeguarding. As explained in 1962 by the Office of Legal Affairs of the United Nations (Doc. E/CN.4/L.610 of 2 April 1962) on request by the Commission on Human Rights:

[i]n United Nations practice a "declaration" is a formal and solemn instrument, suitable for rare occasions when principles of great and lasting importance are being enunciated, such as the Declaration on Human Rights. A recommendation is less formal. Apart from the distinction just indicated, there is probably no difference between a "recommendation" or a "declaration" in United Nations practice as far as strict legal principle is concerned. A "declaration" or "recommendation" is adopted by resolution of a United Nations organ. As such it cannot be made binding upon Member States […], purely by the device of terming it a "declaration" rather than a "recommendation". However, in view of the greater solemnity and significance of a "declaration", it may be considered to impart, on behalf of the organ adopting it, a strong expectation that members of the international community will abide by it. Consequently, in so far as the expectation is gradually justified by State practice, a declaration may be custom become recognized as laying down rules binding upon States. In conclusion, it may be said that in United Nations practice a "declaration" is a solemn instrument resorted to only in very rare

cases relating to matters of major and lasting importance where maximum compliance is expected. (pp. 1–2)

The special significance of the UNDRIP here is undeniable. The huge support manifested by the international community in its voting process and (particularly with respect to the four countries originally voting against the Declaration) in subsequent practice, as well as the language used in most of its provisions, clearly demonstrate it is an instrument with respect to which "maximum compliance is [actually] expected". The validity of this position has been recently confirmed by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), another UN body that has the task of monitoring the implementation of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and represents the huge majority of states. In particular, in its General Comment No. 21 of 2009, concerning the right of everyone to take part in cultural life, the CESCR stressed that Indigenous Peoples

> have the right to the full enjoyment, *as a collective* or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law, *as well as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. [emphasis added]

Second, although not binding in itself, the UNDRIP is strictly intertwined with certain fundamental legal obligations of coercive character for all countries in the world, to the extent that correct implementation of the Declaration is functional and indispensable to ensure proper realisation of the said obligations. This is made clear in the very first sentence of the UNDRIP preamble, according to which, in adopting such an instrument, the General Assembly—that is, virtually all countries—is "[g]uided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and *good faith in the fulfilment of the obligations assumed by States in accordance with the Charter*" [emphasis added]. This wording means that the Declaration incorporates and gives realisation to some of the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, which is undoubtedly of binding character in all its parts for all states. In light of this, consequentially the provisions of the UNDRIP are also to be considered binding, at least to the extent their observance represents an essential prerequisite for compliance with any of the obligations expressed by the UN Charter. This symbiosis between the UNDRIP and the UN Charter, including the implications arising from it, was accepted by all states that voted in favour of the Declaration or later endorsed it; that is to say, nearly the totality of countries in the world.

Third, as noted in the previous section, there may be little discussion on the fact that certain rules expressed by the UNDRIP are declaratory of customary international law in force; that is, non-written law of general application of binding character for all states in the world. This assumption is demonstrated by the relevant practice developed at both the international and domestic levels (Anaya, 2004; Interim Report of the International Law Association's Committee on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2010; Lenzerini, 2008), and is also supportive of the existence of the other component necessary for customary international law to exist; that is, opinio juris, or the conviction or consciousness of states that a given behaviour is legally binding. This is reinforced by the adoption of the UNDRIP itself and by its later endorsement by countries originally voting against it. Even though not all provisions in the Declaration can (yet) be considered customary international law, this legal status is to be affirmed with respect to those aspects of indigenous life essential to ensure the communities concerned retain their social and cultural identity and distinctiveness and pass them on to future generations. These aspects are (at least) self-determination, autonomy or self-government, cultural rights and identity and land rights, as well as reparation, redress and remedies, which are inextricably linked as building blocks of the unique "circle of life" representing the heart of Indigenous Peoples' identity, to the extent that "the change of one of its elements affects the whole", as affirmed in the Kari-Oka and the Indigenous Peoples' Earth Charter of May 30, 1992.

In sum, the legal significance of the UNDRIP is much higher than its status of declaration of principles. It represents the proclamation of a new conscience of the international community, in

respect of which Indigenous Peoples are holders of rights and prerogatives to which all governments on earth are bound to create the necessary conditions to ensure their realisation in the real world.

The Main Peculiarities of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

One notable feature of the UNDRIP, which makes it almost unique in international law, is that a number of its provisions are characterised by unprecedented cultural sensibility and consideration for the philosophy of life and legal schemes archetypal of Indigenous Peoples, also introducing legal institutions previously unfamiliar and extraneous to the Western tradition of law, on the basis of which classic international law is shaped.

It is first to be noted that the UNDRIP expressly recognises the legal value of collective rights, which (as a matter of international law) were previously enforceable to a limited extent only and in an indirect way, through an extensive interpretation of certain rights of individual character provided for by relevant treaties. (The only exceptions were the right of self-determination of peoples contemplated by Article 1 common to the two 1966 UN covenants on human rights as well as a few collective rights included in the 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.) The explicit recognition of collective rights is epitomised by Article 1 of the UNDRIP, according to which Indigenous Peoples

> have the right to the full enjoyment, *as a collective* or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law. [emphasis added]

In reality, only a residual number of rights contemplated by the UNDRIP are of individual character (that is, those concerning prerogatives that are inherently of individual nature, as for example Article 6, affirming the right of every indigenous individual to a nationality), while most of them are recognised exactly on a collective basis.

With respect to the rights and prerogatives fundamental to Indigenous Peoples to ensure their survival as different cultural communities, the UNDRIP in its very first provisions proclaims the right to self-determination, by virtue of which the peoples concerned "freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (Article 3). This provision has been one of the most controversial of the draft Declaration text for the more than two decades of negotiations. In the end, the "key" that allowed the UNDRIP to be adopted, and Article 3 to be retained in its final form, was the inclusion of Article 46 paragraph 1, which points out that

> [n]othing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, people, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act contrary to the Charter of the United Nations or construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States.

The right to self-determination, therefore, cannot generally be considered as encompassing, in favour of Indigenous Peoples, a right to secession from the territorial state where they live. In the end, such a right is not even pursued by the majority of indigenous communities. In any event, the decisive role of Article 46 paragraph 1, as the key factor for the adoption of the Declaration, is evidenced by the official declarations released by a number of government representatives when voting for the UNDRIP, in which they stressed that the right to self-determination is to be exercised by Indigenous Peoples within the realm of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. They also stressed that the right to self-determination cannot be construed as "authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of a sovereign or independent State". However, the latter provision does not exclude the fact that Indigenous Peoples continue to have exactly the same right as all other peoples to obtain secession in exceptional cases. This position is backed by the well known decision released by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1998

with respect to the case of Secession of Quebec, according to which such a right would exist "where a definable group [whether indigenous or not] is denied meaningful access to government to pursue their political, economic, social and cultural development". This construction implies that in the event of blatant denial of the right of Indigenous Peoples "to determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development", as stated by Article 3 UNDRIP, a right to secession would arise in favour of the communities concerned.

Apart from the question of secession, the right to self-determination, as provided by the UNDRIP, is functional to the needs and aspirations of Indigenous Peoples. In addition to the right to determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development, other corollaries of the right to self-determination are "the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs" (Article 4), as well as "the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State" (Article 5). It is notable that, in commending states to recognise Indigenous Peoples the possibility to maintain their legal institutions, Article 5 paves the way for the introduction, in the legal framework of all states with an indigenous population living in their territory, of legal parameters usually unfamiliar to the Western tradition of law and which will regulate a more or less broad portion of the legal relations developing within the borders of the state concerned.

In general terms, however, the right of using and applying indigenous institutions or traditions (as recognised by the UNDRIP) meets an explicit limit in the provision of Article 46 paragraph 2, stating that "[i]n the exercise of the rights enunciated in the present Declaration, human rights and fundamental freedoms of all shall be respected". Therefore, for example, any indigenous criminal law that would possibly contemplate forms of punishment amounting to inhuman or degrading treatment would be barred by the rule expressed by the latter provision. This limitation clause, however, is to be interpreted restrictively, in the sense that its application is absolute only whether and to the extent that the existence and or functioning of an indigenous institution is incompatible with any of those human rights which—as a matter of international law—are considered absolutely non-derogable; that is, those included in the category of peremptory norms of general international law (jus cogens). In all other cases, a situation arises in which different human rights are at stake simultaneously and at odds with each other; that is, the right of a community to use and apply its own institutions or traditions on the one hand, and a right of a member of the community itself or any other person or group on the other hand. In all these cases the conflicting rights must be properly balanced, to ascertain how and to what extent they can be accommodated with each other and simultaneously realised or, when this is impossible, which right prevails over the other. This construction is implicitly confirmed by Article 46 paragraph 2 which, after expressing the general rule, adds that

> [a]ny such limitations shall be non-discriminatory and *strictly necessary* solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for meeting the *just and most compelling requirements* of a democratic society. [emphasis added]

As a whole, the rights to self-determination and autonomy are to be interpreted holistically as encompassing all prerogatives necessary to allow Indigenous Peoples to freely determine their future.

Cultural rights and identity represent another key aspect of indigenous life largely addressed by the UNDRIP. Article 7 paragraph 2 proclaims the collective right of Indigenous Peoples "to live in freedom, peace and security as distinct peoples and … not [to] be subjected to any act of genocide or any other act of violence, including forcibly removing children of the group to another group". This provision is complemented by the following article, affirming the right of Indigenous Peoples "not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture". Article 8 paragraph 2 is also of special significance, as it requires states to "provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for" certain acts particularly prejudicial to the identity of Indigenous Peoples, namely actions having the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities; actions having the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands,

territories or resources; any form of forced population transfer, having the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights; any form of forced assimilation or integration; any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them. This list, which is not exhaustive, incorporates the main prerogatives essential for Indigenous Peoples to transmit their ethnic and cultural identity and integrity to future generations.

Article 8 paragraph 2 is of particular importance for at least three reasons. First, it incorporates the idea of the indissolubility of the various elements composing indigenous identity, particularly cultural values (traditions, customary law, etc.) and integrity, lands and natural resources, and distinctiveness from the dominant sections of the society. Second, it establishes a connection between rights and redress for their infringement, implicitly recognising that, in the event a wrong is perpetrated, reparation, redress and remedies are essential to ensure effectiveness of rights. A third reason is that in its purpose and wording, this provision clearly implies that the evaluation of what is essential for preserving the cultural identity and integrity of Indigenous Peoples is based on the perspective of the peoples concerned.

The focus of the UNDRIP on cultural rights and identity is not limited to articles 7 and 8. Rather, it applies across the whole Declaration, but finds special expression in some provisions of particular significance. Article 11, for instance, recognises the right of Indigenous Peoples "to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs", including "the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature". Also, according to Article 12, the peoples concerned have

> the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains.

Similarly, Article 13 provides for the right of Indigenous Peoples "to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons". Another pertinent example is represented by Article 24 paragraph 1, according to which, "Indigenous Peoples have the right to their traditional medicines and to maintain their health practices, including the conservation of their vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals."

Article 25 can be considered a bridge between the norms of the UNDRIP concerning cultural rights and identity and those relating to land rights, reinforcing the idea of indissolubility and mutual dependence among the different elements of indigenous identity and distinctiveness. This article affirms the right of Indigenous Peoples to "maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard". It is an excellent example of the "cultural sensibility" of the UNDRIP referred to at the beginning of this section, as it recognises that the relationship of Indigenous Peoples vis-à-vis their ancestral lands is, first of all, of a spiritual nature. Furthermore, it notes the intergenerational dynamics fundamental to indigenous culture and identity.

The right of Indigenous Peoples "to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired" is affirmed by Article 26, which also recognises the related right "to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources" concerned, that Indigenous Peoples "possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired". It is notable that this provision recognises a legal title—indigenous traditional ownership or traditional occupation or use—which is unfamiliar to the Western legal tradition. This is even more evident in paragraph 3 of Article 26, according to which,

States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned.

The latter article requires states to introduce into their legal systems legal parameters that, in many cases, were previously unknown in their legal tradition—customs, traditions and land tenure systems of Indigenous Peoples—and to make a title of ownership over a land or territory based on the said parameters that is legally enforceable before domestic courts. The latter inference is confirmed by Article 27, which commends states to

establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples' laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the rights to participate in this process.

The UNDRIP therefore adopts a particularly culturally sensitive approach to land rights, to an extent that the cultural element is conceived as the basis for a legal claim, if not a full legal title in itself. Such an approach is not new in international law, as it is crystallised in the practice of human right monitoring bodies, particularly at the regional level. In particular, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR), beginning with the landmark judgment relating to the case of Mayagna (Sumo) Awas Tingni Community v. Nicaragua (2001), has persistently reiterated that the right to property protected by Article 21 of the 1969 American Convention on Human Rights embraces "the [collective] rights of members of the indigenous communities within the framework of communal property … [which] is not centered on an individual *but rather on the group and its community*" [emphasis added]. In the same case the court also stressed that

[i]ndigenous groups, by the fact of their very existence, have the right to live freely in their own territory; the close ties of indigenous people with the land must be recognized and understood as the fundamental basis of their cultures, their spiritual life, their integrity, and their economic survival. For indigenous communities, relations to the land *are not merely a matter of possession and production but a material and spiritual element which they must fully enjoy, even to preserve their cultural legacy and transmit it to future generations.* [emphasis added]

Subsequently, in 2005, in a case concerning the Yakye Axa Indigenous community of Paraguay, the IACHR also emphasised that, although it is not to be automatically held that "every time there is a conflict between the territorial interests of private individuals or of the State and those of the members of the indigenous communities, the latter must prevail over the former", at the same time "restriction of the right of private individuals to private property might be necessary to attain the collective objective of preserving cultural identities in a democratic and pluralist society". This holds true with particular respect to Indigenous Peoples, in light of the fact that "[d]isregarding the ancestral right of the members of the indigenous communities to their territories could affect other basic rights, such as the right to cultural identity and to the very survival of the indigenous communities and their members."

Similarly, in 2010 the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), in a case concerning the Endorois community of Kenya, affirmed that Indigenous Peoples *have a recognised claim to ownership to ancestral land under international law*, even in the absence of official title deeds" [emphasis added]. In this respect, the ACHPR explicitly recognised the authority of the UNDRIP, reiterating the position previously adopted in an advisory opinion released in 2007 specifically concerning the Declaration.

To ensure effectiveness of land rights, the UNDRIP affirms, in Article 28, the right of Indigenous Peoples to

> redress, by means that can include restitution or, when this is not possible, just, fair and equitable compensation [taking the form of lands, territories and resources equal in quality, size and legal status or of monetary compensation or other appropriate redress], for the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used, and which have been confiscated, taken, occupied, used or damaged without their free, prior and informed consent.

During the negotiations leading to the adoption of the UNDRIP, this provision was the object of a particularly fervent debate, because certain states were concerned by its possible retrospective applicability; that is, its suitability to be applied to situations of the deprivation of indigenous lands that occurred prior to the adoption of the Declaration. In the end, however, the language used in Article 28 clearly shows it can be applied to past situations. The debate on this issue is usually confined to a theoretical level, as in most cases the effects of deprivation of land that occurred in the past continue to exist in the present. As the communities concerned continue to suffer grief from dispossession of their land that occurred in the past, they are entitled to redress aimed at repairing a wrong, producing effects they are experiencing at present, irrespective of whether or not the provision is applicable retrospectively. This argument is based on the concept of ongoing violation, and is commonly used for reparation of past wrongs in general (Shelton, 2008) and, with particular regard to Indigenous Peoples, has been confirmed by an ILO committee in relation to a claim brought by an indigenous community in Denmark under ILO Convention No. 169 (Charters, 2008).

Finally, the topic of reparation and redress pervades the UNDRIP, which includes a notable number of related provisions (namely, in addition to Article 28, articles 8(2), 10, 11(2), 12(2), 20(2), 29(3), 32(3) and 40). This copious presence is evidently due to the consciousness that no effectiveness of rights can exist if appropriate and fair redress is not available in the event of wrongs. Reparation therefore attains a key role in the dynamics of Indigenous Peoples' rights, being an essential tool to make these rights effective in the real world.

Conclusion and Future Perspectives

It is incontestable that the UNDRIP represents a major milestone for Indigenous Peoples. It is far from perfect (for instance, the lack in the text of any definition of the term "Indigenous Peoples" can allow states to deny that certain national groups meet the requirements of indigeneity, therefore preventing them from having access to the rights contemplated by the UNDRIP). However, its symbolic value is huge, since it epitomises a change in attitude of the international legal community regarding Indigenous Peoples and their dignity as different social and cultural groups, and—through recognising and safeguarding collective rights—a revision of the Eurocentric vision of human rights as prerogatives of exclusive individual character.

Having said this, it is important to emphasise that the UNDRIP is a first step only—although notable—in the fight of Indigenous Peoples to recuperate their entitled place in the world. The expression "Amending Five Centuries of Wrongs" used for the title of this article is essentially symbolic. It does not mean that the UNDRIP is the final outcome of the legal struggle of Indigenous Peoples for the recognition of their own identity and the realisation of their right to live according to their traditions and beliefs and to decide their future. On the contrary, the UNDRIP is a starting point only in this struggle: the starting point of a new legal conscience that recognises the dignity of Indigenous Peoples to retain and pursue their own identity and diversity; the starting point of a new dialogue with other components of the international community, inspired by the awareness that diversity is the most precious value of the human family and that Indigenous Peoples are a key element of this diversity; the starting point—at least in legal terms—in the trail of Indigenous Peoples to recover the spiritual connection with their ancestors that has been abruptly broken in past centuries by the destructive and brutal avidity of Western people. To these ends, legally speaking, the UNDRIP promises to be a good starting point. The struggle, however, has just begun.

Glossary

jus cogens	peremptory norms of customary international law
opinio juris	conviction/consciousness of States that a given behaviour is legally due
terra nullius	empty land; land not legally belonging to anyone

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Dialectic Engagement in a Multicultural Society

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Abstract

Dalits, known and treated as untouchable people in India and in some countries in Asia, are the original indigenous people of India. Untouchability was imposed on them by Hindu religion with the arrival of the Aryans in India 3500 years ago. Aryans came into India and colonised the country and have made it their own through multifarious projects of Brahminisation. Dalits still remain in virtual colonisation in their own country. The subjugation of Dalits has been wrought through many centuries of oppressive scheming, subsuming assimilation and banning of education for Dalits.

The recent cultural resurgence of Dalits in pockets of India has led to stronger assertion of cultural and political identity. Keeping in line with their cultural history Dalits have deeply respected multiple spaces of all people in India, including their oppressors. They have recognised the differences that exist in Indian society but have struggled hard not to let differences become the foundations of discrimination. Their political assertion has taken them to assert the need for a dialectic democracy in India thus recognising the space for thesis and counter-thesis among indigenous and non-indigenous groups, slowly leading to a transformation of social hegemony into social harmony.

Dalits are also now aspiring to forge unity among the different indigenous communities of the world. It will be a path-breaking effort and an unprecedented success when it is achieved.

This paper gives background to the Dalit people and their struggles, and outlines their vision and strategies for a more just and harmonious future.

Preamble

The Dalit people, known and treated as untouchables in India and some countries in Asia are the original indigenous people of India. Untouchability was imposed on them with the arrival of the Aryans in India 3,500 years ago. Aryans came into India and colonised the country, and have made it their own through multifarious projects of "Brahminisation". Though there are varying versions on the arrival of Aryans, their virtual slavery of Dalits through to the present has been described as worse than apartheid.

Beneath this enslaved people lies an ocean of values and culture that provides unlimited space to all people of the earth. There is a huge depth of unrecognised strength, common to all indigenous people across the world, which has enabled them to not only face various onslaughts on their dignity, freedom and humanity but also to live with gusto; and this strength has claimed its rightful space in the instruments and mechanisms of governance.

Resistance is inevitable and often necessary. However, the euphoria of resistance has the possibility of plunging the oppressed or wounded psyche into illusionary ecstasy, not allowing them to engage the oppressor society in dialectics, healing, negotiations and achievements.

Introduction

This paper identifies some of the imposing projects of dominance and places the locales of overcoming subjugation, dialectics, healing and nation building in the postmodern context. Though it

is placed against the context of Dalits in India, the discourse is applicable to any multicultural society with indigenous people.

This paper desists from providing too much statistical data as such data can be obtained from any "Googled" document. Rather, the available space is dedicated to outlining the realities of ancient, modern and postmodern forms of objugation of the Dalit people in India and the way they have tried to engage the society. Objugation is a term I coined a decade ago in *From Periphery to Centre* (Raj, 1998) to signify the compulsive transition of poor and indigenous people into objects of history from being the subjects of their own history. This is seriously problematic in Indian history where what is churned out in history books is actually anti-history vis-à-vis the Dalit and other indigenous people.

The paper avoids any polemics on any community of people, and specifically approaches the issues of accommodating differences from a Jungian approach. Since the paper deals primarily with the wounded psyche of the Dalit people, it discounts a Freudian approach in the development of a multicultural society such as India. Identifying and analysing the locales of objugation need not be taken as polemics.

For the sake of understanding I use the term DAT people as an acronym for Dalits, Adivasi and Tribal People who fall under the indigenous category.

Projects of Objugation and Dialectics
Project I: Land Grabbing
Land grabbing started in the mythical period of India's anti-history and continues unabated today. Ninety percent of Dalits in India are still landless, and land grabbing from the poor and from DAT people continues to be a huge phenomenon. The national and state governments in India are loosening the strictures on alienation of land from these people. Through special economic zones, the governments have tacitly joined hands with the caste forces in India and "corporates" across the world in this project of land grabbing.

Land for the DAT people is primarily a relationship with the Earth as Mother and with the cosmos. The dialectic here becomes problematic since the caste forces see land primarily as property to be owned. The plane of level playing field in this dialectic is the ownership of land and DAT people are claiming ownership of a minimum of 5 acres of land for each family. This healthy dialectic is simultaneously political in the realm of governance and about human rights in the realms of international covenants on economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights. When it results in the entitlement of the indigenous people for minimum requirement of land, society can be said to be in the path of progress.

Project II: Imposing Alien Religion, Gods and Goddesses
The rise of Brahminism on Indian soil marked the advent of patriarchy and absolute male dominance. Every effort has been made, especially in the post-British period to make Hinduism as an "Indian" religion and Hindu culture as "Indian culture". The worship of heavenly gods replaced the worship of Mother Earth and ancestors. Dominance and hegemony demanded that their gods be accepted as the only gods, their truths as only truths. Through these gods descended dogmatism and a normative order that was derived from above and not from the community. Non-acceptance led to exclusion and eventually to untouchability.

The Aryan psyche, originally derived from nomadic culture, needs healing from basic insecurity. It looks up to heaven. Truth, authority and freedom have to come from above. There is no security with what one is. There is a need for succour from above. It seeks to compensate its basic insecurity by its thirst for dominant power over the poor and needy, as on the DAT people, and it needs healing.

The Dalit psyche, originally derived from settled culture, has allowed itself to be exploited and oppressed because of a cosmic world view and simplicity of relationship with the earth and cosmic

beings. Consequently, it has inherited a "broken" psyche and operates from anger. It seeks to compensate injustice through anger and needs healing.

Dialectics on this plane require a deeper understanding of the two major trajectories of psyche, developed and entrenched over millennia of existence as different and distinct entities. India is multicultural and multi-everything. The beauty of India lies in its multiculturalism. India becomes a complex country in proportion to its ability and disability to accommodate differences. Caste, established through the dogmas of Hinduism, destroys the foundations of such a beautiful labyrinth of a society.

Project III: Denial of Access to Knowledge and Information

The Shudra must not acquire knowledge, and it is a sin and a crime to give him education. (Manusmriti, the Hindu Law Code)

The Hindu normative prescriptions, codified as Manusmriti, formally banned education of the Dalits. It was the British, the lesser of the two colonisers, and the missionaries who opened the doors of education to the DAT people. The denial of access to the education of DAT people even in postmodern times in blatantly designed, subtle forms cuts at the roots of deliberative and dialectic democracy. Dialectics in a society predominantly camouflaged by caste organisation does not allow synthesis as a consequence of dialectics. It has also led to "conthesis" and "subthesis". Conthesis refers to the evolutions of irreconcilable contradiction through a period of dialectic movement when the parties in dialectic decide to part ways and go in opposite directions. This was witnessed in India at the creation of Pakistan and later Bangladesh. Subthesis refers to the refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of another community to be part of the dialectics. It results in the ultimate subjugation of the thesis of the oppressed communities. Dr B. R. Ambedkar's thesis, a demand placed before the British for separate electorates, was rattled by the Hindu thesis of Gandhi until it was finally subjugated by his fast unto death.

In the clamour of India for global recognition of Indian culture, Indian psychology, Indian philosophy, Indian spirituality, et cetera, lies the dire need for an internal accommodation of DAT culture, DAT psychology, DAT philosophy, DAT spirituality and so on. What is DAT is not one. It is multiple and specific. Only when such specificities are recognised and respected, and differences accommodated, will there be any meaning in the claim to be an "argumentative Indian". While the term "argumentative Indian" is used by some authors, especially Amartya Sen, to refer to the type of space Indian society provides for different types of viewpoints and the accommodative spirit that exists in India, Dalits generally do not agree with this view as Indian caste society does not engage in any arguments with Dalits.

Knowledge in the dominant male order is metaphysical. It exists by itself. It has an objective existence irrespective of matter. Knowledge in the DAT and female world view is essentially body-centric. It is in the heart and embedded in the cells of the body. Even science acknowledges a brain-centric knowledge. The dichotomy between physical and metaphysical in the knowledge sphere is problematic. Due recognition to emotive intelligence in dialectics will go a long way to build a society of differences and specificities living in harmony with one another and in integrity with nature.

Knowledge is cosmic. Emotive and cognitive waves of knowledge are spread out in the universe in the form of waves. Such waves enter the bodies of cosmic beings in the way their bodies are disposed to them. Therefore, no one has the right to claim superiority over others on the basis of knowledge. When the hegemony of knowledge is reduced, inequality and oppression in society are bound to reduce proportionately.

Modern knowledge is a camouflage of communicative incompetence (Chomsky, 1996). Knowledge is designed, classified, priced, hidden and appropriated. By its sheer rationality it does not lend itself to a lot of people. Cosmic knowledge is a manifestation of communicative competence as it

is organic. All beings can have this knowledge in different degrees. One with more knowledge is a resource to the community and not superior. All have one or other degrees of knowledge and so are worthy of dialectics.

Project IV: Ascription of Identity

Among the DAT people in India, Dalits have been ascribed the most demeaning and derogatory identity with a design to instil inferiority complex in them. It started with Asura (non-believers), Rakshas (demons), Milecha (vagabonds), Chandala (the condemned), Ati-Shudra (lower than lowest caste), Panchama (the fifth group), untouchable, unseeable Devadasis (temple prostitutes) and so on, and continued until modern times with the Harijan (children of god) as the latest addition in the post-British period. In postmodern times such ascriptions of identity by dominant societies have led to gross violations of sovereignty of many nations. Bombardment of Dalit people with intermittent ascription has led to a subconscious internalisation of alien identities.

Assertion of identity on the other hand has led many people of the world to establish their own parliaments (Samediggi in Norway) and separate electorates (Māori in New Zealand). The assertion of Dalit as an identity, though grossly inadequate, remains the most commonly accepted and internalised identity in the postmodern period.

The assertion of identity need not necessarily be a clamour for separation, as often ascribed by dominant communities. Dominant communities' assertion of identity and specificity is camouflaged as being the national identity. There is a need to understand that the assertion of identity from subaltern people is often a cry for integration. It can lay the foundation for living a healthy national life accommodating differences and specificities. In the case of the Dalit Panchayat Movement, of which the author is one of the founders, such positive assertion of identity has brought the caste society in the Tumkur District to the negotiating table and raised the social status of the Dalits. The black and blue assertions of Dalits have led to political assertion and power bargaining.

Project V: Caste System as Social Organisation

Dr Ambedkar (1990, pp. 55–56) sums up in his own words 10 points prescribed for the Hindu society vis-à-vis the untouchables:

1. The Shudra is to take the last place in the social order.
2. The Shudra was impure and therefore no sacred act should be done within his sight and within his hearing.
3. The Shudra is not to be respected in the same way as the other classes.
4. The life of a Shudra is of no value and anybody may kill him without having to pay compensation and if at all of small value as compared with that of the Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaishya.
5. The Shudra must not acquire knowledge and it is a sin and a crime to give him education.
6. A Shudra must not acquire property. A Brahmin can take away his property at his pleasure.
7. A Shudra cannot hold office under the State.
8. The duty and salvation of the Shudra lies in his serving the higher classes.
9. The higher classes must not inter-marry with the Shudra. They can however keep a Shudra woman as a concubine. But if the Shudra touches a woman of the highest class he will be liable to dire punishment.
10. The Shudra is born in servility and must be kept in servility forever.

Most Hindu intellectuals legitimise the organisation of society under the caste system as a division of labour. Such legitimisation is problematic on three counts. One, it is not so much a division of labour as it is a division of labourers. If it is a division of labour, the caste must change with the change of profession. Unfortunately it does not. Two, it is a hierarchical organisation with the caste on top having the most privileges and the Dalits at the bottom condemned to slavery as their caste duty. Three, it has integrated the dichotomy of purity and pollution to different castes. Dalits are untouchables because it is religiously polluting to touch them, according to the governing principles of

the caste system. Governance in such a society can never be democratic. This is a clear example of how differences have been constructed as solid foundations of discrimination.

India has a beautiful constitution. It is time that the constitution governs all the people of India.

Project VI: Brahminic Ordering and Re-ordering of Society

The traditional caste panchayat is still the instrument that keeps the Dalits in eternal bondage to the caste forces. Only the caste landlords can pass judgment on any matter of village governance. The Dalits have to stand, fold their hands and receive whatever judgment is meted out to them. Honour-killing by "Khap" panchayats in India is hot news all over the world in our own times.

Every village in India has a Dalit colony. Dalits have been thinly scattered over the country so that they may not live in any one place as a people. This is one of the most successful shenanigans of the caste order in subjugating the Dalit people.

Internal governance of the Dalit community as one people through the Dalit panchayat becomes imperative to construct a nation that lives in dignity. The Dalit panchayat respects the traditional village panchayat as a forum of internal caste governance and claims the right to govern itself as a community of people with dignity and equality.

The reordering of postmodern society in India will have to be done on the basis of the constitution of India because of the almost unmanageable multiplicity within the country. The instruments and mechanisms that will govern such a complex country should be based on the underlying principles of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Project VII: The Project of Cultural Expropriation and Co-option

The phenomenon of appropriation that one witnesses in the era of globalisation has been a well-entrenched technology in India from time immemorial. The phenomenon is marked with a certain clear strategy: borrow the cultural symbols of the indigenous people, empty them of their original meaning, fill them with dominant meaning, hide the purpose of such refilling and set in motion a process of recirculation of the same symbols with new meaning of the dominant order.

Something special about the Dalits is the ban on their education. They never knew the new meaning of their symbols. They only saw their symbols being used with high respect by the caste groups. In the course of many centuries they began to believe that the caste people and they were the same. They began to internalise the dominant religion and its dogmas as the vehicles of their ultimate liberation.

Those who became conscious by a quirk of luck went after other religions and generally did not like to go back to their own roots as they could not see beyond the dominant meaning of their symbols. Mass conversions to other religions took place. The rest accepted the dominant religion itself as an inevitable path to tread. This has also happened with other indigenous communities of people in Africa, Latin America, Europe, Australia and New Zealand.

The Dalits have had the likes of Lestadius in the Sami community. There have been also different other trajectories. One of the latest efforts is to reclaim the history and culture resources of the Dalit community in India with strong assertions, "We Dalits are Dalits. We have our history. We have our culture. We have our religion." The writing of huge volumes like *Dalitology*, *Cosmosity*, *Dalithink*, *Dalitocracy* and *Dyche* are the outcome of such assertions. One of my latest novels, *Yoikana* (Raj, in press), throws up the huge possibility of cultural convergence of indigenous communities despite geographical, ethnic and national differences and distance. It is possible to build a world that will be good for all people to live well. It is possible when indigenous people of the world bring together their commonality as their resources and, based on their collective strength, engage the dominant world in dialectics.

The time has arrived to build a new world with the specific strengths of indigenous people drawn from the cosmos, from father sky, from our elder brothers the forest and trees, from our women who were the earliest guardians of the universe, from the reindeer and from the buffalo. This will lead to a self-actualising existence of the indigenous people of the world gradually reducing the compulsion of referential actualisation.

Project VIII: The Project of Cultural Nationalism

This is a product of the emergence of modern India, especially from 1906. This specifically refers to the phenomenon of fascist forces in India trying to build India as a Hindu nation. Their blatant projection is that India has one history, one culture, one language and one people, and that is Hindu and Hindi. They have built many stages of success stories in this grandiose endeavour. They have used Muslims as the threatening other, and Dalits as easy fodder. Ninety percent of Muslims in India are converted Dalits.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Dr Ambedkar stood firm in their dialectics with the dominant Hindutva forces. They developed a thesis that India should have political and not cultural nationalism. Their argument was for the establishment of a strong constitution that respects all cultures, religions and histories. Fortunately they succeeded in their efforts with other more liberal Indian leaders standing by their side. However, 60 years of India's constitution has proved that it is still the handmaid of caste forces in India.

Dalits still remain in virtual colonisation in their own country. The still prevailing untouchability practices in India are: separate glasses for Dalits in restaurants; separate Dalit settlements in the villages and denial of entry to public places and private homes; denial of entry into places of worship. Also, Dalits have to announce the death of caste people to relatives for free; they have to beat their drums in funeral processions and in festivals for free and clean the whole village for free. They have to remove the leaves and plates in which the caste people eat during public functions and marriages; remove dead animals and dig graves for caste people for free. In some states of India, Dalits have to dedicate their girl children as temple prostitutes.

There is always a disproportionate and violent backlash on Dalits whenever they try to assert their constitutional rights. The bureaucracy is often hand in glove with the caste forces as they are mostly from the caste groups.

India opposed the inclusion of the "2009 Draft Principles and Guidelines for the Effective Elimination of Discrimination based on Work and Descent" in the agenda of the current session of the Human Rights Council of the United Nations that ended on March 25, 2010.

Political nationalism of postmodern India will have to seriously move in the direction of proportionate electoral system, which will give the right to DAT people for their legitimate political space in the instruments and mechanisms of national governance. A very concerted campaign for electoral reforms in India (CERI) has been launched in the recent past and is making headway. Legitimate political space for all communities of people in the instruments and mechanisms of governance must be ensured in democracy.

A Project Into the Future: World Parliament of Indigenous People

A cumulative consequence of the struggles of indigenous people across the world until now has generated the need for convergence on values, knowledge, culture and politics in order to make a foray into the future of world governance. Quite a bit of ground has been covered through research, contacts, interactions and mutual learning. A lot more has to happen before the ultimate formation of a World Parliament of Indigenous People. The world parliament will focus on the following dimensions:

Self-determination, in other words, internal governance of indigenous communities, with their entitlements enshrined in the constitutions of respective nation states.

The capture, expansion and consolidation of political space in instruments and mechanisms of national governance through strength gained and consolidated through the World Parliament.

The official representation of a World Parliament in the United Nations in order to strengthen governance of nations from indigenous perspectives and worldview.

Dalit Worldview: Locales of Engagement, Healing and Progress
The Dalit community will bring the following bricks for the construction of the World Parliament of Indigenous People as their specific contribution:

Essentially non-violent. Based on absolute freedom with no tendency to dominate.
Truths and knowledge are drawn from the values drawn from the community and ancestral wisdom. Dalit culture is not based on any fixed dogma given from above, much less on any compulsion to accept any dogma. It is the freedom of a butterfly.
Drawn from a straightforward simplicity. The joy of living in a community, accommodating differences, is a guiding principle. There are only different poles within the community and no opposite poles.
An earth-centric life. The Earth worshipped as Mother belongs to all. Indigenous people must have their legitimate access to land.
Governance will be better in the hands of women. Restoration of the primacy of women in communities and in instruments and mechanisms of governance will be a major paradigm shift.
Body-centric worldview. Life stops when communication among bodies stops. The needs of bodily existence must be fulfilled for all people.
Deriving strength from an ancestor-centric life. Their aspirations for our future will be the axis that guides our integration into the cosmic movement and change.
Community centrism. The Dalit worldview strongly believes in essentiality of the individual in community and vice versa. Dominant world governance is replacing the individual of the enlightenment era with the citizen of the modern era, and now with the taxpayer in the postmodern era. The individual and the community will remain as complementary sources of drawing life.

Sites of Drawing Strength
The following are recognised as sites of drawing strength:

Resilience
Provision of unlimited space to all people of the world
Inclusive and integrative
Non-violence to the core
Forgiveness
Love of peace
Harmony with nature.

Implications for Society
There are important implications for society.

General Implications
There will be a nuclear weapon-free, multi-polar, non-hegemonic world, a world of differences and diversity.

Social Implications

There will be no untouchability or racial discrimination, and primacy of indigenous women. Differences, yes, but they should not become the foundations of discrimination.

Cultural Implications

We indigenous people have our religion, spirituality, philosophy, knowledge systems and history. Self-determination is an inalienable right of indigenous people. Respect for multiplicity, differences and specificities will guide governance.

Economic Implications

There is a need to restore our relationship with Mother Earth. We need ownership of land for living well. Land that indigenous people have lost must be restored to them in a way that does not deprive the needs of other people. We need to respect the indigenous human body; no more free caste labour. The labour of indigenous people is to be declared a national resource. There will be a budget allocation for internally governing systems and bodies.

Political Implications

Self-determination and internal governance are to be an entitlement of indigenous people. This means direct democracy in the smaller communities in the way of our ancestors and representative democracy in the nation state. Power is to be practised as participation–democracy and electoral systems are to be restructured to provide legitimate space for all people in instruments and mechanisms of national governance. There will be the integration of the World Parliament of Indigenous People in the United Nations as a specific entity with its own voice, rights and votes. When this is achieved the world will have attained the zenith of accommodating differences.

Implications for Governance

There will be an entitlement of resources for all citizens and the non-negotiable distribution of basic needs for all people. There will be a level playing field as a platform of opportunities and not as cutthroat competition. Governance will be vested in the hands of women, especially the indigenous women of the world.

Conclusion

I would like to conclude this presentation with my favourite theme: Let there be thousands of gardens with millions of flowers in millions of colours. Let us fill this world with such gardens.

Glossary

Ati-Shudra	lower than lowest caste
Asura	non-believers
Brahmana	person born in the most privileged caste in Hinduism, said to be born from the head of Brahma, the supreme deity of Hinduism
Chandala	the condemned
Dalits	original indigenous people of India, "Untouchables"
DAT people	acronym for Dalits, Adivasi and Tribal People
Devadasis	temple prostitutes
Harijan	children of god
Hindutva	philosophy that proposes India become a Hindu nation
Khap	dominant caste village governance
Kshatriya	the caste next to the Brahmanas in Hinduism, a warrior caste, said to be born from the shoulders of Brahma
Lestadius	considered a prophet among the Sami people in Norway; he is a Sami who rebelled against the ban on the use of Sami language in Christian liturgy

Manusmriti	one of the Hindu Scriptures; it lays down rules and regulations for ordering society according to caste norms
Milecha	vagabonds
Panchama	the fifth group, untouchable
Panchayat	local governance body in India
Rakshas	demons
Sami	an Indigenous People living in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia
Shudra	lowest caste in the caste system of India, said to be born from the feet of Brahma
Vaishya	third caste in the caste order in India, said to be born from the thighs of Brahma; their profession is trading and business

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It's Not About Race, It's About Rights

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Abstract

The right to vote is the foundation of democracy. The rules, policies and governance structures of New Zealand flow from the act of voting. The central question of this paper is whether the process of democracy in local government is inclusive when there is a lack of engagement with and by Māori. Few Māori participate in local government elections and very few are elected to district, city or regional councils. The deep-rooted public sentiment: "no taxation without representation" extends to the lands of Tāmaki Makaurau, much of which was transferred by Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei in exchange for good governance, good health and good education practices. Today, local Māori as Treaty partners with major social and economic investments and interests in the region have a right to be represented on Auckland's soon-to-be-established political decision-making local authority. Auckland's new "super city" will not, despite the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, have dedicated Māori electorates or representatives. The popular sentiment, "the one pervading evil of democracy is the tyranny of the majority", characterises our government's refusal to safeguard Treaty of Waitangi principles and Māori rights to partnership, protection and participation in local government politics.

It's Not About Race, It's About Rights

Today I want to talk to you about "rights", more specifically the "right to vote", that is, the right to participate as Māori in our democratic society. The right to vote is the primary expression of our constitutional arrangements. From the act of voting flow the rules and regulations by which we are governed. These rules are made by the people we vote into office and our laws express the values that elected officials believe express the will of the people. But what if those values do not reflect the values of all groups of the broader community? How can Māori values be taken into account if they are not part of that decision-making process? How do indigenous peoples who are constantly outvoted by the majority get to participate in the decision and rule-making bodies?

A democracy should be inclusive of all sectors of the citizenry and for the past 14 years our MMP (mixed member proportional) electoral system at a national level, coupled with dedicated Māori seats, has provided space for the indigenous voice to be heard. That voice is not heard at the sub-national level, however. Less than 5% of all elected local government councillors are Māori. (If we take the Chatham Islands out of those figures, only about 3.5% of all elected councillors are Māori).

One of the causal factors for such under-representation is the electoral system used by most local government councils. Nearly all councils choose "first past the post" (FPP), the simple majority electoral system proven to discriminate systematically against minority groups, which thus fails to provide adequately for minority group representation.

In 1986 the Royal Commission on the Electoral System was unable to identify any fundamental rights that are denied to non-Māori by guaranteeing separate representation for Māori. Legislative options in the Local Electoral Act 2001 and Local Government Act 2002 allow for both dedicated Māori wards and a proportional electoral system (Single Transferable Vote [STV]). Yet councils prefer to retain the simple majority system, which "excludes" rather than "includes" the varying sectors of the population that elected representatives are supposed to mirror.

In 1987 the New Zealand Court of Appeal (p. 373) said that the partners to the Treaty of Waitangi—Māori and the Crown—were to act towards each other reasonably and in good faith. In 1991 the Environment Court determined that local councils have a duty to recognise the mana whenua (authority in the land) of local iwi (tribes) and to take into account the partnership relationship between local councils and Māori. Thus local councils need to protect Māori resources and recognise kaitiakitanga (inherited guardianship) and manaakitanga (hospitality), and in good faith actively promote Māori participation rights. An essential aspect of the "honour of the Crown" is to prevent new breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. The honour and integrity of the Crown can be intact only when the Crown itself restores its mana and status by acknowledging past breaches of the Treaty, *ensuring redress* for these*, and making certain that no breaches of Treaty principles occur in the future.

In 1998 Sir Geoffrey Palmer (Prime Minister, 1989–1990) said that New Zealand was enthusiastic to embrace internationally promulgated norms on human rights but not so anxious to monitor its own domestic laws and practices to see that they were fully in compliance with those international obligations. In 2004 the New Zealand Labour-led Government was non-compliant with its international obligations when it passed the Foreshore and Seabed Act. This legislation caused even the Chief Human Rights Commissioner, Rosslyn Noonan, to chastise the government publicly. She said that the Act "raised concerns for natural justice, most importantly, the right to equality before the law denied to Māori" (Human Rights Commission, 2009). In March 2005, the United Nations criticised the government, saying that the Foreshore and Seabed Act contained discriminatory aspects against Māori (United Nations General Assembly, 2005). Then in 2007 the United Nations again rebuked the New Zealand government and suggested that it renew dialogue with Māori "in order to seek ways of mitigating its [the Foreshore and Seabed Act's] discriminatory effects, including through legislative amendment where necessary" (United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 2007, para. 19). The Government's non-compliance with international human rights standards was again questioned by the United Nations when it asked the New Zealand Government to explain its Terrorism Suppression Act and anti-terror actions against Tūhoe on October 15, 2007 (NZPA & New Zealand Herald Staff, 2008).

In 2009 the current National-led Government refused to consider the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, that the composition of the new Auckland "super city" council include two Māori elected councillors and one appointed mana whenua councillor (Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, 2009, p. 25). The lack of dedicated Māori seats on the council of the Auckland super city is contrary to the intent of partnership implied in Article 1 of the Treaty of Waitangi, contrary to the intent of equal participation rights implied in Article 3 of the Treaty, and contrary to *constitutionally* accepted general electoral arrangements for dedicated Māori seats, which have been in place for more than 140 years.

The super city electoral arrangements are now non-compliant with international obligations agreed to by the National Government when it announced in April 2010 to the general assembly of the United Nations that it would support the Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples (DRIP). Article 18 of DRIP states that: "indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures ..." In other words, mana whenua seats comply with DRIP. Article 15.2 of DRIP affirms that: "States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society." Advisory boards as recommended by government or a Māori liaison officer as mooted by Auckland's current Mayor John Banks, are not effective measures for promoting good relations among Māori and all other segments of society. Dedicated Māori wards on the super city are the only effective means of complying with DRIP. Thus the National Government committed to the aspirations of DRIP in April of this year while simultaneously passing local government legislation that does not comply with these international obligations.

In 2005 the Auckland City Council publically acknowledged Sir Hugh Kāwharu (a highly respected rangatira (leader) of Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei as a Distinguished Citizen of Auckland city. This award "is the council's highest honour and recognises outstanding Aucklanders and their contributions to the life of the city, as well as to the wider community." In its citation, the Council acknowledged Sir Hugh as "an immense force for the good of this city." This public recognition is more than a tribute to Sir Hugh the individual, it is also symbolic recognition of his people, Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei, and we all need to be mindful of the significance of that recognition and the historical relationship that Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei have with Auckland City. Here I want to give a brief overview of that history.

In 1840 Governor Hobson was invited by Ngāti Whātua to establish a government in Auckland. In return for good governance and access to education and health facilities, 3,000 acres of land were transferred to the Crown for a token fee of £341. Just six months later the Crown sold that land for £24,275 and used the money to pay for the infrastructure and establishment of the new township of Auckland. The purpose of a pre-emption clause in Article 11 of the Treaty of Waitangi was to safeguard Māori from illegal, unjust or unfair profiting from the sale of Māori land. The Crown, instead of treating Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei with due respect, treated them with contempt.

The new settlers had an insatiable demand for land and by 1864 only a 700-acre block at Ōrākei remained in tribal ownership, but not for long. Land alienation continued, including the Public Works Act 1870 being used to take Takaparawhau/Bastion Point, ostensibly for defence purposes. Council installed a sewage outlet pipe in the Ōkahu Basin and then sewage was discharged into Ōkahu Bay polluting the water, the kaimoana (sea food, shellfish) and, in heavy rains, the village. Ngāti Whātua lands went into new housing developments. Then, in the final land grab, Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei were ejected from their few remaining acres in Ōkahu Bay in 1951. Their village was burnt to the ground, their marae (tribal meeting complex) demolished and the landless and homeless Ngāti Whātua were forced to become state tenants on their own lands. Ngāti Whātua retained title only to their urupā (burial ground) in Ōkahu Bay.

January 1977 marked the beginning of a 506-day peaceful occupation of Takaparawhau/Bastion Point. This is prime real estate which the state acquired for defence purposes. The Government decided to sell the land rather than return it to its rightful owners because of its considerable commercial value. The government treated the peaceful *re*occupation of Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei lands (Takaparawhau/Bastion Point) as civil unrest and used hundreds of police and army troops to evict the tangata whenua (people of the land) from their lands—actions reminiscent of the 1881 invasion of Parihaka. Not until 1991 was legislation passed, returning a small parcel of land to the iwi and providing for a whenua rangatira/Māori reserve.

That Māori reservation land is the "jewel in Auckland's Crown". Bastion Point is a majestic and scenic park that surveys the whole of the Waitemata. It is the resting place of Michael Joseph Savage, New Zealand's first Labour Prime Minister. New Zealanders and tourists alike visit Takaparawhau Point to experience its beauty and serenity. Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei agreed to jointly manage their Māori Reservation land with the Auckland City Council for the benefit of all the people of Auckland. Ownership of Ōkahu Bay is vested in Ngāti Whātu and this ownership, too, is jointly managed with guaranteed access for all. In the near future, Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei (and several other iwi) will co-manage three volcanic cones—Maungakiekie/One Tree Hill, Maunga Whau/Mount Eden and Puketāpapa/Mount Roskill)—with the council to ensure due respect is accorded these sacred maunga (mountains). Pourewa Creek will be co-managed by Ngāti Whātua and the council. All these sites and others belong to local iwi and will remain accessible to future generations of all New Zealanders. They will not be left to the whim of government to sell and privatise at will. Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei has ensured that commercial and individual greed will not prevail in respect of a few precious landmarks of Tāmaki Makaurau. Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei as guardians of Tāmaki Makaurau must have a voice on the super city.

The mana (prestige, authority) of Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei is intact, but the honour of the Crown is not. Aside from the many moral obligations for local government to act reasonably, honourably and in good faith with Māori (Article 1 of the Treaty of Waitangi: The principle of partnership), local government is also, under delegated powers from the Crown, obliged to protect the existing rights of Māori. Local government is expected to promote the active participation of its citizens in its democratic processes (Article 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi: The principle of participation).

All know there is a lack of Māori engagement with local government. In fact at the last local government elections only 44% of all eligible general voters bothered to postal vote and the numbers of Māori voting would have be much lower. Bush (1997, p. 122) has described local government politics as being particularly boring and while that may be an accurate description, the reality is that most development is taking place locally and regionally—for example, water, transport, planning, resource management, biosecurity, sewage, stormwater, building control and so on are all functions of local government. Many iwi are big investors in their local economies, and Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei is no exception. They have commercial assets here in Auckland valued at close to $300 million.

The Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust, an urban Māori Authority in West Auckland, is a major service provider to Māori in Auckland. It has assets valued at around $20 million and it generates more than $10 million a year of social services; it is a major employer in West Auckland and a major Māori service provider. Other iwi, hapū (kin-based groups) and Māori have considerable investments in the Auckland economy. As a result of Treaty settlements, a number of iwi now have a resource base on which they are building tribal assets—both commercial and inalienable tribal assets. In 2005–2006, the value of Māori-owned commercial assets was conservatively estimated at $16.5 billion. Māori own about 40% of New Zealand's domestic fishing quota and that proportion is growing. Only 30–40% of all water space held by Māori in coastal permits has been developed, and there are considerable opportunities in the farming, processing, marketing and exporting of fish. Iwi are going to be major traders in the forestry industry as a result of the 2008 Central North Island Forestry Treaty settlement.

The Royal Commission on the Electoral System (1986, p. 5) said that representation should mirror the various characteristics of a community. The question we need to ask is: Why is the Māori voice being made invisible on the new super city arrangements? Partnership, mana whenua obligations, economic development and the social well-being of Auckland requires engagement with Māori and the participation of Māori. To move forward in an inclusive manner the super city should be *demanding* Māori input at the decision-making table.

Conclusion

Māori representation is conditional on political will. Until the provisions for the Māori electorates are entrenched, as are other constitutional aspects of our electoral arrangements, and until local government is required to establish Māori wards in their electoral arrangements, the promises and principles of the Treaty of Waitangi will continue to be breached and the New Zealand Government will continue to be non-compliant with its international obligations.

Democracy demands that the majority not become a tyranny of the minority. Democracy demands inclusiveness which goes beyond the simplistic notion of one person one vote because minority groups, minority interests and minority voices will always be outvoted by the majority.

Environment Bay of Plenty is the only council from a total of 85 city, district and regional councils that has dedicated Māori wards. It is the only council that gives practical effect to Māori participation. Māori wards are an effective mechanism to include local Māori, and the Environment Bay of Plenty dedicated Māori wards have facilitated further engagement with local Māori. It is a mechanism that is very well received by the local community in general. It sets the example for local government throughout the motu (country).

We need to look beyond the old colonial mentality of simple majorities excluding the voice of minorities. We need to be inclusive, which means having Māori at the decision-making table because

not only are Māori Treaty partners, they are an important, visible, vocal and relevant sector of the community. The Māori economy is impacting on the Auckland economy, and its effect will get stronger, much stronger!

The Auckland super city is obliged to move beyond "symbolic recognition" of Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei. It needs to have Māori at the decision-making table. Advisory boards or iwi liason officers do not meet national nor international obligations. It is time the government stopped breaching the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Let me reiterate, the Royal Commission on the Electoral System was unable to identify any fundamental rights that are denied non-Māori by guaranteeing separate Māori representation.

Glossary

hapū	kin-based group
iwi	tribe, people
kaimoana	sea food, shellfish
kaitiakitanga	guardianship of the environment
mana	prestige, authority
mana whenua	authority in the land, those with inherited authority in the land
manaakitanga	hospitality
marae	tribal meeting complex
maunga	mountain, peak
motu	island, country
rangatira	leader
tangata whenua	people of the land
urupā	burial ground
whenua rangatira	Māori reserve

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PART B

VARIOUS PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE CONFERENCE

Mainstream Television News, Difference and Tūhoe

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Abstract
This paper looks at television coverage of the raid on Ruātoki in 2007, and the recent unilateral decision by John Key not to return Te Urewera, land which originally belonged to Tūhoe until taken by the Crown, back to them. I will argue that mainstream media does little to alleviate the "sanctioned ignorance" of our colonial past, and that this contributed to Key's decision.

Mainstream Television News, Difference and Tūhoe

As a media scholar, I need to start by acknowledging the death last week of Merata Mita. Merata was a passionate advocate for Māori creative control of film, and at the centre of struggles to decolonise the screen and indigenise the image.

> Moe mai e te rangatira, moe mai.
> May you sleep the eternal sleep.

The paper I am about to give is different from that outlined in the programme. I changed the content because I was so enraged by John Key's unilateral decision not to return Te Urewera to Tūhoe. I have, therefore changed my title slightly to "Mainstream Television News, Difference and Tūhoe".

I want to talk about the way what I will call mainstream television news in Aotearoa New Zealand deals with difference. I am somewhat cautious about using the term "mainstream media" as it suggests that other forms of media are alternatives which are somehow lesser. So every time I use the term you need to imagine that it has quotation marks around it.

The difference I am going to look at operates on two levels. The first is Māori and Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent); the second is colonised and coloniser. Mainstream television news sometimes acknowledges difference between Māori and Pākehā, and sometimes does not. There is now a wealth of research which shows that across the world and across decades, indigenous peoples are most likely to appear in the news in the context of crime, deviance and problems. The situation in New Zealand has been well documented by many different researchers. Rangui Walker, for example, has argued that rather than being depicted as positive, unifying and empowering acts, Māori protests have been portrayed by mainstream media as rebellious disruptions to presumed social harmony (Walker, 2002 cited in Hodgetts, Barnett, Duirs, Henry & Schwanen, 2005, p. 197). So much of the time Māori are shown to be different, but this is a difference that is negative.

Then there are occasions when Māori are portrayed as no different from other New Zealanders. There are contexts in which this may be absolutely valid. An example that comes to mind is news features about Māori players in the All Blacks, when it is their sporting expertise that is the focus of the story, and not their ethnicity. There are also occasions when it is important, when difference matters, and the raid on Ruātoki was one of them. I'll discuss this shortly.

Differences between colonisers and colonised—or as some people might put it, the descendants of colonisers and those of the colonised, or again as some people might put it, the descendants of colonisers and those who are still colonised—these differences are not articulated in mainstream news. Again, this will be demonstrated in the coverage of the raid on Ruātoki.

I have always argued, and continue to argue, that mainstream news coverage of Māori, of te ao Māori (the Māori world) and of Te Tiriti (the treaty of Waitangi, the original Māori language document) and its accompanying issues is of real importance. It seems to me that the development of an authentically bi-cultural society in New Zealand, and of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) for Māori, needs Government action and legislation. But Pākehā are the very dominant majority in New Zealand, not only in terms of economic and political resources, and social resources such as cultural capital, but also in terms of the voting electorate. Any Government, then, needs to have both the political will and the backing of a significant number of the Pākehā majority population. The last Labour government did at times have the will, but backed away when it became obvious that policies which addressed such issues were not popular with substantial numbers of the Pākehā electorate. Two examples here were the Closing the Gaps initiative, and the Foreshore and Seabed issue. And, of course, now we have John Key deciding unilaterally not to return Te Urewera to Tūhoe. The commentators that I have heard all seem to agree that this happened because of fear that the National Party was getting too far away from its core Pākehā vote.

The media comes in here because many non-Māori form their opinions about Māori and about Treaty issues not from careful study, knowledge of what the Treaty means and of our colonial history, or from personal experience of Māori culture, but from the mainstream media. Because this media is so often monocultural without acknowledging this is the case, we have the dangerous position where many Pākehā viewers must think they are getting all the information they need to come to a decision about where they stand on issues pertaining to Māori.

One of the main ways that mainstream media contributes to continuing negative stereotypes of Māori and the lack of understanding of Treaty issues is through absence of the historical context to stories. To fully understand Māori issues or the interaction between Māori and Pākehā (and indeed between any indigenous group and their colonisers), an understanding of the colonial and more recent past is required. But, even if the newsmakers are aware of this, daily news—particularly television news—finds it hard to give such history, both because of the limited time within a news item and because it is so reliant on moving (in both senses of the word) visuals. It is much easier to broadcast images of present day protest action than it is to broadcast images of past Treaty violations.

There are also cultural issues at stake here. Speaking very generally, while Māori, as with many others of the world's indigenous peoples, see the past as an intrinsic part of the present and even the future, for Pākehā the past is out of sight, behind us. Pākehā news workers, therefore, even if they know of the historical background to a news story, may not see this history as strictly relevant.

It is the elimination of history from the news that contributes to its monocultural nature. To tell a story without taking the past into account can in itself be seen as a monocultural practice. At the same time, the absence of historical context feeds into ideas of Māori privilege, a lack of any understanding about why so many Māori are on the negative side of our social indicators (as indeed, are indigenous people around the world), and the lack of any understanding of Treaty settlements as some small recompense for what iwi (tribes) have lost in the last 170 years.

I was interested to read Māori MP Te Ururoa Flavell's speech to the House last week in which he raised the issue of the nature of New Zealand history taught in schools and asked Ann Tolley, Minister of Education:

> what implications did she see from the fact that New Zealanders have for generations received perhaps a one-sided view of the country's history—from the Crown perspective—and are ill-equipped to understand why Māori feel the way they do, especially regarding the capacity of today's decision makers to shape the long-term history of our nation? (Flavell, 2010, p. 11512)

What mainstream media and the education system do between them is inculcate what Gayatri Spivak (2003, p. 7) has called "sanctioned ignorance"—non-Māori are not expected to know about our colonial past. This has huge consequences for Māori.

Before I look at two news stories about Tūhoe, I need to set out very briefly some of the history between Tūhoe and the State.

In 1866, Tūhoe were unjustly condemned as being anti-Crown collaborators. Thousands of hectares of Tūhoe land was confiscated, depriving the iwi of most of its arable land and access to the coast. The Crown's scorched-earth tactics left 1 in 8 Tūhoe dead and devastated crops and homes.

In 1916, Tūhoe tohunga (expert, scholar) and prophet Rua Kenana had established a community of followers on Maungapohatu—Tūhoe's sacred mountain. In April, seventy armed police raided the settlement. Rua's son and another resident were killed.

Then in October 2007, the armed offenders squad raided Ruātoki. Ruātoki is a small settlement at the foot of the Ureweras, a vast area of often dense bush where Tūhoe have lived for decades. The police believed that a group of potential terrorists were meeting and making plans in the Ureweras. Accordingly, armed offenders squads raided a number of houses throughout the country and arrested a mixture of Māori activists, environmental activists, and others who seemed to be associated with them. It is significant that in no other part of the country did the armed offenders squad shut down the whole community in their pursuit of so-called terrorists.

I analysed the stories on the day of the police raids on *ONE News*, *3 News*, *Te Kaea* (which runs on Māori Television) and *Te Karere* (the Māori language bulletin on TV One). I'm taking two images from the television news coverage to illustrate two different realities of the police raid on Ruātoki. One image was used as an opening shot by both *Te Karere* and *ONE News*. It is a shot of a police officer in armed offenders' uniform, carrying a gun across his/her body. But the bulletins used the image differently. In the *ONE News* bulletin, the shot actually started without the head in range and then panned up quickly to hold on the face. The words broadcast over this image read: "Tonight: What's triggered nationwide police raids? A suggestion that napalm was being used in terror training camps." Although the image of a member of armed offenders squad looks frightening, a potential justification for this intimidating symbol is given to us. Perhaps we may be surprised, even shocked, but we are not necessarily invited to take offence. Such a positioning is further anchored by a subsequent image, used to illustrate the idea that napalm might be present, of an indeterminate war zone with a helicopter overhead and a soundtrack which suggests bombs have just been dropped.

Te Karere used the same image, but most of the shot leaves the head out of frame, increasing the focus on the weapon and intensifying a sense of intimidation. In its subtitled bulletin, the image is accompanied by the text "Fear gripped the people of Ruātoki today". These words anchor a meaning that puts us in the position of the Ruātoki residents.

Apart from *ONE News's* "shock, horror, gasp" headlines, which would have been written by sub-editors, both *ONE News* and *3 News* ran stories that seemed to be models of balance and impartiality. The words "terror" or "terrorist" were always in quotes, and information from the police was identified as such. Stories contained both the police voice and voices from people who were identified as "Ruātoki residents". They expressed views such as:

Vivienne Heurea, Ruātoki resident: Sort of makes us as if we're criminals or something.

Unnamed male Ruātoki resident (has last words in news item): We're builders, we're building up the valley. Today we're meant to be working—here we are locked out of our valley, eh.

This picture of Ruātoki and its people is very different from that conjured up by the many of the Pākehā population in the nearby town of Whakatane, who have often dismissed residents of Ruātoki as

dole-bludging and dope-growing criminals, and to a large number of viewers would have seemed balanced. Māori had, after all, been given a voice, and presented very positively.

Te Karere and *Te Kaea,* however, told a different story. Both bulletins took an approach which gave priority to Tūhoe and the people of Ruātoki. *Te Kaea*'s presenter Piripi Taylor introduced their first story as follows: "Controversy reigned in the Bay of Plenty today with the execution of a series of search warrants on several homes in the Ruātoki area". This is their starting point. They do not assume that there may have been a terrorist plot brewing in the neighbourhood, or that police had removed firearms from a camp in the Ureweras, let alone that there was talk of a napalm bomb.

Reporter Mere McLean's story which followed made continual reference to past land confiscations by the Crown, and to previous occasions when agents of the Crown had invaded Tūhoe land. It also made the point that one of the four road blocks set up by the police was on the boundary that marks the land confiscated from Tūhoe by the Crown.

Te Karere ran two separate stories about the events of the day. One included a sound-bite from Vivienne Heurea who made explicit reference to the fact that one of the police blockades was positioned on the confiscation line: "Just before 7am, when we regularly go to do the bus run from Ruātoki to Whakatane, we were stopped on the confiscation line."

ONE News selected two soundbites from Heurea*,* but neither of these mentioned the confiscation line.

So while TV One and TV 3 presented the opinions of residents of Ruātoki who just happened to be Māori, what we got on Māori language news was a story about Tūhoe once again being the subject of violent State intrusion, informed by the history of Tūhoe's contact with the State over decades. There is no such history in mainstream television's coverage.

Now let's look at some more history—this time, that of the ownership of Te Urewera:

In 1896, the Urewera District Native Reserve Act created a 265,000 hectare reserve as an "inviolate protectorate" within Tūhoe. A council, Te Whitu Tekau, was to manage Tūhoe's affairs. The Crown soon undermined the legislation, imposing £7,000 costs on the iwi for title determination and buying up pieces of land to clear this supposed debt. The Crown, as the monopoly buyer, fixed low prices. Under the legislation this was illegal, but the Government passed a law in 1916 to retrospectively validate its actions. It also charged enormous survey costs and a special £20,000 fee towards building roads through Te Urewera, which were never built. In other words, Tūhoe were supposed to keep what was left of their land in 1896 as a self-governing reserve. However, it lost the land through a series of unjust and often illegal Government tactics over the next few decades.

Jump to 2010. Tūhoe have been in negotiations with the government over their Treaty claim for 2 years. They understood that the return of Te Urewera would be a part of the settlement, which was to be signed on June 14 in Waimana. Three days before this, John Key unilaterally pre-empted this with his public announcement, without consultation with Tūhoe or the Crown negotiators.

The only media coverage of Key's statement that day that gave any of the historical background to the issue was a column in the *New Zealand Herald* by Paul Moon, specialist in Māori history, who set out in detail the history of Crown confiscations of Tūhoe land, their treatment of Tūhoe people, and invasions of Tūhoe land since the time of settlement. This was not a report—it was a column; that is, someone's opinion. Nevertheless, the feedback to Moon's column on the *New Zealand Herald* website overwhelmingly thanked him for providing a history that people had been unaware of.

Mediawatch, a weekly programme on National Radio which discusses that week's media, also criticised coverage of the issue, saying that with a couple of exceptions the history behind the issue came too little and too late.

By the Saturday after Key's announcement, Yvonne Tahana had an article in the *New Zealand Herald* which set out the history of Te Urewera (though not the history of the various raids on Tūhoe). In this she wrote:

> Iwi leaders hope that if the history of their claim is better understood, Prime Minister John Key might be persuaded to change his mind and put the park—a place the iwi knows as its homeland—back on the Treaty settlement negotiation table. (Tahana, 2010)

But, as *Mediawatch* commented, this wasn't about justice, it was about politics, about National not losing large numbers of its Pākehā support. I return then to my opening statements and argue that if these Pākehā would not support the return of Te Urewera it is largely because they have gained negative images of Māori from media; and they have not acquired, from either the media or the education system, any knowledge of the very important history behind this claim, or indeed of any other. Such sanctioned ignorance is a major impediment to recognising and understanding differences between Māori and Pākehā and, especially, colonisers and colonised.

Glossary

iwi	tribe
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
te ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Tiriti	the treaty of Waitangi, the original Māori language document
tino rangatiratanga	Māori self-determination
tohunga	expert, scholar

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Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Natural Resources Conservation: The Case of Kampar Regency, Riau, Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper examines some of the cultural and ecological relationships between local people and conservation through a case study of the people of Kampar, Riau, Indonesia. Specifically, this research addresses two main questions: (1) What are the traditional management practices associated with forest and environment resources? (2) What effects do traditional ecological knowledge practices have on forest plant biodiversity and conservation? The people of Kampar are strongly attached to their traditional customary system (adat) that governs most aspects of people's lives, including the management of natural resources. Kampar traditions restrict the exploitation of some natural resources by means of taboos and traditional protection of the environment.

This study uses an ethnography method. The Kampar community is aware of various aspects of forest management through "rimbo larangan" (forest ban) and "teluk larangan" (bay ban), which illustrate their respect for culture, traditions and historical practice, and the will to work together for the community's common interest. This paper examines the development and management of indigenous knowledge in Kampar and its implications on the sustainable management of natural resources, with particular emphasis on the role of local knowledge of some of the more highly valued species and the current challenges faced by these communities in maintaining their traditional management practices.

Keywords

traditional knowledge, natural conservation, environmental sustainability, model of sustainable development

Introduction

Traditional ecological knowledge is vital for the sustainability of natural resources management. In this paper, I examine traditional ecological knowledge on conservation, particularly in the light of contemporary research on traditional and formal knowledge systems, and demonstrate the value of traditional knowledge for natural resources' conservation. I also revisit the efficacy of traditional knowledge systems for forest conservation. I identify recent developments in local knowledge research, and interface this with the challenges that contemporary society faces in Kampar Regency, Indonesia, and show how local knowledge can be useful to forest plant biodiversity and conservation practices.

Carl Folke (1998) states that traditional ecological knowledge has been growing in recent years but that this is different from science in some fundamental ways. The anthropologist's notion is that such knowledge can contribute to the conservation of biodiversity (Gadgil, Berkes & Folke, 1993), rare species (Folkes & Berkes, 1998), protected areas (Johannes, 1978), ecological processes (Alcorn, 1989) and to sustainable resource use in general (Berkes, 1998; Schmink, Redford & Padoch, 1992). Conservation biologists, ecological anthropologists, ethnobiologists, other scholars and the pharmaceutical industry all share an interest in traditional knowledge for scientific, social or economic reasons.

Natural Conservation from the Malay Cosmology: Investigation of Indigenous Knowledge in Kampar Regency

The Kampar Regency, Riau, Indonesia, is in Southeast Asia. The idea of natural conservation in the Malay world is strongly tied to the idea of livability in a specific location within a specific building, through the process of creation that is sensitive to all elements involved, environment and human. These elements are linked throughout the phases of construction to the residences of generations to come. While these processes are often steeped with the magical, going beyond this would reveal what have been deemed, and are still, important, to ensure sustainability and livability in the Malay culture (Hadi, 2009).

Environmental sustainability is often worded in terms of direct effects on livelihood, health and social standing. The concept is also linked with physical space, which leads to physical design that reproduces the local social structure. Thus, a sustainable environment in traditional Malay means more than just design to minimise energy use; it is a living environment that sustains social and harmonious relationships.

The definition of the environment's sustainability as compiled by Tenas Effendy (1989) comprises boundaries, time, the modified and the undisturbed environment, wildlife and two season types (Table 1). This conception of the environment reflects the original idea of surroundings influencing the traditional way of life.

Table 1
A Traditional Malay Culture Definition of the Environment

Internal boundaries	The village courtyard
	The internal woods
Daily time	Morning
	Afternoon
	Sunset
	Night
External boundaries	The nearby bushes
	The forbidden forests
Build environment— land that is worked on	Agricultural land
	Village land
	Land of power
	Grown land
Natural environment	Region
	Hill land
	Four types of shores
Wildlife	26 bird types
	18 forest animal types
	22 water animal types
Season	2 climate seasons
	2 work seasons

Source: Tajul Muluk (in Hadi Harmansyah, 2009)

According to in-depth interviews with Tenas Effendy, we have an introduction to the Malay concepts about the relationship between the customary views and animal and plant conservation. This holistic approach is expressed in the following passages:

pantang menebang kayu tunggal-tunggalan
pantang menebang kayu kayan sedang berbuah
pantang menebang kayu peneduh
pantang menebang kayu sempadan

pantang menebang kayu pengobat
        pantang menebang kayu bergeta
        pantang menebang kayu sialang
        pantang menebang kayu berdamar
        pantang menebang kayu bergaharu ...

And:

        Kalau hendak tahu sifat manusia, tengok-tengoklah kayu di rimba
        Ada yang besar ada yang kecil
        Ada yang tinggi ada yang rendah
        Ada yang lurus ada yang bengkok
        Ada yang hidup tindih menindih
        Ada yang hidup belit membelit
        Ada yang berduri ada yang tidak
        Ada yang berlumut ada yang licin
        Ada yang bergetah ada yang berbisa
        Ada yang miang ada yang gatal
        Ada yang beracun ada yang penawar
        Ada yang berbuah ada yang meranggas
        Ada yang elok ada yang buruk
        Ada yang berlubang ada yang berbongkol ...

The conceptualisation of space and habitat in Malay culture is based on beliefs that are articulated through various mediums. Modern cultures present their conceptualisations in the form of plans and maps, which often emphasise efficiency of land tenure in subdivisions, private and public space and socioeconomic investment potentials. Traditional ecological knowledge in Kampar, on the other hand, presents its ideas on space and habitat through oral and written traditions. Some present their concepts through song, stories and picturesque motifs, along with other common mediums. In this study cultural or traditional Malay conservation is presented originally through oral tradition, via myths and cosmologies. Here, ideas of place making and environment building are more than just physical; they are very much social in nature.

Natural Resources in Kampar Regency, Riau, Indonesia

Kampar is a regency in the Riau province of Indonesia, covering 20 districts, with a land area of 27,908.32 square kilometres and 750,000 inhabitants. According to constant (2000) prices, the regional gross domestic product Gross Domestic Product received in 2005 was just under US$3.231 million, an increase of 23% over 2004. The largest contributor was the agricultural sector with nearly 61%, followed by the trade and processing industries, 10.3% and 8.07% respectively. Thus, the structure of Kampar's economy is still dominated by the primary sector, at 68%, with 22% from the tertiary sector, and 10% from the secondary sector. Kampar Regency has a lot of potential yet to be fully realised. For example, Kampar district has 241,500 hectares of special palm oil plantations, with the potential to produce as many as 966,000 tonnes of coconut palm oil. In aquaculture, catfish farming was developed through kerambah (fish ponds in the form of rafts) along the Kampar River, as a cooperative between the Government of Kampar and the Benecom Company Ltd. With a total investment of US$30 billion, this will be the centre of the catfish industry with a potential catch of 220 tonnes per day. Agricultural production is likely to be the mainstay, with nearly 82,000 tonnes of rice, 17,500 tonnes of corn and nearly 77,000 tonnes of durians (an Indonesian fruit) produced. Rice and corn are widely available in the North Kampar district, Bangkinang Overseas, Tapung Upper and Middle and Kampar Kiri, and local durian is generated from Kampar Kiri, Kampar, Kampar North and Bangkinang. About 70,000 tonnes of rubber are produced from reliable rubber plantations concentrated in the areas of Kampar Kiri, Kampar Kiri Hulu, Bangkinang Overseas, and Siak Hulu, and 3,680 tonnes of gambir (medicinal herb) yielded from the Central District and Kampar Kampar Kiri Hulu.

The approximately 388,000 tonnes of palm oil are produced from many people and large private estates, with plantations concentrated in the areas of Bangkinang City, with Upper and Lower Capacity. All agriculture and plantations are sourced from the lush natural environment which, for the indigenous people, should ideally sustain Kampar rice, corn, durian, coconut palm and rubber.

In terms of tourism, the Kampar area is no less interesting than other regions. The Candi Muara Takus (Buddhist temple complex) is the heritage of the Sriwijaya Kingdom, but it is not maximised by Kampar Regency management as a tourist destination. There is also the community Balimau Bakasai bath, a festival day where men and woman bathe together in the Kampar River just before the holy month of Ramadan each year, and the Ma'awuo fishing ban, held once a year in the lakes and the Subayang Bokuok rivers in Domo Village. All this, if managed professionally, would attract foreign tourists and increase local revenue.

The structure of Indonesian society, according to Nasikun (1992), is marked by two unique characteristics; horizontally, by the existence of social units based on differences of ethnicity, religion, customs and regionalism and, vertically, the structure of Indonesian society is marked by quite distinct differences between the upper and lower layers. In rank, the top layer in Kampar is known as Ninik Mamak. Ninik Mamak are the indigenous leaders who govern civic life in accordance with shared values based on kindness, civility and ethics. On the bottom layer are the ethnic residents, which include immigrants and village officials. Between these two layers are the hierakis (hierarchical). Ninik Mamak have to govern, manage and punish community members in accordance with the prevailing customs.

Methodology

This study uses the pure qualitative method of ethnography as a way of collecting data. A number of key informants were interviewed in accordance with the research questions designed. However, to explore the social phenomenon actually happening in my community we used the grounded research method. In order to search for the meaning of ritual and community cultural activities, the elements that make up the culture of the society toward their living environment should be treated as a whole. In Kampar Regency we see two customary practices in the two villages, namely: the Domo Village with lubuk larangan (prohibited pools system), and the Rumbio Village with the indigenous concept of rimbo larangan (forest prohibition). We then distil the descriptive narrative to explain the existence of the two concepts which make up the application of customary traditional ecological knowledge in Indonesian indigenous people.

Research Findings
Lubuk Larangan: A Strategy for Sustaining Rivers and Contents in the Domo Village Indigenous Community

Investigators conducted a study to publicly observe the Domo Village where socio-cultural ties are very strong. Traditional order and rules to uphold this order are still strong today. Traditionally, the community was led by Datuk Dirantau under Datuk Ninik Mamak (an informal leader among Indonesian indigenous people) in Mount Sahilan. Kampar Regency bloomed before, this shoreline included in the Kampar Kiri Hulu District with the central government in the Echo Village, Kampar Kiri Hulu. The district has 13 villages: Village Echo, Village Cape South, Desa Tanjung indirection, Village Old City, Stone Village Sangsai, Aur Kuning Village, Village Ludai, Elephant Village, Reef Village, Sasak Stone Village, Regency Village High, Banyan Bay Village and Cotton Base Village.

Large settled villages are located along the Kampar River. To this day, because of the limited facilities and transportation infrastructure, mobility flows are dependent on the Kampar River. Thus there is a great deal of social interaction along the river. Since civilisation began, the Kampar River has been the lifeblood of local community life. The region has abundant potential for forest products and plantations, and has flora, fauna and stunning natural beauty which, if handled well, could become an exotic destination. As pointed out earlier, the interaction between the river and the densely populated local community has encouraged the development of wise policies. For example, in order to preserve human life in harmony with nature, Domo Village elders set the area of lubuk larangan.

Communities surrounding the watershed of the Subayang River have, since 1982, through the customary decisions of the Ninik Mamak, made some of these areas forbidden for fishing during a certain period. People can still take the fish in the region not designated as restricted. The region's ban is around a long stream of the Subayang River, 2,500 metres long and 45 metres wide to a depth of about 5 to 7 metres. In order to support the sustainability of fish resources in the area further, people are banned from cutting down trees around the bottom of forbidden areas because the leaves that fall from these trees are the food sources for the fish there.

Lubuk Larangan Boundaries

Bottom border restrictions with no depth restrictions are marked by differences in river flow velocity. A relatively quiet area is designated as an area of prohibition, while a part where the river flows faster is not defined as an area of prohibition. Areas where fishing is prohibited at certain times of the year are those within where the flow is relatively quiet and shaded by dense vegetation. This location is a very desirable place for different species of fish to live. The natural wisdom of elders has led them to choose certain areas (usually about 2–3 km in area) to become lubuk larangan. A bottom boundary restriction usually uses natural signs or specific trees. After the location restrictions specify the depths of prohibition, the decision is announced to all children across the country and to people who live in that location in the Upper State or Aur Sanggan Yellow Stone to downstream of the village of Kuntu. From that time, all children and locals abide by the rules that apply to a lubuk larangan. Utilisation in this way does not damage the fishing, spawning or fish nursery grounds. Local knowledge in determining the boundary region show that local people know fish generally like the relatively calm waters, as fish food sources are much more likely to be found in these calmer river waters.

Lubuk Larangan of Customary Regulation

In managing the bed of the river, lubuk larangan has been carried out by a traditional institution, the Ninik Mamak in Domo Village. The traditional institution is led by two men, Datuk Sutan Bandaro and the prince. These two progenitors are assisted by five princes of the second offspring derived from the progenitor.

In 2007 the rules of customary lubuk larangan were confirmed in a letter by the Ninik Mamak. The customary decision was issued with consideration for preserving the fish resources in the River Subayang at Domo Village. Customary rules decided by Mamak Ninik traditional institutions are:

1. Any players catching fish in the depths of the region ban will be subject to sanctions of rupiah (Rp) 500,000 per fish.
2. Buyers or fences will have imposed sanctions of Rp 500,000 per person.
3. If the receiver catches the perpetrator, it will be processed by Dubalang Ninik Mamak to be resolved according to customary nephew mamak concerned.
4. If points 1 and 2 are performed by Ninik Mamak, the village officials and members of the Village Representative Body will impose sanctions of Rp 1,000,000.

Impact of Lubuk Larangan

The socioeconomic impact of applying the lubuk laranganlubuk larangan depths are as follows.

It can provide a source of protein for Domo villagers through the availability of local fish harvested once a year.
Clean water sources are available for daily necessities to the surrounding community.
biological resources of the local fishery are available to be used for eco-tourism;
The community can enhance the feeling of love and concern for the biodiversity and conservation of fisheries resources.
Harmony and a sense of solidarity are manifested in the social environment and a commitment to the local tradition of the show, Mancuak (the harvest once a year to fund social activities).
There is the realisation of the institutions of society through customary activities to conserve the biodiversity of fisheries resources.

Rimbo Larangan: Deposits Sustainable Forest Management in Rumbio Village

The name of Rumbio Village comes from the Rumbio tree, or as it is known in the national language, the sago palm. According to legend, the ancestors come from Muara Takus Rumbio XIII Koto Kampar many centuries ago. Rumbio Village is fairly old; according to information from locals in the initial survey results, Rumbio Market has been operating since 1826. At that time it was quite crowded and visited by traders from various cities.

Before the village system of government, the government was called "kenagarian". Those interviewed objected if the village system of government was mentioned; they said the term used was kenegarian. The term "kerana"—called the first (nagari)—refers to the government system in West Sumatra. The next informant, Mr Sueb of the Community Leaders Rumbio, asserted, "we have a different system from those existing in West Sumatra" (Sueb, personal communication, June 18, 2008).

In an interview with Mr H Almizan, Chairman of First LKMD Rumbio Village on July 18, 2008, researchers were made aware of some historical facts. First, the origin of the Hindu kingdom based in Candi Muara Takus was earlier than the Pagaruyung kingdom in West Sumatra. Second, it was associated with the name of the Kampar River and the Kampar Kiri that started downstream on the east coast of Sumatra Island. Third, his ancestors originally came from the Indian mainland. It is said that the means of transportation used at that time was very simple, making it impossible to navigate the ocean along the west coast of Sumatra Island because of the strength of the waves; possibly the waves were gentler through the east coast (Malacca Strait).

Rumbio Village is one of the oldest villages in the sub-district of Kampar. This can be seen from the existence of Rumbio Market as a means of economic transactions, one of the three oldest markets in the Kampar regency. The split in the village occurred on November 16, 1981. In restructuring the social institutions, religion and government recognised the customary term "tigo tungku sajorangan" or "tahto bapilin nan tigo". The indigenous people, scholars and the Government had to come together in trying to build this village. The indigenous people (especially Ninik Mamak) foster those who belong to their families. The Government, clerics and congregation nurture the people in general.

> Penghulu lai sandiko
> Monti lai sasoko jo pisoko
> Dubalang lai sakudarat
> Malin lai sakitabullah
> Tuo lai sapakaian.

This means that each social group has the same control and direction in running the day-to-day duties included in the forest preserve ban or prohibition woods as mentioned above. Failure will occur if the above three social groups are no longer in line with one another in building this nation.

Based on the information provided by Datuk Godang (key informant), the natural arrangement used the term "seperti aur dengan tebing" (like bamboo and the river banks). According to him, the parable describes how close is the unity between the aur (bamboo) and the banks. Aur need a place to grow, a bank, and the bank is saved—it does not collapse—because of the aur. From this illustration, it is clear that the indigenous people in Kampar have good habits on how to maintain the creek. They have been aware for a long time of how great the danger is when the riverbanks collapse.

Plant communities are called "aur ditebing". Along the Kampar River, because the veins are smooth and supple, the aur can hold and keep the soil from collapsing. The people of Kampar society are fond of planting sago palm and the fringe on the edge of their fields. Sago palm plants have enabled their fields to have reserves of water when the dry season comes, because the plants conserve water.

In the Rumbio village community, they do not use inorganic fertilisers and pesticides. Farming and gardening have more priority than using up the resources of the forest. The community in this village always consults with its indigenous leaders if they intend to open up land in the forest because there is a customary prohibition on account of its being a sacred forest.

In this village forest clearing and processing (a maximum area of two hectares) can be done by a young couple with the consent of traditional leaders. Various system charges (import duty, customs duty collection) are imposed to regulate the utilisation of forest resources.

In Rumbio Village, we found the wisdom of the typical use of customary land for farming. In the indigenous lands, planting with perennials is prohibited. Also, the community in this village is consistently against the use of poison to catch fish, and this is one of the customary prohibitions that is obeyed. These villagers think that the use of poison (tuba) will destroy the entire population of fish, large or small. Communities upstream, as well as migrant communities, are prohibited from cutting down trees along the river, and were banned from other unethical activities along the river. The environmental aspect, the trust and the ban is a form of direct conservation, while indirect conservation is shown in the pattern of opening land; first, the "slash–burn" followed by the planting, and second, the "planting–felling without fuel".

The management of existing natural resources in the village of Rumbio is under the provision of the three elements, namely tigo tungku sejarongan. This is due to land and the land is the communal property of the village. Some juridical aspects can be used as a reference in the management of natural resources in the Rumbio.

Kampar Regency Regulation No. 12, Year 1999 on the Rights of Indigenous Land
Kampar Regency Regulation No. 12, Year 1999 on the Rights of Indigenous Land is the regulation of the Minister of State for Agrarian Affairs/Head of National Land Agency No. 5, 1999, in the Guidelines for Solving Problems of Indigenous Community Rights. To manage the natural resources of land and forest, the Rumbio Village community has made some rules. These rules have not been written yet but an agreement has been made that has the force of customary law. The rules are these: First, the local society from any tribe residing in the region should take advantage of the Rumbio kenagarian indigenous, communal land area of one to two hectares for use as farm land. The rights granted are only limited rights to use and cannot be traded. If within 3 consecutive years the land is abandoned, the land is returned to the Ninik Mamak. Second, the land is the land allowed to be processed outside the region of rimbo larangan. To utilise existing rimbo larangan there are certain rules which have been set by tradition. Rimbo larangan is an area in the communal land of kenagarian Rumbio, located in the Rumbio Village, customarily defined as an area of protected forest area of 500 hectares. The closest village is a hamlet with rimbo larangan, Sorak Island. Rimbo prohibition is not far from human habitation. Prohibition rimbo is surrounded by rubber plantations owned by the community. The rimbo larangan role for the community, in addition to maintaining the ecosystem balance or buffer areas, is as a water catchment, a biodiversity restoration of biological and socio-ecological functions for other biological ecosystems. It also serves as a place to collect firewood, hunt animals, locate wood medicine, and so forth.

According to the Ninik Mamak, Rumbio kenagarian was developed in resistance against the Dutch colonial era, rimbo larangan serve as shelters or places to evacuate from the Dutch attack. At the time of the war against the Dutch society, many fighters were hiding in the vicinity of rimbo larangan. Until now the rimbo state ban has not changed, plants are still well maintained. Inside rimbo larangan there are still many trees with a diameter of more than 1 metre. There are still the conditions of pristine forests and unspoiled by the hands of ignorant people who intend to damage it. At present, this very large rimbo prohibition functions for society and the kenagarian Rumbio for Rumbio Village.

Conclusion

Innovative forest management practices, based on traditional knowledge and developed by local communities in the Kampar Regency, Riau Indonesia, have contributed significantly to the world's natural and cultural heritage by creating and maintaining landscapes of outstanding beauty while helping to sustain production of multiple goods and services that enhance livelihood security and quality of life. Traditional ecological knowledge (forest or rivers in the study area) is an integral component of a network of linkages and relations, supported by an overall framework of signs and meanings. It is often based on long historical experience and deep insight into the dynamics of forest ecosystems, and the behaviour and characteristics of animal and plant species that have special economic, social, cultural and spiritual significance to communities. Traditional ecological knowledge in Kampar Regency was to harmonise life among humans and habitat and create a strong sense of solidarity in the social environment and pledged local tradition. This review recommends bahawa (allowing that unlicensed) when traditional values can be combined with wise management of modern government; it can be found in a concept of sustainable development.

The conceptualisation of environmental sustainability on traditional knowledge of the Malay cosmology in the Kampar Regency is based on beliefs that are articulated through various mediums. They are aware of various aspects of forest management with tigo tungko sajarongan.

This study describes the management of indigenous knowledge in the Kampar Regency and the implication on the sustainable management of natural resources conservation, with particular emphasis on the role of local knowledge and values committed to maintaining the environment.

Glossary

adat	traditional customary system
aur ditebing	plant communities
bahawa	that unlicensed
Candi Muara Takus	Buddhist temple complex
datuk godang	key informant
durians	an Indonesian fruit
gambir	medicinal herb
kenagarian	early system of government
kerambah	fish ponds in the form of rafts
lubuk larangan	prohibited pools system
Ninik Mamak	indigenous leaders
rimbo larangan	forest ban
seperti aur dengan tebing	like the bamboo and the river banks
tuba	poison

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The Hula Dancer as Environmentalist: (Re-)Indigenising Sustainability Through a Holistic Perspective on the Role of Nature in Hula

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Abstract

In hula (Hawaiian dance), the natural world serves multiple essential functions, including the source of imagery and metaphor for danced stories, the origin of costume material and adornments worn by dancers, and the basis of spiritual connection, inspiration and protection for dancers. Moreover, hula teaches a basic set of values and protocols to care for, respect, and live in harmony with nature. Therefore, the hula dancer becomes an environmentalist whose unique position as a cultural practitioner offers innovative and valuable perspectives to the modern-day sustainability movement. Hula, then, becomes a lens to (re-)indigenise sustainability, adding a holistic and necessary dimension as well as making sustainable practices more meaningful to dancers. This (re-)indigenisation through a holistic application of hula also serves to bring together traditional and contemporary knowledge and the disciplines of dance and the environment.

Keywords

Hula, dancer, sustainability, environment, nature, Hawai`i

The Hula Dancer as Environmentalist: (Re-)Indigenising Sustainability Through a Holistic Perspective on the Role of Nature in Hula

Onaona i ka hala me ka lehua
He hale lehua nō ia na ka noe
O ka`u nō ia e `ano`i nei
E li`a nei ho`i o ka hiki mai
A hiki mai nō `oe
Hiki pū nō me ke aloha
Aloha ē, aloha ē

Fragrant with the hala and the lehua
This is the sight I long to see
Of this, my present desire
Your coming fills me with eagerness
Now that you have come
Love comes with you
Greetings, greetings[1]

Aloha mai kākou, ā, tēnā koutou katoa. Ngā mihi i runga i ngā tini āhuatanga o te wā, e ngā rangatira mā. Greetings to the tangata whenua who have welcomed us, and greetings to the other manuhiri (visitors, guests) who have come from afar. I wish to begin today with a few points about the work I am presenting. Firstly, I am currently a master's degree student at the University of Hawai`i at Mānoa in the Pacific Island Studies programme and what I present is my preliminary thesis research. Being a work in progress, the topics and themes are neither exhaustive nor conclusive. Secondly, while I speak about hula, I am myself still a student of hula, not a kumu hula (master hula teacher). Lastly, I am not Hawaiian by ancestry; however, my passion for both hula and the environment has brought me here to

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[1] Traditional Hawaiian welcoming chant, translated by Mary Kawena Pūku`i.

speak to you about the relationship between these two themes. I will discuss how the traditions of hula, as well as the chants, values and protocols associated with the dance, are connected to environmental issues and sustainable practices and, in fact, how hula can be used to "re-indigenise" sustainability. In other words, I will explore how the lens of hula can be used to re-interpret and re-present contemporary ideas of sustainability.

Let me start with some background information on how hula is related to the environment. The integral relationship between hula and nature can perhaps be summed up in Laka, the Hawaiian goddess of the forests and also the patron deity of hula. Certain chants and prayers are used to appeal to Laka to help students in their study of hula. Specific plants of the forest are closely associated with Laka, such as palapalai, ʻōhiʻa lehua and maile. These plants are worn by dancers on the wrists and ankles, as kūpeʻe, or around the head or neck, as lei. The physical adornment with these kinolau provides both inspiration to and protection for the dancer. Part of the inspiration is to help the dancer mimic the movements of nature. Interestingly, the name for a graduated hula dancer is ʻōlapa, which is also a type of tree, because the dancer is said to move as agilely and as gracefully as an ʻōlapa leaf blowing in the wind. Thus, the dancer him- or herself becomes the embodiment of the natural world, and the qualities of nature—the wind, the movement of plants, even the ocean currents—become aspirations for the dancer to achieve.

Another important way hula is interwoven with nature is through the songs and chants of hula. One example is the oli aloha, or greeting chant, with which I opened my presentation. As you can see in the translation, this chant begins in a very poetic way, referencing nature—the permeating fragrance of the hala and lehua plants and the forest mist—to describe symbolically the arrival and warm welcoming of visiting guests.

These are only a few of the many ways in which hula and nature are inextricably linked. In addition to such connections, the traditions of hula also establish and teach a basic set of values and protocols to care for, respect, and interact with the natural world. Such guidelines include protocols for honouring and respecting nature, such as asking permission through chant when entering the forest and offering thanks for the plant material it provides. Nature is honoured in the reverence for forest plants, because they are kinolau, divine manifestations of different Hawaiian deities. Nature is cared for in the gathering process of forest material since only those who have been properly taught are the ones to do so. These individuals know to take only what they need and know how much they will need so as not to over-forage. With their knowledge of the plants and environment, they know the appropriate times to gather and how to gather so as to cause the least possible harm to the plants. The Hawaiian values of living and behaving taught in the hula hālau (school) are also important in respecting and interacting with nature. Dancers show haʻahaʻa (humility) to others and their surroundings, seek lōkahi (harmony, balance) with the natural world, and have kuleana (responsibility) to the environment as mea hula (hula practitioners).

Altogether these ideas, values, and protocols encompass perhaps one of the most important points about hula: that hula is a way of life. This is something my teachers have always emphasised, and this concept is reiterated by many renowned kumu hula. The late Uncle George Nāʻope has said that "the hula, to me, is the foundation of life. It teaches us how to live, how to be ...." (Mutual Publishing, 2003, p. 13). In Kumu Hula Pualani Kanahele's words, "This tradition [of hula] teaches how to appreciate natural phenomena … love the land … and acknowledge and honor the presence of life … Hula is a reflection of life" (PBS, n.d.). From a holistic perspective, hula is much more than dance and hula extends far beyond the walls of the hula hālau. It is a way of being and applies to all facets of existence. Since dancers honour nature as part of hula, we honour nature as a way of life as well. The main idea is that the dancer takes the values of hula and tries to integrate them in all aspects of his or her life.

In this way, I come to the point of the hula dancer as an environmentalist. Because of the intimate connection to nature and the idea of living hula as a way of life, hula practitioners may have an acute awareness of the environment as well as a concern for environmental issues, since it is the

environment upon which the art form of hula so heavily depends. As part of the upcoming work for my master's thesis, I will be conducting interviews with hula practitioners to see if they have any insights to share on environmental issues or any unique ways in which they care for and honour the natural world on a daily basis. These interviews are yet to be done, but there are a few examples I would like to share that reflect an awareness and concern for the natural world within the hula community.

At the No Nā Pua O Ka Hālau Hula Conferences in 1996 and 1997, hula practitioners gathered to address the relationship between hula and forests, and how they could play active roles in preventing further forest degradation (Garcia, 2002). Issues of development and urbanisation have been addressed, such as in the film *Mauna Kea: Temple Under Siege*, where Aunty Pualani Kanahele speaks about how cultural practitioners must advocate for the environment today rather than regret the destruction of land in retrospect: "Sometimes we tend to abuse the things we have … we see all the buildings up on the mountain [Mauna Kea] … and so in our shame we turn away …. Because when they were being built, we didn't say anything" (Puhipau & Lander, 2006). Kumu Hula Melvin Lantaka has commented on the importance of having an awareness of environment in our daily lives and how our everyday actions affect the natural world. He comments: "I look forward to the day when gasoline goes to six bucks a gallon, because it will teach people to pay attention to their surroundings" (Gilmore, 2009, p. 31). These are just a few examples, but they illustrate the point that hula practitioners are thinking about environmental issues, and issues outside the immediate realm of dance.

In this way, hula has value for non-dancers as well. Hula can teach how to live in tune with the environment beyond the hālau, in daily life, to both dancers and non-dancers alike. Moreover, I believe hula can offer valuable insights and new knowledge to the environmental and sustainability movements. Whereas these contemporary movements are only a few decades old, the traditions of hula are hundreds of years old, tried and true. As Liholiho, Kamehameha II, said: "Na wai ho`i ka `ole o ke akamai, he alanui i ma`a i ka hele `ia e o`u mau mākua [Who would not be wise, upon the pathway so well-trodden by my elders?"] (Pūku`i, 1983, p. 251). Surely, the wisdom and insights passed down from our kūpuna (elders) to the hula practitioners of today will be a valuable contribution to the contemporary environmental movement.

This idea of applying values of hula to address environmental issues I refer to as (re-)indi-genising sustainability. Using traditional values passed down through hula is a (re-)indigeni-sation because for hundreds, even thousands of years, prior to Western influences, Hawaiians and other native people lived in sustainable lifestyles. (Re-)indigenising sustainability is an integration of traditional and modern practices, that is, a hybrid utilising aspects of both, because both have value for improving the state of our planet. It turns to indigenous practices to address environmental issues facing the world today while also looking at contemporary innovations from an indigenous lens.

This integrated and inclusive model of sustainability also reflects the conference theme: "Kei muri i te awe kāpara, he tangata kē: recognising, engaging, and understanding difference". (Re-)indigenising sustainability brings together indigenous knowledge and contemporary Western knowledge systems, as well as the disciplines of dance and environment, thereby bridging worlds that, at first, seem to be strangers to one another, but that may be more connected than they are different.

(Re-)indigenisation does at least two important things for the sustainability movement: it adds a new, valuable, and necessary dimension and offers a lens which can potentially make such a lifestyle more meaningful and relevant to cultural practitioners. Let me first address how (re-)indigenisation offers something important and necessary to the notion of sustainability. Sustainability has been defined as "meeting the needs of people today and in the future, while sustaining the life support systems of the planet" (Matson, 2010). The concepts behind this kind of definition have value, but are nonetheless problematic because they are still rooted in a way of life that is not sustainable, that is, a "Western" lifestyle that is inherently destructive, self-serving and individualistic. From the perspective of a hula dancer, both parts of this definition are lacking. The first part, "meeting the needs of people today and in the future" is problematic because it is wholly anthropocentric, speaking and thinking

only of humans. It does not acknowledge the earth or our ancestors, nor does it consider all the other life forms on the planet. In Hawaiian thought, these are our older siblings, who deserve respect as such. The second part, "sustaining the life support systems of the planet," is a strictly scientific, almost clinical and sterile definition of the earth, and does not recognise that our planet is alive and animated with its own mana (energy, power) and populated with akua (gods) and `aumākua (guardian spirits and ancestors). So, if we were to (re-)indigenise the definition of sustainability by using the framework of hula, the result would be a more holistic way to view the world. We would have a model for how to interact, relate, and care for the earth in a way that is truly sustainable. This is a valuable contribution from indigenous knowledge that the movement currently lacks and desperately needs.

The second point I wish to make about (re-)indigenisation is that it can potentially make sustainable practices more relevant to hula practitioners. From personal experience, trying to live with environmental awareness has taken on a deeper meaning because I see its relationship to hula. For instance, the practice of composting, of returning organic matter back to the earth, is similar to the protocol for disposing of a lei after it has been worn in a performance. Lei are never just thrown away and are often returned to the forest or to the plant from which the material was gathered. Returning the lei to the `āina (earth, land) in this fashion is composting in its most basic form.

Another sustainable practice that takes on greater meaning when related to hula is recycling. To illustrate the relationship between recycling and hula, let me mention the Waimānalo Gulch Landfill on the island of O`ahu where I live. In 2009, the State Land Use Commission voted to expand this landfill to twice its original size, from 96 acres to 200 acres (Reyes, 2009). In other words, more land is being taken and converted, literally, into wasteland. This troubles me as a dancer because `āina is so important. Hula is danced barefoot to maintain the connection with the `āina, to draw up the mana from the earth and also to send mana back down into the ground. It is from the land that we gather both plants for our adornments as well as images for our stories that we depict through dances. Every time I recycle, I see it as one less item that will end up in the Waimānalo Gulch Landfill polluting and contaminating the land, which is so special and meaningful to me as a hula dancer.

Composting and recycling are just a couple of personal examples of the ways in which the major themes of my presentation today—namely hula, the environment, and sustainability—are all interconnected; these examples are certainly not the only ways, and I look forward to interviewing other practitioners and sharing their personal stories and insights on these themes.

In conclusion, I would like to recapitulate my main points. The first is the idea of the hula dancer as an environmentalist, or the notion of dancers having an environmental conscientiousness due to the importance of the natural world to their art form. It is the recognition that living in a sustainable, environmentally friendly way is an extension of the values and practices taught in the hula hālau. The next point is the concept of (re-)indigenising sustainability, which is necessary to create a sound framework for living in harmony with the earth, and which is valuable for cultural practitioners to meaningfully connect with environmental issues.

More generally, I would also like to point out the relevance of dance to a healthy planet. While I have focused here on hula, other indigenous dances from across the world are closely associated with the environment and have much to offer to a sustainable way of living. And finally, turning again to the theme of this conference on Indigenous Knowledge, I see the use of indigenous models (here, the framework of hula) as an effective way to understand the other, engage in new and integrated ways of thinking and living, and recognise how different bodies of knowledge—traditional or modern, environmental or dance—relate to one another. The holistic, inclusive foundation of indigeneity will pave the way for the future of humankind. With an indigenous framework, dance and nature can come together to synthesise a sustainable path for our survival, the survival of all our relations, and the survival of Mother Earth.

Glossary

`āina   earth, land

akua	god(s)
`aumākua	guardian spirits and ancestors
ha`aha`a	humility
hālau	house, school
hula	Hawaiian dance
kinolau	physical manifestations of deities in various natural forms
kumu hula	master hula teacher
kūpuna	elders
kuleana	responsibility
lōkahi	harmony, balance
mana	energy, power
manuhiri	visitors, guests
mea hula	hula practitioner(s)

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White Class Proletarianism, Colonised/Postcolonial Ethno-Cultural Groups: Māori, Social Grouping and Rugby League

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Abstract

Different social groups often partake in collective activities that foster similarities between themselves or differences between their group and others. Similarly, different cultural social groups distinguish themselves through patterns of behaviours that provide a sense of familiarity and uniqueness. As a result, certain cultural social activities often coincide with other social class differentiating activities. Activities such as sports can transcend and/or combine social class and cultural boundaries. Rugby league in New Zealand is a sport where quite distinct ethnic socio-cultural groupings and class, including the differences between them, have combined in a unique way that has both obfuscated the differences between these groups and also given rise to a new sporting phenomenon. This paper will examine the role of this new "socio-cultural grouping" of Māori in rugby league as a means of providing a distinction between those Māori who wished to engage with the Pākehā, or dominant, society through rugby union and those who remained separated from imperial ties yet achieved sporting recognition through rugby league.

Keywords
Māori, rugby league, social grouping, social class

Sport and Social Stratification

Horne, Tomlinson, and Whannel (1999, p. 104) argue that "sport acts as a kind of badge of social exclusivity and cultural distinctiveness for the dominant classes, for the social élite, and as both a means of control or containment of the working or popular classes and a potential source of escape and mobility for talented working-class performers." This implies that sport is used to distance the dominant classes from the lower classes. Sport provides the exclusivity that comes with being able to afford the privilege to partake in particular leisure activities; activities that come with financial requirements or expenses, such as skiing and golf. This also alludes to the possibility of upward social mobility through talent for "working-class performers". The issue therefore is the ability of working-class performers to access the particular activity. If we are to follow the argument of Horne et al. (1999), then sports participation is not a matter of personal choice or individual preference. Participation in the form of choosing sports or particular leisure activities depends upon a number of factors, including the financial resources available to the participant, the social status of the sport in question and those prominent in the sport (such as role models or prominent coaches or administrators), the cultural meaning or significance of a sport and the individual's perception of and relationship to those meanings. According to T. Wilson (2002), participation in particular sports requires the participant to have both money and leisure time; the upper classes have more of both and are thus more likely to actively engage in leisure activities inaccessible to those in the working classes.

The arguments of Horne et al. (1999) can be extended to understand the relationship between rugby league, "working class-ness" and Māori. Without the expense of élite "dominant-class" leisure activities, such as golf or skiing, rugby league is a sport that is accessible to anyone with a ball and some space; it is not rare to see barefoot children emulating their footy heroes in the backyard, at the local park, car park or simply on the street outside their house.

The social status of Māori, a historically, economically, politically, socially and culturally marginalised minority, is understandably often viewed in a similar vein to that afforded to the non-

Māori working class. Multiple socio-economic statistics and stereotypes reinforce key similarities between the two social groupings of being Māori and being proletarian, such as low performance or under performance in education, employment, health, housing and income; however, many other criteria show that rather than being mutually inclusive there are also distinct differences between them.

Class, Māori and Rugby League Players in New Zealand

When examining the effect of social class and social grouping in New Zealand, particularly of Māori in rugby league, it is crucial to specify certain moments in the production and reproduction of meaning in games and sports where traditional ideologies, such as the concept of rugby league as a working-class game, become ingrained among societal views as the overarching truth. Gruneau (1999, p. 42) argues that:

> [there are cases] where the culturally specific pressures and limits embodied in the dominant representations of institutionally established sporting practices appear to penetrate so deeply into the whole substance of lived identities and relationships that they come to be widely regarded as the pressures and limits of universal experience and common sense.

The transfer of working-class dominated rugby league in England to British colonies such as Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand has led to permanence in perception and consciousness that league is a working-class game. In New Zealand, rugby league is still considered by the majority as a lower/working-class sport and rugby league players are often perceived as blue collar working men and women. These stereotypical ideologies of rugby league and those who play the game are obviously, at one point or another, derived from the "class split" that birthed the sport of rugby league in England in 1895 and in New South Wales and Queensland in 1907–1908.

Several statistics reinforce this; on average, rugby league players tend to have a lower available income than participants in other sporting codes. According to the Sport and Recreation Commission (SPARC) Sport and Physical Activity surveys (1997/1998, 1999/2000, 2001/2002), proportionately fewer rugby league players are engaged in managerial or professional occupations while more are involved in trades, plant/machine operator and labourer/unskilled occupations. The same surveys also reveal that just 21% of rugby league players have an income over $60,000 compared with 28% of non-rugby league players and, further, that 30% of rugby union players have incomes over $60,000. These statistics also correlate with the numbers published by Tunnah (2009) indicating that the average Māori weekly income is $437 dollars, equivalent to $22,724 dollars per year after tax. Māori unemployment levels also place them at the lower spectrum of the class hierarchy. Even now, in the years following the 1990–2005 New Zealand economic boom, Māori unemployment remains at 8.8%, well above the 3.8% national rate and 3.1% European rate. David Grusky (cited in Pakulski, 2005) proposes that occupations are the basic units, or markers, of modern social hierarchy, indicating that Māori social class standings are directly linked to their representation in the workforce.

Education also plays an integral role in determining class position; those who attain a higher level of education are more likely to be associated with a higher class and *vice versa* for those with lower attainment. "The education levels of rugby league players are generally lower than those of non-rugby league players. Most commonly, 53% of adults who play rugby league have a secondary education (compared with 43% of non-rugby league players) and 23% have a tertiary education (35% of non-players)" (SPARC Sport and Physical Activity Survey, 2001/2002). As with rugby league players, Māori education levels are generally lower than the total non-Māori population. Education statistics have shown an increase in Māori success in education yet Māori continue to be overrepresented in less positive education statistics.

Colonised/Postcolonial Ethno-Cultural Groups

While a strong correlation of economic class-centred measures exists between Māori and rugby league players, it is simplistic to assume that the Māori rugby league construct is entirely working class. Mike Savage (2000, pp. 101–102) has argued that "social groups differentiate themselves from others in various 'fields'." These fields can include sports and leisure activities. As social or economic

status can affect the accessibility of a sport and participation, so can those who partake in the sport dictate how and why they play. Social, ethnic and culturally distinct characteristics can express themselves through group history and collective and individual conscious and unconscious decision making.

Ideas of social class in New Zealand often differ from those of the wider Western world. Part of the reason for this is the relatively narrower range of wealth in New Zealand—until recently, millionaires topped a small top-end income bracket—compared to mega-economies such as the United States, where billionaires first appeared in the 1930s. As recently as the 1980s, New Zealand was acclaimed as a "classless society". Keith Sinclair (1996, p. 285) has stated that although New Zealand was not a classless society, "it must be more nearly classless ... than any advanced society in the world." This lesser class structure also facilitated a situation whereby social group forms such as culture and/or ethnicity continued to survive, adapt, develop and flourish.

The Māori colonial/postcolonial ethno-cultural group is distinct from the working-class construct in that it was colonised, suffered gross land alienation, had its language banned, priesthood and religion suppressed, was urbanised and was subject to racism and structural marginalisation. It was also subject to racism in sport, from within both rugby union and rugby league, as it was in society in general. This is evidenced by the exclusion of Māori rugby players from the 1960 South Africa tour and in league, by the recent controversy in Australia when a coach from one team referred to a player in another team as a "black coon" (Corbett, 2010).

Until the Second World War, New Zealand was representative of two worlds. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Māori and Pākehā societies remained predominantly separated. Māori continued to live tribally and to a certain extent with an identity distinct from the now dominant Pākehā society. (For instance, in 1900 more than 90% of Māori entering schools spoke te reo Māori (Māori language) compared with just 8% in 1980.) Māori communities continued to maintain their self-reliance with regard to food and providing for their communities. As interaction increased through work and trade Māori remained committed to traditional values throughout this period; this maintained a distinct social division between the two people of New Zealand, Māori and Pākehā, through tradition and culture.

Christianity, war and sport would provide the avenues for social integration between the two detached cultures. Christianity was used as a means of civilising the savage, war pitted Māori and Pākehā alongside one another in battle and sport was a combination of the two. Sport would be used both as a civilising agent through the school system and as a means of integrating the two cultures alongside one another, no longer in battle but on the playing field.

Sports in New Zealand, particularly rugby union, were used as a means of coaching Māori males in the ways of the English gentleman. In a time where a manual education was seen as the best strategy for Māori advancement, certain schools such as Te Aute College[1] were advocating the use of imperial sports such as rugby union and cricket to develop Māori males into "respectable" members of society.

Non-Māori and Māori Privileged Elites in Rugby Union and Rugby League

As the majority of Māori were enrolled at native schools that promoted manual education and skills for employment in agriculture, according to Hokowhitu (2004), most Māori could not compete to attain professional employment and consequently the formation of a Māori middle class did not eventuate. As rugby union developed in New Zealand as a middle-class sport thriving in the private school sector, Māori became disengaged from the sport as a social or leisure activity and instead participated in the sport as part of what has been described as a social privilege.

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[1] Te Aute Māori Boys College is a high school in the Hawkes Bay, New Zealand. Te Aute College has been a strong developer of Māori leaders including Sir Āpirana Ngata, Māui Pōmare and Peter Buck.

Many of the Māori who were involved in rugby union in the earlier periods (late 19th and early 20th centuries) were members of a somewhat culturally privileged group relative to other Māori. Greg Ryan (2005, p. 92), for instance, notes that most prominent Māori rugby union players were from predominantly Māori "advantageous economic and social" backgrounds. The fact that the Māori who were playing rugby union at the time were in economically superior positions to their non-rugby union playing counterparts indicates a clear social distinction between those who could either access rugby union on the basis of opportunity and their socio-economic background and/or who were selected and/or deemed culturally and class acceptable by the rugby unions and those who could neither access union or were not accepted by the unions. Rugby union at this time still belonged to those people who were higher up the social hierarchy and was unavailable to the majority of Māori who were not attending privileged ethnic colleges, such as Te Aute Māori Boys College in the Hawkes Bay, and not in the position to engage socially or culturally with Pākehā society. Ryan (2005, p. 94) sees those Māori who did become involved in the sport of rugby union as "belonging to an influential élite who were determined to engage with the increasingly dominant Pākehā society." Again, this is a further example of the notion that rugby union was distinctively for an élite social grouping of well-to-do Pākehā and a minority group of privileged Māori.

Professionalism: Breaking Down Barriers
Similar to the situation in England after the 1905 split between rugby union and rugby league, professionalism in New Zealand allowed for greater access to a sport that was traditionally available only to the privileged few who were in a social or economic position to play. In England, professionalism allowed for the working class to be compensated for time taken from work to partake in sport. Professionalism also heightened the awareness of the social and economic differences between rugby union and rugby league as well as the dominant and working classes. With the development of rugby league as a professional sport that allowed for the compensation of its players in New Zealand, Māori now had a means of access to sport at the national level.

When rugby league split from rugby union in New Zealand, it immediately became professional, which created fear amongst the rugby union community and the amateur faithful. However, for lower socio-economic non-Māori and Māori players, it provided an avenue for success and recognition on what could be seen as a "level" playing field. As Ryan (2005, p. 99) wrote, "If there were any feelings among Māori players that they were being denied opportunities in the 'national game' [rugby union], the new code [rugby league] offered both fresh horizons and a more enlightened attitude to the financial sacrifices of its players." At this stage, rugby league was still new in New Zealand and was a misunderstood threat to the amateur establishment of rugby union. Māori too were a relatively misunderstood sporting commodity but after the successful Māori league tours of Australia in 1908 and 1909, they established themselves as exhilarating exponents of modern football, both rugby league and rugby union. Evidence of the threat that rugby league posed to the New Zealand Rugby Union can be seen in the fact that a Māori national rugby union team was not established until 1910, a direct result of the exodus of Māori athletes to the rival code.

The advent of professionalism made it more difficult to retain the services of Māori athletes within the rugby unions. With the majority of rural Māori remaining economically marginalised and living in areas where rugby unions were less established, rugby union did not create the necessary strongholds required to retain Māori players. Thus, rugby union as a sport in New Zealand remained the chosen sport of the middle classes and the privileged Māori élite. Rugby union was firmly based in the urban centres where Pākehā society was more dominant but had not developed fully in the more rural, Māori-dominated areas. Aside from those in Māori society who were making direct attempts to engage with Pākehā society, the majority of Māori society were not heavily involved or aligned with the rugby unions. Such trends indicate that Māori, while renowned for their prowess in the sport, were more often than not only involved in rugby union if they were a part of what Ryan (2005) has called an "influential élite". The inception of rugby league created a noticeable shift in the demographic of those who played football. Rugby league would develop as a code supportive of the economic needs of those who played, whereas rugby union would remain amateur for almost a further hundred years until 1995. It is this clash between amateur and professional that has allowed for continued discussion

around the influence of social class between the two codes and the questions surrounding who plays what code and why they play.

While the division between rugby union and rugby league in New Zealand appears to follow similar class divisions to England, it is possible that social class and economics were not the be all and end all of the Māori affinity for rugby league. There is a potential that while the initial issue of financial support was the drawcard for Māori involvement in rugby league, rugby league also provided a sport unwanted by the middle and upper classes, allowing Māori to actively participate in a sport that was not driven by colonial imperialism.

The status of rugby league as a sport was akin to the status of Māori in New Zealand at the time. Considered a "prole" sport—where "prole" is an abbreviation of proletariat and is an informal insult from the bourgeoisie towards the working class—rugby league was avoided by the upper classes and therefore became associated with the proletariat or working class. As rugby union was used as a method of civilising Māori it is likely that Māori found an affinity for rugby league through the fact that it was a sport associated with the working class and lower socio-economic status, which they as a marginalised and colonised ethno-cultural group could identify with. According to Hokowhitu (2004, p. 270), "Sport was one of the obvious areas in which Māori men could gain public recognition without challenging the dominant discourse." This statement indicates Māori acceptance into Pākehā society through sporting achievement. However, acceptance through sport was limited to particular sports. Rugby union and cricket were considered the sports of gentlemen and were reflective of the imperial ties to England; thus they were acceptable pastimes for the middle classes and privileged Māori. Rugby league was perceived as a proletarian sport for the working classes and was symbolic of a lower form of society. While success in any team sport would allow for community recognition, rugby league would not permit opportunities for social progression, unlike the more socially acceptable and respectable sports, such as rugby union and cricket. The affinity of Māori for rugby league was a vehicle for social distinction between Māori and the dominant classes.

Rugby union remained a largely urban sport focused on the prestigious colleges whereas rugby league began to establish itself among the rural communities. Even today, a noticeable proportion of rugby league clubs remain in areas with a significant Māori demographic, such as the Waikato and outer Auckland regions. The distinction between rugby union and rugby league allowed Māori to create a division between themselves and the dominant Pākehā society. This was not necessarily a class division but rather a cultural or social division. Māori who wished to engage in Pākehā society would attend colleges and play rugby union, those who wished to distance themselves could remain in rural communities and play rugby league. This is not to say that Māori did not play rugby union in rural communities; it was, however, the case that rugby union had not yet fully established itself in communities where Māori were the majority population. According to J. Hughson (2009, p. 64),

> the distinction between culture and civilisation can be used to support the view that the working class does make its own sporting life in a way primarily removed from the political struggle. This is to view sport—in the sense of deeply felt aesthetic experience—occupying a sphere of culture separate from that of civilisation.

In this view it can be established that Māori chose to make their own "sporting life" removed from the imperial constraints that were attached to rugby union. As in Australia and other British colonies, imperial loyalties were coupled with a sense of nationalism. Therefore, any sense of nationalism was rooted in imperialism. Thus, if rugby union was considered one of those "imperial loyalties", those Māori who chose to play rugby league were separating themselves from the rest of the dominant society. The dominant Pākehā society itself created a sense of separation between itself and Māori as it was, according to Ryan (2005, p. 109), "geared towards a rural Māori existence and an assumption that skilled and qualified Māori would always work among Māori." It was representations of Māori by Pākehā society that provided the necessity for division between the two social groups. Colonisation as a culture at this point was more influential than class. The upper and middle classes dominated the social hierarchy followed by the working classes and Māori. While Māori and Pākehā

interacted on a small scale in rural towns and Pākehā and Māori continued to intermarry, Pākehā representations of Māori still tended to be as uninformed as those of other non-British peoples. Thus, Māori, through playing rugby league, were merely mirroring the views of the dominant Pākehā society. Through rugby league Māori were able to develop a sporting life or sporting culture unique unto themselves, separate from the mainstream and uninhibited by the influence of ties to the "mother country". Hughson (2009, p. 56) believes that "the urban working class should not be seen as a mass but as a culturally creative social collectivity." Similarly, Māori who partook in rugby league can be viewed as consciously creating a cultural social collective.

Conclusion

It can be seen from the early stages of rugby league's inception that there is more than social class affecting the makeup of the sport in New Zealand. Location, societal restrictions and demands, accessibility, colonial imperialism and a sense of cultural and social division lend to a sporting culture that was developed and nurtured under the impetus of inchoate class relations. Without an overtly dominant class structure in New Zealand, societal division began primarily with the ethnic and cultural divisions driven by colonisation. Māori and the working class have since been categorised in a similar vein and it is for this reason that the stereotypes surrounding rugby league and the working class have persisted. It is apparent that social class is but one factor in the attraction between Māori and rugby league. Strong links between rugby union and cricket with imperial England and its strict class rules created a pathway through rugby league for a division of social groupings. This division allowed for Māori to partake in national-level sport, creating a way of life exempt from the intrusion of what Hughson (2009, p. 64) calls "political considerations". Unlike rugby union, rugby league offered the freedom of cultural expression and economic reward. Indeed, social class and social status have influenced the perceptions of rugby league in New Zealand and, as a result, a Māori rugby league culture has emerged which has created a link between the people and the sport. Māori rugby league culture has been influenced by social class and social division but culture is not completely separate from class—it is at the core of a meaningful class existence.

Glossary

Pākehā	New Zealander of European society, dominant society in New Zealand
te reo Māori	Māori language

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Resilience and Whānau Ora:
Seeking Understanding Beyond Our First Impression

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Abstract
This paper discusses a research project undertaken by Whakauae Research for Māori Health and Development (WRMHD) in collaboration with Te Oranganui Iwi Health Authority (TOIHA) and the Health Services Research Centre in response to a Request for Proposals issued by funders for research on the topic of "resiliency and whānau ora (family well-being)". The paper outlines the research design, describes relevant international literature, and contextualises the study in the New Zealand setting. Preliminary findings from a series of key informant interviews are briefly discussed. The paper concludes by noting the challenges the research team will need to confront as they conduct the research, not the least of these being whether the concept of resiliency—which is gaining prominence in New Zealand's political and social discourse—has any resonance or meaning for Māori, the indigenous people of this country.

Keywords
Māori, resilience, primary health care, families, well-being, indigenous

Introduction
In 2009 Whakauae Research for Māori Health and Development, in collaboration with an indigenous controlled primary healthcare provider, Te Oranganui Iwi Health Authority, and the Health Services Research Centre at Victoria University of Wellington, began the research project "Supporting Whānau Wellbeing: How Māori Primary Health Care Assists Whānau Resilience". This 2-year project, funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the Accident Compensation Corporation and the Families Commission, seeks to understand the concept of "resilience", its meaning for Māori whānau (families), and its application in primary health care. The research utilises a broad definition of resilience, underpinned by a social, contextual perspective that is "ecologically fluid, historically sensitive and culturally anchored" (Ungar, 2005, p. 90). Using this definition, we contend that resilience underpins Māori primary health care approaches, and that these approaches may assist whānau to increase resilience by supporting them to identify and access resources that sustain their well-being in culturally meaningful ways. Further, we argue that where positive cultural support mechanisms and advocacy are provided to whānau and individuals, then whānau ora (family well-being) may be achieved. In this paper we draw on preliminary findings from our key informant interviews and discuss whether our contentions are valid and whether we are able to advance beyond our first impressions and initial understandings what appears to be a very Western construct—that of resilience.

Research Context
Whānau Ora and the Local Research Setting
In recent years the New Zealand Government has identified that a coordinated and collaborative effort is required on its part to reduce persistent health inequalities between Māori and non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2002a). A key goal of the government in relation to Māori health has been articulated in *He Korowai Oranga: The Māori Health Strategy*, which aims to achieve whānau ora or support Māori families to attain maximum health and well-being (Ministry of Health, 2002b). The vision encapsulated in the concept of whānau ora has been adopted as a key strategy of New Zealand social policy development and intent, and is now firmly entrenched in health-service policy, planning and delivery (Families Commission, 2009).

Māori health service providers have been responsive to the opportunities provided by a government direction which positions the concept of whānau ora at the centre of health service delivery to Māori. Historically, these providers have agreed to contracts as diverse as health promotion, community development and primary health care in order to provide culturally appropriate health services to Māori, and have utilised a range of Māori health models in the implementation and execution of these contracts. Some of these models are clearly described in the literature and have even gained general acceptance amongst mainstream service providers (Ratima, 2001; Durie, 2004). Others are specific to individual providers and may have emerged from the unique tikanga (practice) of the organisation or from its associated iwi (tribe) (Boulton, 2005, 2007; Gifford, 1999).

One such Māori primary health care provider, which has developed its own, unique model of whānau ora, has agreed to provide the research setting for this study and become a member of the research team. Te Oranganui Iwi Health Authority Primary Healthcare Organisation (TOIHA) is a mixed urban and rural Māori Primary Healthcare Organisation (PHO) in the city of Whanganui. As an intertribal provider, it is governed by the mandated representatives of the three iwi in the region: Whanganui, Ngā Rauru ki Tahi and Ngāti Apa. Established in 1993, TOIHA has an enrolled population of some 7,400 clients, both Māori and non-Māori, who it services through its various business units (Te Oranganui Iwi Health Authority, 2008). TOIHA provides a range of programmes reflecting a broad determinants approach to health and well-being, including home employment brokerage for people with disabilities, family support, traditional healing services, injury prevention programmes, and primary health care.

This Māori-led primary health care organisation provides a unique indigenous setting in which to conduct research linking concepts as seemingly disparate as "whānau ora", a distinctly Māori concept which has, in turn been appropriated by the Crown and its government agencies, and "resilience", which, while gaining greater and greater use in New Zealand's health and social services sector, is not necessarily a concept that has emerged from an understanding of New Zealand's unique history and culture. The following section explores what is meant by the term resilience, how it is used and, from the international literature, identifies the definition that is most appropriate for our study.

Conceptualising Resilience and the Link to Whānau
The Individual as "Agent"
In the field of resilience research, two distinct approaches are apparent. The first has its origins in the Western discipline of psychology and particularly in social cognitive theory. This approach asserts that individuals are agents; being both producers of experiences and shapers of events (Bandura, 2000). In social cognitive theory the mechanism of human agency is fundamental; in other words, unless people believe they can produce the desired effects in their lives they have little incentive to act (Bandura, 2000). The concepts of self-efficacy (the belief in one's own ability to change hazardous situations) and collective efficacy (a group's shared understanding of its ability to meet its goals and complete agreed tasks) derive from this understanding of the nature of human behaviour.

In the international literature, it has been argued that a strong sense of personal or self-efficacy is related to better health, higher achievement and increased social integration (Bandura, 2000; Schwarzer, 1994). Perceived collective efficacy, as a mechanism of human agency, features less prominently in the international literature, however Bandura (2000) argues that collective efficacy is becoming increasingly central to how people live their lives as new social realities emerge along with technological advancement and with globalisation. While this approach to resilience makes some attempt to understand the role of the collective as a means to enhance personal efficacy or empowerment, it is limited as a theoretical construct for understanding the impact that history, culture and environment have on resilience and on resilience as displayed by indigenous populations.

Family and Community Resilience
In recent decades, resilience research has moved beyond simply looking at the individual as the central entity for analysis (Blackstock & Trocme, 2005), to incorporate broader concepts of family and

community resilience. This recognises that "individual capacities [to exhibit resilience] depend on more than the individual themselves" (Ungar, 2005, p. 90). Fleming and Ledogar (2008) note that this shift in conceptualising resilience rests on recognising a set of external protective factors that contribute to individual resilience. These protective influences are identified in family and community systems and processes, and include social support, empowerment and communal coping. Families and communities which nurture individuals are in turn understood to demonstrate resilience. The focus, however, remains on the psychological health of the individual as part of a community or family system, and on what a "resilient" community can deliver for that individual.

A broader approach to understanding resilience has more recently emerged, underpinned by a social contextual perspective. Resilience research undertaken in Canada with children, youth and families has sought to explore the health-enhancing capacities and individual, family and community resources available to vulnerable children and youth (Ungar, 2008). Ungar (2005) argues that resilience is not simply an internal psychological state of well-being; rather it must be understood as being "ecologically fluid, historically sensitive and culturally anchored" (p. 90). Resilience has thus been defined by Ungar, Liebenberg, Le Blanc, Thiessen and Armstrong (n.d.) as:

the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to resources that sustain well-being; the capacity of individuals' physical and social ecologies to provide those resources; and the capacity of individuals, their families and communities to negotiate culturally meaningful ways for health resources to be shared.

For the purposes of the research, we have adopted the definition of resilience employed by the International Resilience Project, which proposes that "resilience is both an individual's capacity to navigate to health resources and a condition of the individual's family, community and culture to provide those resources in culturally meaningful ways" (Resilience Research Centre, 2010).

Indigenous Resilience
A note is required on the small but growing body of literature and knowledge concerned with the concept of "cultural" resilience (Lalonde, 2006; Ungar, 2008; Walters & Simoni, 2002) and how resilience as a construct has been used in an indigenous context. It is important to note that some indigenous researchers are challenging and critiquing the concept of resilience and its application to indigenous populations. A full discussion of indigenous writers' critique of the concept of resilience is outside the scope of this particular paper; however, it does inform our positioning of this research.

Research Design and Methods
The research project utilises a single case-study approach whereby the research team seek to "gather comprehensive, systematic, and in-depth information" (Patton, 2002, p. 447) with the aim of exploring both the complexity and uniqueness of the concept of resilience as it occurs in this specific case. The hypothesis we aim to test in this research is that notions of resilience underpin Māori primary health and health promotion activity in New Zealand and, further, that Māori primary health approaches have the ability to assist whānau to increase their resilience by supporting whānau and individuals to access resources that sustain their well-being in culturally meaningful ways.

The research is divided into two distinct phases of enquiry. Phase 1 seeks to answer the question: How are concepts such as resilience incorporated in Māori primary health approaches? This phase comprises a detailed review of the academic and grey literature, a review of case-study documents (TOIHA's internal policies and practice manuals), and a series of semi-structured, in-depth, key informant interviews.

In Phase 2 of the research we will determine whānau understandings of the concept of resilience and determine how participation in Māori primary health services has had an impact on whānau resilience capacity. A series of focus groups or whānau wānanga with the same whānau participants over a course of 4 weeks will be employed to answer the questions: What are whānau understandings of resilience? How has engagement with a Māori primary health provider increased whānau

resilience? What are possible Māori primary health provider mechanisms and interventions that contribute to this enhanced resilience?

Data analysis began when findings from the literature review and organisational document review were used to inform the development of an initial conceptual framework linking the notions of "resilience" and "whānau ora" and an interview schedule for key informants. The preliminary findings presented in this paper are based on our analysis of the above sources. The literature review and analysis was primarily conducted through the later part of 2009, while the key informant data was collected in March 2010.

Key informants comprised employees (senior managers, clinicians and staff) and governance members of TOIHA, and were selected purposively using a criterion sampling strategy (Patton, 2002). A total of 11 participants were interviewed in this phase, either at their place of work or at the offices of the researchers. Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed, and the preliminary thematic analysis was undertaken by senior members of the research team.

The process for developing the interview schedule proved to be a conceptual challenge. This project draws together two apparently distinct and disparate concepts—whānau ora and resilience. To develop the interview schedule, the research team firstly had to determine a set of principles or characteristics of "resilience". We then reviewed TOIHA's internal policy and practice documentation to distil a further series of principles which mapped, or aligned with, the principles of resilience as defined in the literature. Finally, a series of questions for informants was devised that would draw out evidence of a resilience approach in TOIHA's service delivery. In addition to an interview schedule, a set of showcards was used to assist key informants in the interview. Showcard 1 (Figure 1) presented Ungar's (2008) definition of resilience, adopted for this first phase of the research. Showcard 2 (Figure 2) outlined a series of principles drawn from TOIHA's strategic internal policy documentation, which we believe aligns with the concept of resilience as espoused by Ungar. It was our expectation in undertaking the interviews that key informants would be able to provide examples of how these principles are incorporated into day-to-day practice.

Showcard 1

Resilience has been defined by as:

"an individual's capacity to navigate health resources *and* a condition of the individual's family, community and culture to provide those resources in a culturally meaningful way".

KEY INFORMANT SHOWCARD 1: Supporting Whānau Wellbeing: How Māori Primary Health Care Assists Whānau Resilience Research Project   5 February 2010
Version 1

Figure 1. Showcard 1: A definition of resilience.

The showcards were placed in front of participants so they could refer to them as the interview progressed. When shown Showcard 2, participants were encouraged to discuss any aspect of the principles outlined on the showcard, in any order. Interviews typically lasted between half an hour and

an hour and, as will be discussed below, were considered by most participants to be challenging and thought-provoking.

Showcard 2

Principle	Descriptor
Whānau Ora Approach	Health service provision which restores and maintains Rangatiratanga; utilises kaupapa Māori approaches; and works towards best outcomes for whānau, hapū, iwi
Focus on Wellness	Clinical expertise, supported by the capabilities embedded in a whānau ora approach, to support whānau to build and optimise wellness
Cultural Accountability	The recognition that a Māori world view is the philosophical basis for the service
Whānau Empowerment	Whānau are encouraged to understand the responsibilities they have in creating whānau ora amongst their own whānau

KEY INFORMANT SHOWCARD 2: Supporting Whānau Wellbeing: How Māori Primary Health Care Assists Whānau Resilience Research Project   5 February 2010
Version1

Figure 2. Showcard 2: Principles distilled from TOIHA's internal policy which "map" the concept of resilience.

Preliminary Findings

Our preliminary findings produced some interesting results and areas for further exploration. We asked our key informants to describe in what ways they assist whānau and individuals to "navigate health resources" (Showcard 1). Our key informants described a number of functions they perform to assist whānau to access the health resources they need in a timely and, more importantly, culturally appropriate manner. Practitioners acted as navigators (assisting people through the various services they needed), advocates (advocating on behalf of consumers with other health care and social service providers outside TOIHA), educators (informing consumers of the role of various services as well as educating them about medications, procedures and how to make lifestyle changes to improve health outcomes), brokers (finding and accessing wider community-based assistance and services), and in general as support people:

> It's around guiding them to those health resources that they may need. How to access the right thing, and we do Care Plans so it's around encouraging and … trying to get them to be not co-dependent on someone else doing it. It's about creating independent lifestyle changes. (Key Informant 2)

Key informants also identified that, among the consumers they see, there are a group of whānau and individuals they would describe as more "resilient" than others. One key informant noted that these more resilient whānau have greater access to "natural resources", including family (particularly extended family), friends, links to their marae (meeting grounds) and other institutions of culture, including places of significance. These whānau and individuals are often more educated (even if it is simply that they are more informed than earlier generations regarding the harm caused by drugs, tobacco and alcohol), and have a greater knowledge of their rights as consumers of health care services.

Key informants were asked to consider whether TOIHA, as a health care provider, works in a way that is consistent with assisting whānau and individuals to access resources which sustain their well-being, and whether they do this in a culturally appropriate way. Key informants agreed that TOIHA did act in a manner that upheld the mana (authority, integrity) of whānau and individuals, and provided resources to whānau in a way that best met their needs at the time:

> I think it starts off with us, because they [consumers] plant the seed and then it just grows and we've got to … nurture it.

> Yeah, support their confidence and self-esteem, once you've built that, well we know we've done a good job because [they'll] ring up and say "oh, don't need your support anymore". (Key Informants 6 and 7)

We asked key informants to reflect on why some whānau and individuals appear more willing to leave behind unhealthy practices and seek assistance than others, and what makes a whānau choose a particular time in life to make these changes. Key informants indicated the reasons behind the decision to change are often not expressed, or are very personal and specific to the individual. As a result, they noted that primary health care providers such as TOIHA must be ready to act at all times so they are able to work with an whānau or individual as soon as they signal their readiness. Key informants noted that the window of opportunity to assist whānau once they have decided to pursue a healthier life is incredibly small, and if providers are slow to engage with a whānau or do not recognise signs of readiness to change they may end up "turning the whānau off", losing the opportunity and the whānau completely:

> We can't, you know, actually help them unless they want to be helped … it's that individual's choice, you know? When that individual is ready to make that choice, then the services are there to give and assist. (Key Informant 11)

In considering the term "resilience", one informant cautioned us regarding the connotations of the word and how exhibiting resilience as an whānau or individual may in fact be a "façade of deeper incongruence" within the family. This informant noted that in the medical discourse, to be resilient means that people have necessarily undergone some trauma or hurt, which they have overcome. To be resilient, therefore, does not always equate to being healthy or whole:

> Adults may seem resilient, but this may have been built by a series of setbacks, from which they survive, but they have not exactly bounced back, but are weakened by constant pressure. (Key Informant 5)

Discussion

An analysis of our preliminary findings indicates that Māori primary health care approaches do make some, as yet unquantifiable, contribution to whānau and individual resilience, possibly through improved access to resources and by supporting whānau and individuals to become more "empowered". The preliminary findings also point to areas where further investigation is required, in particular: understanding under what conditions whānau and individuals decide to change behaviours towards more healthy choices; whether they make these decisions independent of the advice and assistance of their health provider; and what factors support these decisions. These areas will be explored in greater depth in the second phase of the project, the whānau wānanga (family discussions).

From our own conceptual and theoretical work early in this study, we understand the difficulties associated with the term resilience and its usefulness to, and relevance for, Māori whānau. Our key informants also wrestled with the term and its relevance in a primary health care setting. From a methodological perspective, therefore, the key informant interviews proved challenging as we had to draw out answers to the questions without "leading" the interviews. The use of showcards proved an effective way of communicating the concept of resilience in the interview setting, yet allowed for

reflection on the part of the key informants. The "mapping exercise"—aligning principles distilled from TOIHA's internal policy to principles of resilience—proved to be an extremely important part of the early work in the project, allowing the research team to tease out the concept of resilience, examine it critically, and debate its relevance in the New Zealand context.

As a result, possibly the most important work to date in our study has been the conceptual work which seeks to find the links between the resilience approach and that of whānau ora. We have found it incredibly challenging to link these concepts, and realise this is because they are almost diametrically opposed. Being resilient implies one must have overcome adversity, trauma and deficit. A resilience approach therefore is underpinned by this focus on adversity and hardship, and constructs a reality from a position of scarcity, hazard and risk. A whānau ora approach, by contrast, does not assume a state of adversity as the norm; rather, it is underpinned by a strengths-based approach to health and well-being; one which seeks to maximise the potential of whānau and individuals and whānau as members of whānau collectives.

This philosophical distinction is a crucial finding as we progress to the next stage of the project, where we assess whether and how primary health care services such as those provided by TOIHA can assist whānau to be resilient. It will be critical to tease out these conceptual positions through our interviews with whānau, particularly exploring what they understand by concepts of adversity and risk, and of whānau ora.

Conclusion: Moving Beyond Our First Impressions

In the short time the project has been underway we have already begun to question whether the concept of resilience is relevant to a Māori world view, is useful in indigenous primary health care, and to what extent indigenous primary health care settings can, and do, give rise to resilient whānau. We are developing a deeper understanding of the concept of resilience, and are critical of its applicability when used in the context of a strengths-based approach to improving health outcomes for Māori. We will be publishing further work in this area, in particular commenting on the uncritical use of the term "resilience" in New Zealand's political and social discourses, particularly as applied to efforts to achieve whānau ora.

Glossary

hapū	kinship group
iwi	tribe
kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy
mana	authority, integrity
marae	meeting grounds
rangatiratanga	self-determination
tikanga	practice, custom
whānau	family, including extended family
whānau ora	family well-being
whānau wānanga	discussions with family groups to gain deep insights on a particular topic

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Betrayal, Trust and Engagement: Developing Research Relationships in a Colonised Landscape
or
Lessons of a Do-Gooder "Outsider" Researcher

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Abstract

In a colonised landscape evolved from a well-fertilised history of betrayal, how do you develop a relationship to "engagement"? Engagement calls for mutual agreement, benefit and commitment. An engagement can be arranged or it can be the organic and unexpected fruit of a mutual attraction. The "need" to engage with indigenous people can itself be the impetus for an uneasy relationship, subject to abuse due to constraints or the imperatives driving the need for engagement. In such an environment, how can a researcher with well-intentioned research aims locate and select a project that someone else would like to engage with? In 2007 I began a postgraduate research degree to pursue some such well-intentioned research on design protocols in architecture for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia. I found the journey down this road to be long and circuitous.

This paper investigates the meaning of engagement and elaborates on my journey as a "would-be" researcher in Australia. The paper concludes with a proposed methodology for engagement in cross cultural "outsider" research on colonised ground.

Keywords

engagement, Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, indigenous, research methodologies, colonisation, architecture

Introduction

A post-colonial landscape contains a varied topography of deep valleys and frightening ridges. What creates these dangerous precipices and furrows, and why is a colonised land different to any other? Research engagement calls for mutual agreement, benefit and commitment. In a colonised landscape evolved from a well-fertilised history of betrayal, how do you develop a research relationship to "engagement"? The need to engage with indigenous peoples can itself be the impetus for an uneasy relationship subject to abuse by the imperatives driving the need for engagement. In any case, we choose to engage. This paper investigates the following questions in relation to "outsider" research methodologies: Why do we need to engage? What does engagement mean? How do we get engaged? These questions are applied to a proposed research methodology for engagement in cross-cultural research on colonised ground.

My Research Journey to Linda

In 2007 I began a postgraduate research degree on architectural design process for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples (ATSI) in Australia. I found the journey down this road to be long and circuitous. I was eager to do my best to improve the existing lack of information but, as with any research, where to start? I read the recommended tomes on research methodologies and endeavoured to locate my research within an appropriate theoretical framework, finding my closest match in the "emancipatory grounded theory" approach described by Charmaz (2006), where acknowledgement that multiple realities exist allows for flexibility in data collection and interpretation. Armed with my aims to conduct well-intentioned research that was helpful and productive, I navigated to the local "Koori Centre" at the University of Sydney, where Linda Tuhiwai Smith's writings on indigenous methodologies was recommended as a starting point (1999). This book liberated my methodology from academic procedures which did not seem to fit, but the pathway was not yet clear.

The Work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Smith's work *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999), looks at research from a Māori perspective—Kaupapa Māori research. Kaupapa Māori research is derived from different epistemological and metaphysical foundations, which distinguish it from Western philosophies, implying a way of framing and structuring of the ideas and practices of knowledge and epistemology. Smith explains that indigenous ways of seeing, thinking, speaking and telling histories are not validated within the Western system, where post-colonial theorist Said is quoted, "who writes? For whom is writing being done?" (1999, p. 37). Smith believes that research needs to be decolonised, where decolonisation involves a re-centring of world views, and theory and research are seen from a different perspective. She explains that outsider research—research conducted by people outside the community—has become so expert in indigenous issues that it has silenced indigenous voices. After reading Smith's writings, I determined to reframe my methodology to the strategy of outsider consultation (Smith, 1999). One year later I was still trying to find someone who wanted this "valuable" work done sufficiently to enable a consultative project.

My Research Journey: After Linda

My own research journey gave credence to Smith's warning that "'community' has its own borders where negotiating entry can be as complex as entering a local village" (1999, p. 127). My initial steps in the field of architectural research were not openly received. First, I approached the University of Sydney's indigenous support centre to make connections but found difficulty locating someone with similar interests who might be interested in a collaborative research project. Next, I approached some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander architects. In Australia we have only six to eight registered ATSI architects, which necessitates the use of non-ATSI architects' architectural projects; but understanding the specific issues impacting ATSI design is critical to success. It was this realisation and the lack of accessible information that pre-empted my own research pathway. Meanwhile, my research needed to be of value to the community researched so it was essential to collaborate or at least consult. Again, I failed to raise interest in my proposals even though I was tackling problems which seemed important. I then approached some communities identified as needing research to solve existing housing problems. Although some of these case studies could potentially have valuable research outcomes, those I approached had been "researched to death" (personal communication, 2008), so I was again no closer to achieving my research goals. My trepidation and anxiety increased as time marched on, academic deadlines shortened and I could not find a project that anyone wanted researched.

Why is Research in a Colonised Landscape Different?

My situation forced the question, why was finding a research partner so difficult and why was research in a colonised landscape different? Canadian researcher Cochran quotes an Alaskan saying, "Researchers are like mosquitoes; they suck your blood and leave" (Cochran et al., 2008, p. 22). A statement like this has added synthesis in view of research projects such as the Havasupai study, where blood samples taken for diabetes research were instead used for a schizophrenia study and distributed nationally to other researchers without permission (Cochran, et al., 2008). Terri Janke's paper *Guarding Ground: A Vision for a National Indigenous Cultural Authority* (2008) describes numerous breaches of indigenous rights in Australia based on a lack of recognition of indigenous governance, cultural laws, traditional knowledge and intellectual property rights, and unsurprisingly, Mooney-Somers and Maher (2009) have shown that many Australian indigenous communities remain suspicious of research conducted by mainstream organisations. Obviously the abuse of research data and materials such as these creates an atmosphere of mistrust around research.

Meanwhile, indigenous researcher Dano-Sacco has encouraged research as an important tool for realising greater self-determination (2010), and proposes that meaningful engagement with native communities can be facilitated using community-based participatory research methods (CBPR) with a long-term time investment and a resources commitment to capacity building (2010). Denzin has called for a global interpretive research community that honours and celebrates diversity and difference (2009). Clearly this presents a challenge on how to engage across cultures in a colonised landscape. Conducting research with people whose knowledge has been devalued by colonisation can demand

more of the researcher than a traditional academic programme will allow, and may require different methodological approaches.

Knowledge and Research

Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes research as an extension of knowledge but challenges "whose knowledge?" (1999, p. 169). All peoples have their own forms of knowledge, and Foucault, Battiste, Smith and others have shown that knowledge can become a political power tool to exercise power over other groups (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Foucault, 1971; Smith, 1999). Research relationships in a colonised land can be difficult to navigate due to the imbalance or abuses of research power relationships and a lack of respect or understanding of different perspectives.

Over-Research

While a particular research project may appear valuable to the researcher and also to the researched, as I found in my initial attempts at locating case studies, the community itself may also be over-researched. The Uwankara Palyanku Kanyintjaku (UPK) health report (1987) showed that members of the community council of one remote community were required to participate in 30 meetings in one month at the request of outsider organisations (Dunbar & Scrimgeour, 2006). In addition to being over-researched, the client may also have more pressing priorities. Smith emphasises that "current" imperatives for indigenous research agendas are the need to gain control over the future, and reclaiming, reformulating and reconstituting culture and language for purposes as critical as cultural survival, self-determination, healing, restoration and social justice (1999). My research interest, architecture, was not the highest priority to an already over-researched community with their own specific imperatives and priorities.

The Aboriginal Stories of Victoria Park Design and Research Project

These stories illustrate why research needs to be approached cautiously in a colonised land. How do you navigate to a worthwhile and mutually desired project? While searching for an appropriate research case study I was simultaneously involved with the "Logs in the Park Project", a collaborative student project between University of Sydney architecture students and design students from Eora Tafe, a college in inner-city Redfern with mostly ATSI students where the design process included working with an Aboriginal consultative panel. The "Logs in the Park Project" received animated interest from the consultative panel and the University of Sydney's Koori Centre, but as it increased in exposure and more feedback was received from the broader Aboriginal community it became clear that a more inclusive consultation process was essential if it was to be widely accepted. The consultative process we had used to date was under fire, but the solution as yet was unclear. As a consequence, the newly named, Aboriginal Stories of Victoria Park Design and Research Project, became a case study for my research investigation of design and the consultation process (see Figures 1 and 2). My journey had taken an unexpected diversion onto my own street, but this was just the starting point.
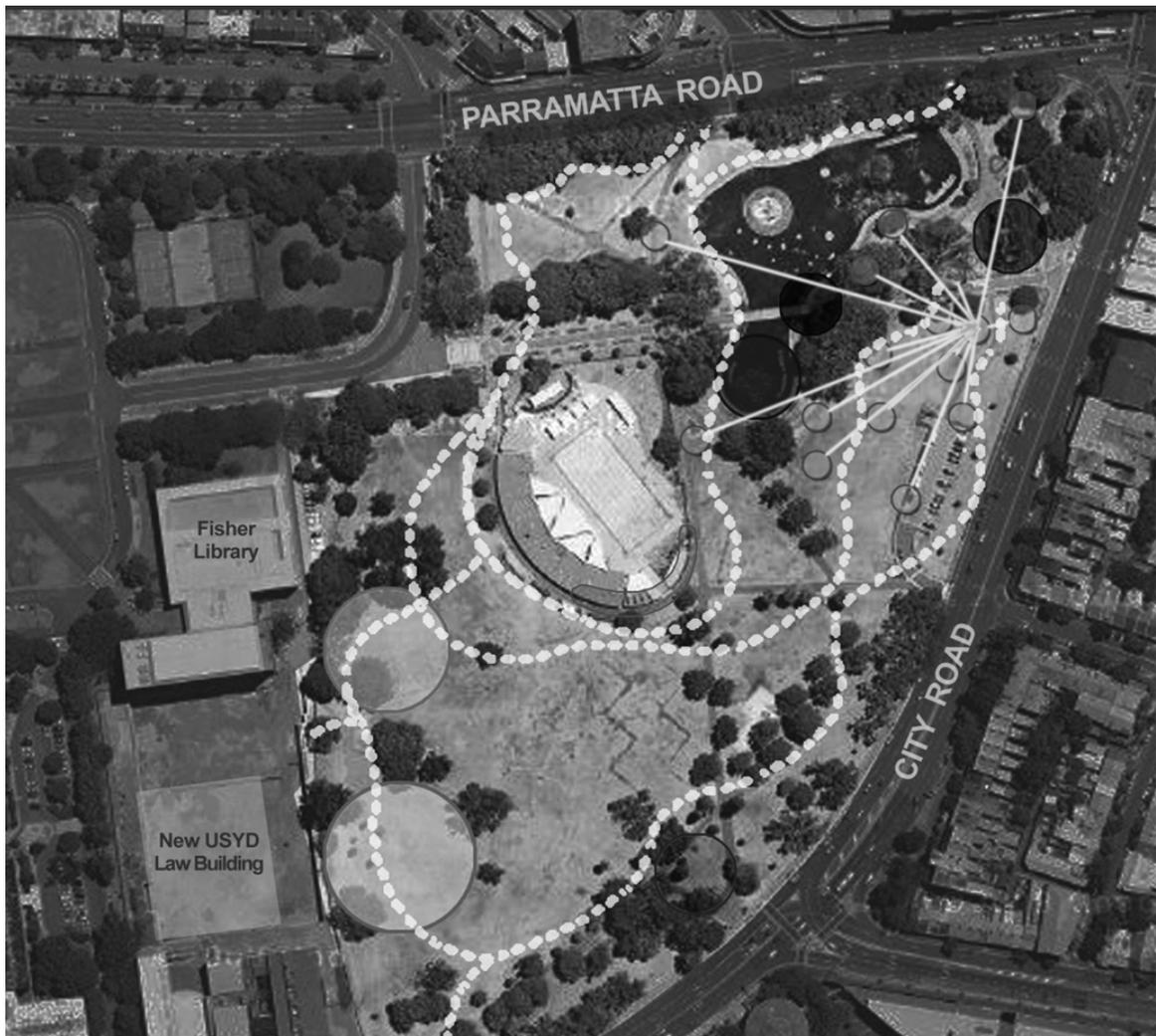
Figure 1. Aboriginal stories of Victoria Park Masterplan.
Design by "Logs in the Park Team". Drawing by Jack Cai and Annie Burgess, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Planning, University of Sydney, 2008.

Engagement
Defining Engagement
Recent dialogues highlight the importance for participation and engagement in the research process. But what does it mean to get engaged, why do we need to get engaged and what are the costs of not so doing? Engagement is more than consultation, which can be defined by a one-off meeting and the simple statement "we consulted". To engage has several meanings: "To deposit or make over as a pledge … To pledge, offer as a guarantee one's life, honour, etc. … To bind by a contract or formal promise … To bind by a promise of marriage; to betroth … To have promised one's presence, made an appointment, etc., for any purpose of business or pleasure ..." (Engagement, 1989). Engagement requires animated action and a mutual arrangement between parties. In this paper I explore the interpretation of engagement within the analogy of a research relationship.

Western Engagement
Engagement as a term for betrothal is traditionally bonded by the giving of diamonds, a physical symbol of great value and cost. Engagement calls for mutual agreement, benefit and commitment. An engagement can be arranged or it can be the organic and unexpected fruit of a mutual attraction. In Australia today it is common to find a partner through social circumstance, the workplace, or you may "fall in love" or meet "on line" and then develop the relationship to a commitment.

Victoria Park Design Proposal
MASTERPLAN 1:
Location of Proposed Installations

PARRAMATTA ROAD
Reconciliation Track
Merged Tracks
Fisher Library
New USYD Law Building
CITY ROAD
Timeline Track

Bush Cafe
Peace Flame
Pemulwuy Memorial
Sydney Clans
Light Installations
Midden Wall
Bush Library
Walking Tracks
Site of Political Resistance
Poles
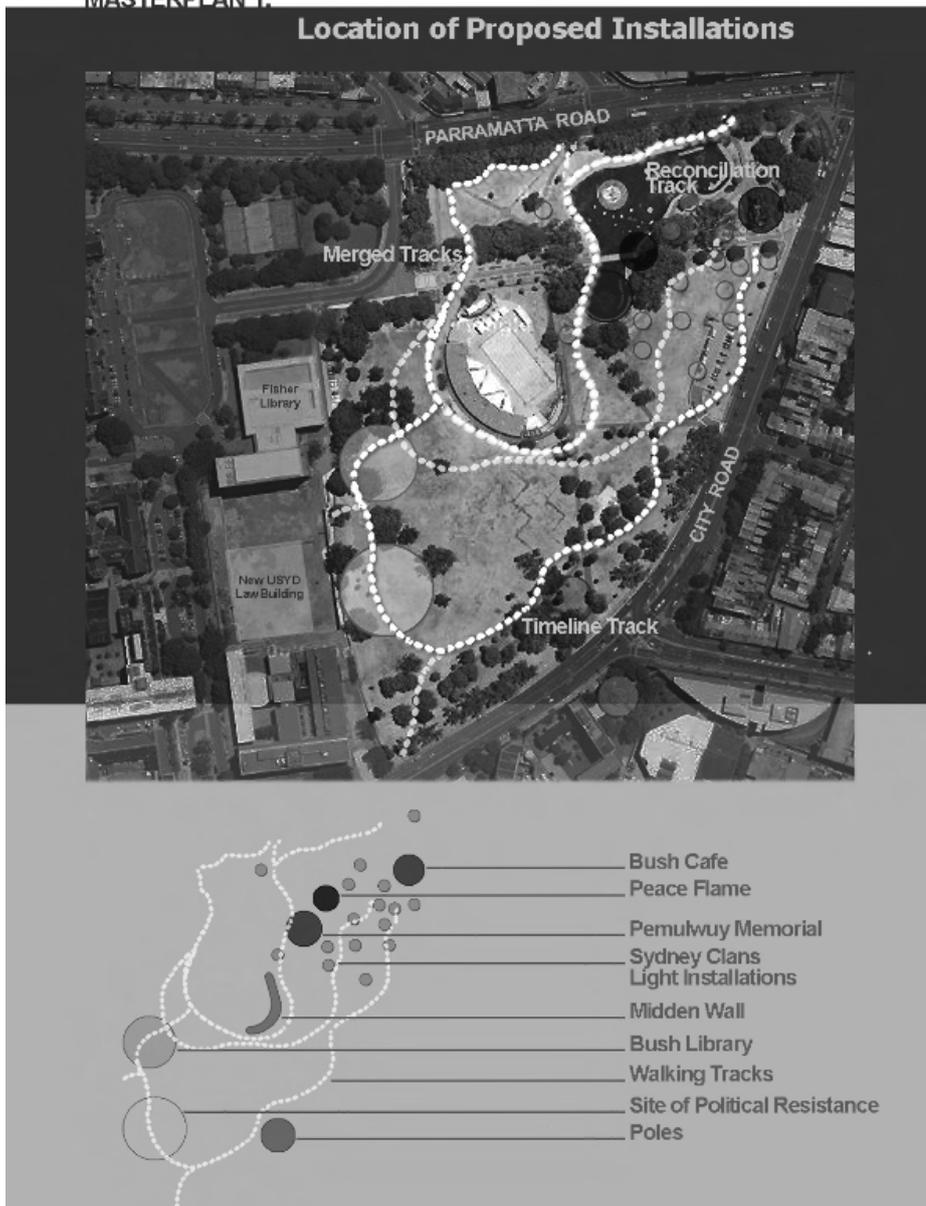
Figure 2. Aboriginal Stories of Victoria Park Masterplan Project Report 1.
Design by the "Logs in the Park Team". Drawing by Jack Cai and Annie Burgess, Faculty of Architecture, Design and Planning, University of Sydney, 2008.

Engagement and Aboriginal Kinship Relationships

In Australian Aboriginal cultures betrothal can be the traditional part of a complex hierarchy of customary kinship structures, responsibilities, relationships and laws. For example, for the Alyawarran people in the Central Desert in Australia's Northern Territory, kinship relationships are planned according to traditional kinship lines, where a newborn child may have their "husband" designated before birth. In the 1970s, Denham analysed traditional Alyawarra marriages which "reject[s] ethnocentric Western notions of generations [in] … a four section system, and where the two generations pass through each lineage in turn and spiral around each other ... best depicted as a 'double helix'" (Denham, 2005, p. 81).

Engagement in Warfare

Engagement could also be defined in relation to warfare: "8. The state of being engaged in fight; a battle, conflict, encounter; also formerly, a single combat" (Engagement, 1989). Enrolment at university in a postgraduate research programme entails an understanding of methodologies, resourcing and commitment to academic time frames but these can be limited or driven by government funding, and not necessarily attaining highest quality outcomes for the researched. In comparison to developing research relationships through engagement, conventional research typically has its own agenda. Where this is unknowingly imposed upon the researched with subversive intent or actions, as seen in the Havasupai study, engagement could be defined in terms of warfare's "rules of engagement", where aggressive plans of engagement are made for the non-mutual benefit of quality, validated research results delivered on time and within budget but without due regard for the researched.

Different Epistemologies and Indigenous Knowledges

So we can see that engagement can be defined in diverse ways according to different perspectives or "ways of knowing". How then, in this post-colonial landscape well-rutted with furrows and ridges, can the researcher navigate such different perspectives or ways of knowing? Our understanding of others' knowledge can be biased by the limits of our own knowledge. In academic research, we talk of epistemologies, from the Greek "episteme" meaning "the theory or science of knowledge" and "discourse". We use discourse to argue our knowledge but discourse will also guide the way we act, as the user is also subjected to the power of discourse (Iser, 1998) even if unaware. Effective engagement requires an understanding and respect for different knowledges, recognition of the limits of our knowledge, that our discourse is shaped by our own knowledge system, and that our research methodologies may require adjustment accordingly.

The Need for Engagement

Theorists argue that lack of effective engagement is the critical factor in failed research programmes, and conversely, that effective engagement in the research process will create trusting research relationships (Kwiatkowski, Tikhonov, Peace & Bourassa, 2009). Dillon and Westbury suggest the root cause of the continued disadvantage of Australia's indigenous populations is a longstanding absence of "coherent policy engagement by governments" (Tedmanson, 2009, p. 491), while Dunbar and Scrimgeour emphasise "the importance of developing mechanisms for engaging with representative community organizations as the basis for conducting effective and ethical community based health research" (2006, p. 180).

While theorists argue for research engagement, it is important to grasp the mutuality of engagement beyond an academic or theoretical perspective. On a recent visit to a homeland in the Northern Territory the president of the local Aboriginal corporation told a story of the local shire council trying to obtain their approvals, but stated that in fact they were not engaged (Kunoth-Monks, personal communication, April 24, 2010). The key point is that while the shire council had its agenda, it was not in line with the Aboriginal corporation's agenda. Being engaged required a two-way, mutually desired partnership.

For without participation, there cannot be any partnership. (Jeffries, 2008)

The need for partnership is emphasised by an Aboriginal Lajamanu elder who recently spoke on *Bush Law*, a documentary emphasising the need to respect all parties' ways of knowing as the key to success in criminal law. "It's been always family telling us how to do things … how to work this … and how to make things. You come halfway, we'll come halfway. And let's work together" (Loy, 2009).

So, How Do We Engage?

The need to engage is therefore clear, but how do we engage effectively? A review of ethical guidelines and research protocols reveals some useful strategies for improved engagement; for example:

The Australian National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) and the Australia Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) ethics guidelines, which are currently under review, recommend the inclusion of Reciprocity; Respect; Equality; Survival and Protection; and Responsibility bound with the principles of Spirit and Integrity (AIATSIS, 2000; NHMRC, 1999).

The New South Wales Government developed the *Two Ways Together 2003–2012* plan, which recognised that a whole-of-government approach is required to affect real and sustainable improvements for Aboriginal people's well-being, and that effective partnerships with Aboriginal communities must underpin government action (Murdi Paaki, 2006, p. 4). This plan targeted seven priority areas to positively improve the lives of Aboriginal people in New South Wales.

The Mi'kmaq College Institute at Cape Breton University developed research principles and protocols and maintains control of community research via an appointed ethics watch committee (Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch, 2010).

The Sami Parliament has developed the *Procedures for Consultations Between State Authorities and The Sami Parliament [Norway]* (Solberg & Nystø, 2005). These incorporate consultative protocols including the requirement that consultations are undertaken in good faith and with the objective of achieving agreement to the proposed measures. The way of making consultative arrangements is specifically outlined.

Smith has proposed a set of questions for the cross-cultural researcher to ask (1999).

Dunbar and Scrimgeour call for a brokering and assessment of indigenous research (2006).

Health research conducted by Nguyen and Gardiner identified barriers and motivations to health research participation and strategies for increasing participation (2008).

We have looked at strategies for research engagement, identified reasons the research terrain is more difficult to traverse in a colonised landscape, defined engagement and discussed the need to engage in colonised environments. Strategies for engagement and ethical research are integral to my research programme, and I now propose a reflexive response to show how these strategies will be applied within this programme.

My Reflexive Process to Research Engagement

Why did my first attempts to connect fail? My methodology became organically reflexive by necessity as I was forced to critically reflect on my researcher experience, and found that my vision for the research was not necessarily reciprocal. Indigenous researcher Dano-Sacco has explained that such reflection can be helpful: "Critical introspection enables us to recognize where we are standing and should prompt us to transgress the implicit boundaries of a colonial legacy that devalues indigenous knowledges…" (2010, p. 61). The review of my research pathway shows that while my programme began with potentially valuable research it stalled because I had not yet developed experience or networks within the communities where I wished to work. In the colonised landscape of Australia, where people have been over-researched, trusts have been broken, and where the most urgent imperatives may be to improve health and survival statistics it was necessary to take an alternate route to fulfil my university programme. I needed to develop relationships, earn trust and show that I was willing to conduct my research in a way that worked towards informing the community's own priorities, agendas and objectives.

Over time I developed strong connections through outside activities, and along the journey I found a project that was mutually desired. But the journey was only beginning. Smith (1999) has suggested that it may be necessary to transform institutional practices and research frameworks in order to address the current social imperatives for indigenous people. I had to learn to negotiate localised relationships, identify the senior knowledge holders and take the time to earn and develop trust. I needed to reframe my methodological framework to incorporate different perspectives, methodologies and strategies for engagement. I needed to be engaged.

In response to my reflexive review, I propose that strategies for ethical engagement can be located in a simplified model using an analogy of personal engagement. I have called this model, "An Analogic Model for Engagement". This analogy will be used as an umbrella for my own adapted research methodology, encompassing strategies for successful engagement in a colonised environment under the progressive stages of mutual desire, knowing, meeting the family, engagement, commitment, and mutual benefit. I believe this tool allows for a reframing of my research methodology for engagement with people from different perspectives and epistemologies due to a commonality between ways of relating, in comparison to conventional Western research methodologies, although this model could also be incorporated within conventional Western research methodologies. For example, strategies could be incorporated into the model as shown.

An Analogic Model for Engagement
Mutual Desire
In order to develop a partnership to engagement, there needs to be mutual opportunity, need or desire.

Knowing
This is the need to get to know each potential research partner first. This includes aspects of plain talking and clear communication with honesty, clarity and transparency, and ensuring you understand each other's language. Checking that all parties understand the partnership and the responsibilities, rights, benefits and costs. It entails listening and being open minded, recognition and respect for other perspectives and knowledge systems, and clarity about the constraints and benefits of the project. It entails developing trust.

Meeting the Family
It is important to meet the community, and identify and talk to the relevant parties and senior knowledge holders. There would be negotiation, and questions need to be addressed such as: Who has the power? Who are the stakeholders, and what do they expect to receive? What do they have the right to receive? Who is paying for or supporting the research and what can they demand? Who will benefit and is it a fair or equal partnership? Are all partners in agreement? There is a need to identify supports for the research processes, the researched and the researcher, and a need to consider representation, oversight and brokering.

Engagement
This involves planning preparation and a time for proving the relationship. Will the location of the research be in a place where all players feel as comfortable as possible, and should it be a neutral location or a community location?

Commitment
The ethical and agreed conduct of the project. It is important to show genuine care.

Mutual Benefit
The outcome of research engagement which provides the mutually beneficial outcomes of a shared partnership.

Conclusion

Engagement is a two-way partnership with a meeting point, which respects the perspectives and values of both parties for a purpose that is attracted by mutual desire. Effective research engagement requires a mutual agreement which can be seen in terms of developing relationships starting with mutual desire, getting to know each other, building trust along the way, meeting and negotiating with the local community and building trust towards commitment for a final outcome of mutual benefit.

My initial research approaches were unsuccessful because I needed to learn how to be engaged, and I needed to alter my research programme accordingly. This entailed a reframing of my research methodology, to re-centre it to include different epistemologies (Smith, 1999). This was partly achieved by identifying a research project that was mutually desired and provided benefit to both partners. The adapted research programme is aided by incorporating strategies for engagement and consultation in An Analogic Model for Engagement, under the components of mutual desire, knowing, family, engagement, commitment and mutual benefit.

Conversely, traditional research relationships which do not include engagement, struggle to fit into effective research programmes in a colonised landscape. This produces an unbalanced research relationship and an unequal distribution of power between the researcher and the researched. In a colonised land, the product of this unrequited relationship is illegitimate. The fruit will be mistrust and an unwillingness to partner until agreed terms are reached.

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Nelokompne Rises Again: The Revival of Erromangan Painted Barkcloth and Its Role in Indigenous Re-Examination of Colonial Missionary History

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Abstract
This paper explores insights into how museum practices and cultural collections engage with indigenous peoples. It investigates processes by which physical access to cultural heritage has provided people from the island of Erromango, southern Vanuatu, with a foundation to begin a process of cultural reawakening.

Erromango once possessed a series of thriving, complex, stratified societies, in which the use of traditional cultural material was interwoven into daily and ritual life. The island's dramatic encounters with the outside world, however, brought European diseases which decimated the population and left it culturally fragmented. Despite such a tragic legacy combined with the establishment of an oppressive form of Christianity, much traditional knowledge has survived through the strength of oral traditions.

The recent process of cultural reawakening assisted by physical reconnection with museum collections has prompted Erromangans to re-examine colonial and missionary interpretations of the island's history and culture, and the ways these have been communicated to the outside world by the missionary living the longest in the island, H. A. Robertson.

Key Words
Erromango, missionaries, Vanuatu, barkcloth

History
Erromango is the fourth largest and most sparsely populated major island of the 83 inhabited islands of Vanuatu. Its coastline is rugged, and its mountainous interior contains many limestone caves. There are several bays, the most important being Dillon's Bay on the island's west coast, the main gateway to the outside world. The pillaging of the island between 1829 and the 1860s by sandalwooders (Lawson, 1994) and traders, and later by blackbirders, led to spiralling violence and accelerated the decimation of the local inhabitants. The island's original population at the time of first contact may have been 10,000 to 20,000.

A census taken by the missionary H. A. Robertson in 1894 reported 1,500 surviving individuals (Lawson, 1994). In 1921, the population was estimated to be less than 400. An indigenous estimate puts the lowest ebb of population at 197 (Jerry Taki, personal communication, 2006). These dramatic changes intensely affected Erromangan society and culture, as the local people became almost extinct. The island's current population is around 1600.

Missionary Encounters: Conversion and Identity Change
Erromango's calamitous history of contact with the outside world created a legacy of suspicion, mistrust and violence which began within the first decade of exposure to sandalwood pillage. In 1848, Rev. Dr Geddie, missionary on the nearby island of Aneityum, reported that:

Erromanga and many other islands have been deluged with the blood of their own inhabitants. The sandalwood has thrown many of these islands into such a state as to render them impervious to the entrance of the Gospel. On Erromanga, the natives have vowed that no foreigner shall ever live among them. (Robertson, 1902, p. 35)

The killing of the London Missionary Society's John Williams and his assistant on the day of their arrival in Dillon's Bay in 1839 was followed in later years by the killings of another four missionaries. These ill-fated incidents highlighted Erromango as the place of the first European Christian martyrdom in the South Seas. The island became a symbol of resistance to Christianity and became—along with the New Hebrides in general—a focal point for intense missionary activity. As Shineberg observed (1967, p. 58):

The New Hebrides thereafter was considered a special challenge to militant Christianity, to which missionaries had been dramatically called by God through this demonstration of the blind ignorance and darkness of the heathen inhabitants.

These tragic events, and the lack of development on the island, provided the foundation of a widespread (but hidden) Erromangan belief—which continues to the present day—that the island had been cursed by the Presbyterian Church, a conviction deeply rooted in a feeling of collective guilt for the killing of the missionaries. These sentiments proved to be a powerful deterrent to any attempts to revive traditional cultural activities. In November 2009, descendants of John Williams attended an official ceremony of apology in Dillon's Bay. Although attracting great publicity, locally and overseas, the main reason for the apology, the hope that the Presbyterian curse on the island would be lifted, was not discussed.

The intense social pressure as a result of these dramatic events over a century and a half ago has deeply marked the people's individual and communal consciousnesses, and has been passed on to ensuing generations until the present day. These feelings created an increasing reservation and uneasiness about traditional cultural practices. Nakata's (2007) observation on colonial missionary remnants is pertinent here:

The residue carries on in different ways alongside commitment to Christianity, in the ongoing practice of "superstition" belief and the practice of "magic" and in Islanders' religious analysis. (p. 206, citing Sharp, 1993)

The conversion of the island to Christianity successfully eradicated almost all outward cultural expressions except those permitted by the church, and the island fell under a heavy blanket of oppressive silence. As Lorde (1984, p. 44) says: "It is not [our] difference that immobilizes us, it is silence." The silencing of converts through religious indoctrination is a powerful tool, which has been shown to be fundamental to changing cultural identity. The effects of indoctrination are further emphasised by Goodenough, who claimed that a true religious conversion involves "a change in a person's conception of self and in how he feels about himself as a person, so that he can no longer be satisfied with his identity as it was, but feels compelled to repudiate it in favour of a new one more in keeping with his ego-ideals" (1963, p. 219).

The concept of guilt is often a powerful element in Christian attempts at changing societies: either guilt for supposed previous "misdeeds", or the alleged guilt of "Original Sin". For a culture to continue to survive, much of it sometimes has to go "underground".

Dynamics of Nemas (Barkcloth) Production and Identity: Relationship with Clan Design, Place, Ancestry and Ritual

In Erromango, strict social prohibitions may affect the sharing of knowledge of specific clan designs and their associated narratives, such as those carved or painted on certain items of material culture. Such designs are often linked not only to specific clan spirit guardians but also to land custodianship control and traditional political power structures. Examining the complexity and functional role of

these traditional knowledge systems during the time of Robertson's active missionary and collection work on the island is important. Like almost all early missionaries in the Pacific, Robertson developed strategies to replace Erromangan traditional male and female costume—hanging male penis wrappers (yelao) and female leaf skirts (nomblat) and barkcloth (nemas)—with European cloth. For the missionaries, such cloth had the benefits of covering so-called "heathen nakedness" and, more subtly, helped to create anonymity, because it lacked the elements of traditional costumes that marked social identity.

During his missionary work (1872 to 1913), Robertson would have come across remnants of a highly sophisticated traditional society, with complex and profound cosmological belief systems, where ancestors and "special" spirit guardians are interconnected with specific land areas and clan lineages from the land. Certain spirits are interlinked with the very beginnings of creation, and they are believed to be protectors of their own land/clan descendants (Jerry Taki, personal communication, 2008). Thus the representation of some spirit figures on barkcloth become testimonies of clan identity, narrating their clan origin and history entwined with land rights demarcations.

This profound, intangible dimension of the relationship between spirit representations and landscape is also transmitted to material cultural objects, emphasising their role as markers of identity within specific clan lines. Significant ancestral narratives passed on orally from generation to generation are also found and represented visually inside large limestone caves, owned by particular clans and used as shelter during times of conflict. These are the visual symbols of complex histories and land rights demarcations. Although coming from the distant past, these symbols therefore have immense significance and relevance for Erromangans today.

But these spirits can communicate, and sometimes their messages were written down—on barkcloth. In such instances, men would request a special woman from their clan to produce a special nemas and paint it with the specific messages the spirit had communicated to them. During this process, the chosen woman would remain secluded, following special dietary restrictions and not talking, smiling or drinking liquids, to enable her to develop a relationship with the barkcloth, particularly during the process of joining the cloth pieces together (Jerry Taki, personal communication, 2002). Keeping the secrecy of this special barkcloth identity from outsiders was crucial throughout all aspects of its production. It was only when decoration was completed that it could be brought out to be viewed by everyone in the village.

In Erromango, barkcloth production was mainly women's work and there was strong competition among women of status to create the best examples. The tree bark itself—there were six types used—would determine the type of barkcloth to be made and its different uses, depending upon its functional or ceremonial use. A special bark known as noma could only be used to make decorated barkcloth on behalf of some chiefs and their wives (Jerry Taki, personal communication, 2002). Undecorated barkcloth had a more functional role, such as its use for carrying babies and blankets to protect from the cold. Decorated barkcloth was traditionally used for clothing, ceremonial use and display, in trade (nevasi) exchanges, bride-price payments and in death to wrap a person's body.

At large rituals, particular high-ranking women, nasimnalam, the wives of a fan lou nussian (paramount chief) or fan lou (chief), would be dressed in highly-decorated fine nomblat (decorated pandanus leaf skirts in voluminous layers, perhaps up to twenty) with beautifully decorated n'mah neyorwi (cloth/beautiful decorated) top pieces. This latter would be worn over the shoulders displaying their own clan designs, and indicating the woman's status and prestige within their own community and neighbouring areas, "and the wearing of a beautiful one could really help to make a woman a fah nahiven, a 'woman of substance'" (Huffman, 1996, p. 139). In one of his accounts, Robertson (1902) acknowledges the fine appearance of Erromangan women in traditional attire: "The women in heathenism were well clothed with the long graceful skirts, and the native cloth, nemasitse, which was thrown across their shoulders" (p. 364). This positive remark contrasts strongly with the determination displayed by Robertson and his assistants to systematically phase out traditional female dress, only permitting those dressed in European cloth into his church at Dillon's Bay.

One of the most important functions of decorated Erromango barkcloth was its use in ceremonial life and as a display item for important public rituals. For example, large pieces of decorated barkcloth could be displayed around the base and sections of 30-metre tall towers called Nevsem, built for the chiefly nehekar/nisekar alliance rituals, or burnt en masse in chiefly funeral rituals (Huffman, 1996). Although certain designs on such barkcloth were purely decorative, others had immense and profound significance relating to, for example, spirit guardians or clan identity. Therefore the use of such designs—and disclosure of information about them—was strictly regulated according to clan and status identity.

Missionary Collecting Processes: The Robertsons

The lengthy stay of the Presbyterian missionary H. A. Robertson and his family on the island from 1872 to 1913 proved to be the most highly effective of all the missionary attempts at the eventual pacification and missionisation of the island. It was also the most effective in the destruction of Erromango culture. His campaign to completely convert the island to Christianity was conducted methodically over four decades of intense work. He is remembered as being "strong" (elder David Nelo, personal communication, 2008) and extremely energetic, travelling widely around the island. Robertson attempted to understand and gain knowledge of Erromangan culture as an essential element to assist in the process of his conversion work. He understood the importance of establishing contacts with local chiefs and converting key individuals as assistants and teachers, and offered gifts of clothing, food and medicines to mission supporters and others as incentives for conversion (Robertson, 1902).

Robertson's interest in the appropriation of cultural items was principally aimed at collecting material examples representing the "heathen" ways of life he thought would eventually disappear. He sent many objects to museums and institutions abroad. During his overseas touring lectures, his emphasis on the "primitiveness" of the cultures, as a demonstration of the church's triumph over these, seemed paramount. In this way, as Lawson (1994, p. 152) points out, Robertson could emphasise the Erromangans' inability to adapt to a changing world, unless they adopted Christianity. These lecture objects, used as "curios", were shorn of their cultural context and stripped of memory to highlight the backwardness of their makers. This was the approach needed to justify continued and increased financial support from the overseas churches and public for the missionary's work.

Aspects of the above are highlighted in the following quotation by an elderly man, reminiscing about his attendance at a church in Halifax, Nova Scotia, during his youth. He witnessed Robertson's powerful style, when delivering an exaggerated account of Erromango, and describing the use of cultural objects:

> It was a lovely peaceful pastoral Sabbath morning in July when our minister led him into the pulpit to tell his story. He [Robertson] was a striking-looking man, tall broadshouldered [sic] with red hair and a long red beard. In the midst of his address he paused, stooped, and picked up from the seat behind him a murderous looking weapon and, turning again to face the congregation, as he held it at arm's length above his head exclaimed "This is the axe that killed missionary James Gordon." (Maritime Conference Archives, n.d., pp. 11–12, as cited in Lawson, 1994, p. 152)

During his stay on the island, Robertson sent cultural items to two overseas museums: the Australian Museum in Sydney, and the Redpath Museum in Montreal, Canada. Of the Australian Museum's collection of 600 items from Erromango, 150 were donated or purchased from the Robertsons between 1898 and 1913. Most of the Robertson collection comprises a significant number of clothing materials associated with important aspects of personal appearance, such as decorated barkcloths, grass skirts, neck ornaments, armbands, combs and shell necklaces. These items were highly regarded within the highly stratified Erromangan society. The Robertsons targeted key aspects of traditional culture, offering incentives and rewards (food items, matches, bush knives and,

especially, European clothing) to persuade people to gradually leave behind their culture and adopt Christian beliefs and European values (Jerry Taki, personal communication, 2008).

The family were firm in maintaining a distinction between "heathens" dressed traditionally, and "Christians" wearing European cloth. Those following and participating in mission activities were given further clothing incentives (Robertson, 1902). No individuals wearing traditional items were allowed to enter the church and, in fact, a laborious and complex enforced clothes-changing procedure took place regularly outside the stone wall surrounding the Dillon's Bay church (Elder David Nelo, personal communication, 2008). To certain Erromangans today, this procedure is thought to have been imposed to denigrate traditional costume and all that it represented (Jerry Taki, personal communication, 2008).

Club base designs, hair comb designs, incised pandanus leaf skirt designs and barkcloth designs all had profound links with the traditional Erromangan world and universe views, beliefs, cosmologies, gender, social and power status, and relationships with the living and spiritual environments. These included flora and fauna, marine life, stones and depiction of spirit guardian figures. These elements were all part of an extremely sophisticated series of once-vibrant cultures where design elements mirrored interlinked and profound, tangible and intangible worlds. These intangible aspects were a primary target of Robertson's missionary activity, in his determination to undermine and disregard any form of Erromangan spiritual belief. Such disregard is highlighted in his contradictory view of the complex worlds of Erromangan cosmology:

> The natives of Erromanga in their heathen state had no special god or gods, if we except the great Nobu, who made everything on the earth and in the water. (Robertson, 1902, p. 389)

Robertson invested time and effort targeting items of the greatest spiritual significance, such as the large sacred fossilised clamshell or quartzite monies known as navelah and norei. The former represent the sun and the latter the moon, in its various phases. Each clan possessed variations of these items, of known shape and size, which were kept buried in the clan's ground in a spot known only to particular, designated individuals. Of varying sizes and values, they served as a focal point for clan power and wealth and often as blood money or bride price. Because a clan that lost these objects would also lose much of its clan group identity, these objects were a particular target for Robertson. The giving up of the sacred monies of one's clan could be seen as the ultimate symbol of conversion to Christianity.

Breaking the Silence: Unlocking Memories of the Past in Reconstructing Erromangan Historical Processes

In *Erromanga: The Martyr Isle*—the first major publication describing the island and its people—Robertson (1902) provided a detailed account of his mission work on the island up to that time. His interpretations and detailed accounts underpinned an ideology of dominance and power over the cultural and historical domain of these people. A century later, these colonial interpretations are being re-examined from an Erromangan point of view. The recent events instigated by the barkcloth reawakening processes that led to the first (museum) collection of new, painted barkcloths to be made in 100 years, also provided a rare opportunity to investigate Robertson's early collecting methods.

At the end of my 2008 Erromango collecting field trip, while stopping over in Dillon's Bay, the opportunity arose for some Erromangans to articulate their own views of Robertson's work. At an evening gathering, this writer read out sections of Robertson's book to Chief Jerry Taki, Sophie Nemban and her husband Russell. They listened attentively in stunned silence to Robertson's narratives of early Erromangan life, and his descriptions and critical interpretations of the ways of life of their forebears. The process of discovering written accounts of cultural knowledge that had been taken, catalogued and communicated to the outside world as a justification of the island's conversion to Christianity was a challenging revelation. One of the most perplexing aspects during this reading was the audience's feeling of disbelief that, in spite of Robertson's long time in the island, his accounts displayed a sustained lack of understanding, concern and empathy not only about traditional

beliefs and behaviour, but also the sad new realities imposed upon the island. His narratives evinced emotional detachment and wrong assumptions of individual and group behavioural patterns. This is clearly highlighted in the following statement:

> We think our Erromangans are exceptionally stoical; they rarely if ever speak of their inmost thought, and, however much they may at times feel sorrow and trouble or the reverse, they seem to take the greatest pains to hide it … (Robertson, 1903, p. 307)

> [We], Erromangans, cannot talk of these things. You think we are hard and have no feelings, but we have. But the thoughts stay deep unowamam, "in our hearts," and we cannot say them. We are not like other people. (Yomot, quoted in Robertson, 1902 p. 307)

The reading of these accounts generated an immediate desire to investigate aspects of their own history of the church, to explore processes of conversion to Christianity and the way their people's culture, values and identity were gradually transformed. The group began lifting a blanket of silence from the past, and an eagerness to re-examine and legitimate history from an indigenous viewpoint rapidly emerged.

The only person still alive in Dillon's Bay at the time (May 2008), with detailed memories of the Robertsons, was Elder David Nelo, son of the Atnelo who had been one of Robertson's closest assistants. The opportunity of filming Elder Nelo's responses and narratives, by Chief Jerry, was an important step in beginning a process of reclaiming history.

When "speaking truth is to speak up", it initiates a process of justice in contesting former church or colonial influence and the way these have transformed and fragmented indigenous culture. This process is a powerful way to rectify previously-held assumptions of the past and to help restore, in this case, the dignity of Erromangan culture and identity for future generations. The powerful narratives of this enquiry are documented in *Nelokompne Rises Again*, filmed in southern Erromango and Dillon's Bay in May 2008. By understanding the process of colonisation and the way it changes culture and identity, indigenous people can reclaim ownership of their own history. It is an empowering mechanism to reawaken cultural traditions and bridge the gap between the past and the future.

Reactivating Museum Objects: Unravelling Memories of Oral Knowledge for Cultural Reawakening

In 2002, after appropriate consultation with the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and Erromangan community representatives, a proposal was developed for a partnership on a cultural reawakening project between the Australian Museum and the Vanuatu Cultural Centre.

One of the main objectives was to bring an Erromangan woman to Sydney to physically reconnect with the Museum's Erromango women's domain cultural objects. Sophie Nemban, female fieldworker of southern Erromango for the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, has been actively engaged in working with women to revive cultural activities in her island and was the ideal candidate to work in the project. Sophie's first encounters with the Erromango collection were filled at times with great silent emotion and reverence. Her physical engagement with significant objects such as barkcloth, by touching and smelling, crystallised aspects of her traditional knowledge, which was now emerging with memories of clan designs, and landscape representations and use. Sophie was able to recognise and distinguish objects in both women's and men's domains, based upon transmitted memory. She reconnected oral histories with objects she had never seen before, but which she knew about. The making of these connections is highly significant, bearing in mind the island's history of dramatic and ongoing cultural destruction, oppression and, most importantly, the continuing reality of a culturally oppressive local Presbyterian church legacy which has, for over a century, seriously undermined traditional female social and ritual status.

Sophie's efforts in instigating barkcloth production brought recognition and admiration to her own and other communities and became a source of inspiration for other Erromangan women. Her role

in this revival process has given nourishment to reinvigorate women's traditional roles as cultural custodians of the female social and cultural domains.

Figure 1. Sophie Nemban looking at early Erromangan women's material in 2003.

Figure 2. Sophie Nemban examining barkcloth designs at the Australian Museum in 2003.

Sophie's visit in 2003 to the Australian Museum, was followed in June 2006 by that of Chief Uminduru Jerry Taki, also from Umponilongi and a Vanuatu Cultural Centre (VKS) fieldworker. These two visits were extremely empowering to both Sophie and Chief Jerry as a major source of inspiration, and consolidated their determination to promote the transmission of knowledge of cultural material and thus strengthen Erromangan identity.

The prospect for the revival of certain material aspects of Erromangan culture was both exciting and at the same time highly challenging, with the challenges coming from two dominating forces: clan disputes and traditional jealousies associated with ownership of rights to designs and traditional knowledge; and the firm resistance of the Presbyterian church to any attempts to revive cultural traditions which are still considered today a "return to heathenism".

Over the following years, Sophie, Jerry Taki and members of the Erromangan Cultural Association began a process of intense consultation with chiefs, church elders, women, youth, and representatives of different provinces on the island. They travelled extensively by foot, canoe and boat. They brought with them photographs, notes, and archival images, to inspire and stimulate people's interest in reconnecting and learning about the significance of barkcloth and other items to reinvigorate Erromangan cultural traditions.

The outcome of this collective effort is the recent emergence of the first new female barkcloth expressions as a result of this revival process. In 2008, at the invitation of the Erromango Cultural Association, this writer travelled to Umponilongi village in southern Erromango to attend a mini-cultural festival, and make a collection of 27 new decorated barkcloths for the Australian Museum. The collection comprises items from the six provinces of Erromango: Umponilongi, Un(a)pang, Ipota, Dillon's Bay, Lifate and Port Narvin, which were displayed in Umponilongi in May 2008. Each individual barkcloth decoration portrayed clan motifs from the relevant district and examples of innovative contemporary designs, merged with other contemporary stylistic innovations, such as woven bags and fans (made of barkcloth). This was the first major collection of decorated nemas to be made in the island in over a century.

Conclusion

This paper has addressed the dynamics of cultural reawakening, using museum cultural items with indigenous engagement. Objects can be agencies reconnecting people with the past, unlocking knowledge systems of place, cosmology and spirituality. These multidimensional aspects are fundamental in restoring confidence and strengthening identity. This empowering process of physical reconnection with ancestral objects has prompted Erromangans to question colonial processes and the interpretation of their own histories. These enquiries are addressed in the film, *Nelokompne Rises Again*, which portrays an indigenous re-examination of a previously unquestioned legacy of Christian conversion. One of the main objectives of this revival project is to highlight the mutual benefits of working in partnership with indigenous communities. Major cultural institutions holding large cultural collections have the moral and ethical responsibility to actively engage and work collaboratively with indigenous and urban communities. These processes should be fully integrated within museum practices in the 21st century. The Erromango cultural revival project has demonstrated that knowledge of ancestry and designs is preserved in people's memories; they are repositories of cultural identity, and objects can become reactivated and re-introduced into living cultures, reconnecting the present with the past and the past and present with the future.

Glossary

blackbirders	recruiters, by various violent means, of Pacific islanders, including from Vanuatu, to work on plantations such as those of Fiji or Queensland in Australia during the later 19th century
fah nahiven	woman of substance
fan lou	chief
fan lou nussian	paramount chief
nasimnalam	high-ranking women

nehekar/nisekar	alliance rituals
Nelokompne	the proper name for the island of Erromango in the form of Siye language spoken in the southern part of the island.
nemas	barkcloth, made by beating wet strips of the bark of several different types of trees and joining these into sheets
nemasitse	a tapa or barkcloth made on the island of Erromango until early in the twentieth century
nevasi	trade
n'mah neyorwi	cloth/beautiful decorated
noma	special bark
nomblat	female leaf skirts
yelao	male penis wrappers

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The Application of Custom to Contemporary Māori Resource Development

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Abstract

The dynamic nature of culture provides flexibility for growth and development. New challenges can be faced with greater certainty and through considered adaptations to modern environments and settings. Therefore the requirement to embrace contemporary approaches to resource management in Aotearoa/New Zealand has not been resisted. However, the desire to align traditional concepts with contemporary resource management conventions has at times been met with opposition and disapproval. This is despite the fact that the two worldviews have much in common and are not necessarily inconsistent with each other. This paper provides an insight into the findings from a PhD study that explored the interface between customary and contemporary approaches to resource management in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Keywords

Māori resource management, environmental sustainability, customary practices, kaitiakitanga

Introduction

Māori have always practised resource management according to traditional customs, methods and lore since first settling in Aotearoa (New Zealand). These systems were based on the Māori relationship with the natural environment, and the desire to nurture a sustainable and vibrant society and ensure the well-being of future generations. Although colonisation has done much to malign the integrity of these practices, these values have endured throughout the generations and continue to inform Māori resource management perspectives (Kawharu, 2002).

The underlying challenges, though more complex, are essentially the same today as they were in the past. These centred on environmental sustainability, iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe) interactions with their natural surroundings, and a desire to develop a robust society. While these notions of environmental sustainability were often firmly rooted in a Māori worldview, their relevance to contemporary issues and concerns is also evident as is the alignment with scientific and European cultural concepts of sustainability.

Managing resources is as much about protecting the past as the present, not simply to nourish hapū and tribal identity, but also to stimulate the critical success factors that can help shape tribal and broader community development. Customary management is about resource use, development, protection, conservation and finding a balance between all those things. Fundamental to all these imperatives are the ideals of respect and commitment; these are the most important facets of management.

Some ancestral development principles can be recaptured and asserted in the context of contemporary circumstances. Modern Māori resource development needs to give expression to the traditional principle of holism; that is, a new system of management based on traditional Māori and linked to western environmental management.

Customary Resource Management

A primary purpose of traditional Māori lore was to maintain appropriate relationships between people and their environment, their history and each other. This purpose was by no means unique among the laws of the world but the emphasis was different. There was no equivalent to English common law whereby individuals could hold land without concomitant duties to an associated community, or no

parallel to the English social order wherein large land holdings could influence one's status in local society. For iwi and hapū, the benefits of the lands, seas and waterways accrued to all and individual rights of use were simply derived from their relationship to the broader community. Similarly, rangatira (chiefs) held chiefly status but might own nothing. It was their boast that all they had was for the people. As the proverb went, the most important thing in the Māori world was not property but people. Accordingly, Māori lore described how people should relate to ancestors as the upholders of traditional values, to the demi-gods of the environment as the providers of life's necessities, to hapū, which was the primary support system, and to other peoples as necessary for co-existence (Waitangi Tribunal, 1997).

In Māori thought, all things are believed to have mauri (life-force, vital essence), the spark of life kindled at the conception of all living things. All mauri comes from atua (gods) and provides every entity with its unique personality. The key to the Māori view on the environment is the importance of not altering mauri to the extent that it is no longer recognisable (Williams, 2006).

The distinctly Māori systems of resource management were developed through a combination of empirical methods, examination of what did and did not work, and the belief in the inherent life essence or mauri. The life essence permeated even the inanimate resources as a result of the creation ideology whereby heaven and earth were the personification of the primeval parents. In this way a system of resource management was developed in which people were no more than another living part of the whole ecosystem, capable of a care-taking role alongside other creatures. Man lived within and as part of a living whole, to which they were intimately and genealogically connected. The emphasis was on the non-destruction of the mauri as opposed to the sustainability of physical resources. The importance of whakapapa or genealogy should not be forgotten here; many trace their ancestry back to the very land itself, calling mountains and other parts of the landscape ancestors. The management processes were also developed from a spiritual framework which did not assume a dominance of people over the environment, but rather that people were an integral and intimate part of that environment.

Tikanga (Māori Customary Practice)

Māori have employed systems of environmental management and viewed these as key to ensuring a strong, healthy and resilient tribe. Natural resources were not viewed as a commodity but rather a source of identity, belonging and continuity to be shared between the living, the dead and the unborn. Whakapapa and the rights of the collective were used to manage the land and natural resources. Control and authority of the land rested with the communities who held the land in their care. The land was regarded as ūkaipō (the place of nurturing) by hapū who recognised their obligation to treat it as a source of sustenance. The principle of ahi kā (burning of fires of occupation, title to land through occupation) also operated to ensure that the rights to land remained with the group who exercised kaitiakitanga (guardianship, stewardship) over it (Ministry of Justice, 2001).

In broad terms, Māori customary rights are collective in nature and belong to whānau (extended family), hapū and iwi. They are rights of use, as well as rights to occupy land, rather than rights to own land exclusively (as under common law). Another distinctive feature is that together with the rights to occupy areas and use resources, there is a reciprocal obligation to sustainably manage those resources (an expression of kaitiakitanga) (Lanning, 1998). Resource management practices have been effective, as human needs have been met for more than 1,000 years while also ensuring resource sustainability (Kawharu, 1998).

Tikanga Māori (Māori customary practices) has adapted and survived the impact of intense assimilative pressures over many decades to remain of significance as a non-state legal system. Opportunities for incorporating customary resource management practices have never ceased to be relevant from one generation to the next (Williams, 2002).

Customary and Contemporary Combined

Some resource laws recognise and provide for Māori to assert their customary authority. While this may be the intent, certain deficiencies in law prevent iwi and hapū from exercising this authority fully. Where certain resource laws have been adjusted to recognise specific Māori rights to administer and manage their resources (often within a defined territory), Māori themselves need to acquire further skills to uphold their management responsibilities, because customary practices by themselves do not adequately deal with the new resource challenges. Non-Māori skills are necessary, too, to cope with modern processes and problems.

There are opportunities to manage and develop environmental resources within a tribal context in New Zealand. Since the passage of the Resource Management Act 1991, Māori participation in resource management has increased sharply. This has resulted from claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, hearings at the Planning Tribunal and reaction to legislation such as the Resource Management Act. To date, much of what has been planned and acted upon has been reactionary. Māori aspirations for environmental management need to be planned now in a proactive and independent manner. Planning, generally, is a part of the re-empowerment of Māori people (Kawharu, 2002).

The challenge for Māori is to apply traditional forms of resource management and conservation, while at the same time adopt, adapt and apply new concepts, techniques and institutions. The challenge for the Crown and local authorities is to accept the real involvement of Māori in resource management planning and decision-making, and to enter into agreements that will accelerate the goal of environmental sustainability (Stephenson, 2001).

While the current system leaves room for development, the applicability of traditional concepts and practices will be of limited value if these do not lead to increased sustainability of natural resources.

Treaty of Waitangi Provision

The Treaty of Waitangi provides for the recognition and protection of customary resource management values and practices. This extends to the control of property in accordance with custom and having regard for cultural preferences. It also extends to the protection of tino rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination), being the full authority, status and prestige as regards Māori possessions and interests. This right also encompasses the preservation of Māori customary title and the Crown's obligations to take active steps to ensure that Māori have and retain full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their culture. In a limited way, rangatiratanga may be expressed through Māori participation in environmental decision making.

The principles developed to help interpret the Treaty more effectively can also foster the management of natural resources. The principles that relate to the application of the Treaty of Waitangi have been developed by various government organisations to assist with the interpretation of the two Treaty texts and to ensure that the "spirit" of the Treaty is upheld. The Waitangi Tribunal is one institution that has developed principles to guide such decision making. The principle of partnership requires that both Treaty partners act reasonably and in the utmost good faith towards each other. Partners should be on an equal footing. Partnership extends to overall management of natural resources. The Treaty places an obligation on decision makers to give equal weight to the Māori worldview, the Māori value system, and Māori law and practice.

A fundamental principle of the Treaty is the protection and preservation of Māori property and taonga (prized possession). The phrase "ō rātou whenua, ō rātou kāinga me ō rātou taonga katoa" is used in the Māori version of the Treaty. Whenua signifies the lands and kāinga habitations, and the literal translation of the words, "taonga katoa" is "all things valued or all things treasured". Taonga may be tangible, such as fisheries, or intangible, such as the Māori language.

The Crown is obliged to take positive action in the protection of Māori Treaty interests. This principle requires the active protection of the relationship and customs of iwi and hapū associated with

natural resources, including protection of the traditional relationship that iwi and hapū have with natural resources. Secondly, agencies, including territorial authorities with a responsibility to manage the natural environment, have a responsibility to actively protect the resources of that area that are of significance to iwi and hapū. Implicit in this principle is the idea that the Crown cannot avoid its duty of active protection by delegating responsibilities to others.

The Treaty recognises the right of Māori individuals to retain their identity and traditional practices and, where they so desire, to adopt partially or wholly their cultural practices. The integrity of tikanga Māori is enhanced by its ability to adapt and evolve as society changes. This principle recognises that culture is not static.

The Crown has an obligation to protect, preserve and promote the economic development of Māori. This obligation includes a duty to ensure that iwi and hapū are provided with sufficient land and other resources for their maintenance, support and livelihood, and that each hapū maintains an adequate endowment for its foreseen needs—an endowment not just sufficient to survive, but enough to profit and prosper. Thus Māori have the right to develop and expand such resources using modern technologies and are not consigned to those technologies known at the time of the Treaty.

Indigenous Comparison

The traditional Māori resource management system is based upon concepts which differ from those offered by Western society. These concepts recognise the synergetic and interdependent relationships between all living things. This concept is not unique to Māori, as other indigenous peoples are of the same conviction. In Canada, for example, the Native American Indians tried "by every available means to establish intellectual and emotional contact between them (all beings), so as to guarantee— for they are all relatives—abundance, equality and therefore peace. This is the sacred circle of life …" (Ministry of Māori Development, 1993).

Indigenous peoples developed a system of environmental management based upon this view of the relationship between human beings and the natural world. The movements, energies and patterns of the natural world were also those of human endeavour. The goal, therefore, of indigenous resource management is continued vigilance in the observation and monitoring of the environment so that humans may live within the design of the natural world.

Western resource management systems, however, often value the natural world (trees, plants, mountains, streams, rivers and so on), above all else, but only in as much as it is meaningful to humans. Tūpuna Māori (Māori ancestors) would say that these things have value in themselves and that whether humans are here or not, the trees still retain their mana (integrity, prestige), the birds still retain their mauriora (a vital and sustainable spirit), and the mountains retain their tapu (sacredness): they remain taonga.

Globalisation

The relationship between the environment and globalisation is often overlooked. The environment itself is inherently global, with life-sustaining ecosystems frequently crossing national boundaries; air pollution moving across entire continents and oceans; and a single shared atmosphere providing climate protection and shielding us from harsh ultraviolet rays.

The environment is intrinsically linked to economic development, providing natural resources that fuel growth and ecosystem services that underpin both life and livelihoods (Najam, Runnalls & Halle, 2007). A rapidly expanding menu of binding international economic agreements on services, investment and intellectual property aims to construct a free market on a global scale and threatens to pre-empt national options.

The constraints imposed by this array of agreements on domestic policy-making and regulation further embed the Western paradigm and potentially lock the door against a resource management

regime in New Zealand that reflects the Treaty of Waitangi and tikanga Māori. The chances of securing such recognition at the international level seem even more remote.

The number of international economic agreements signed since the 1980s is difficult to quantify. They are designed to promote the expansion and consolidation of international capital, commonly referred to as "globalisation". They have serious implications for Māori management of resources at a number of levels: philosophical, distributive, substantive and constitutional. There is no place in this worldview for enduring relationships, balance or reciprocity between the economic, social, cultural and spiritual worlds. Globalisation is fundamentally about colonisation.

Sewage, refuse disposal, sanitation, water and similar services have frequently been the subject of Waitangi Tribunal claims or Environment Court interventions by Māori. Once those services are included in these arrangements the Government would have an excuse not only to reject Māori demands for stronger regulatory regimes, but it could also insist that "more market" approaches to environmental services must be introduced.

Currently, securing recognition of tikanga, kaitiakitanga, tino rangatiratanga and the Treaty in relation to natural resources cannot be achieved by focusing efforts solely at the national level—instead it is a global struggle (Kawharu, 2002). Achieving recognition of indigenous knowledge and its contribution to modern resource management is a worldwide phenomenon (Solomon & Schofield, 1992).

Discussion

The findings from the study emphasised the importance of focusing on relationships, rather than solely on the ownership of resources. There has to be more meaningful discussion on the relationships between customary rights, commercial rights and recreational rights, and on how to make these relationships work. The management of various legal relationships between different rights holders over particular resources needs to become more sophisticated (Keene, 2007).

A number of broad conclusions can be drawn from the study. These are outlined in the following paragraphs.

Custom has endured throughout generations, in spite of colonisation and other influences to remain a fundamental part of Māori culture. In part, the dynamic nature of custom and culture, the ability to be flexible and adapt to meet new challenges, has ensured its survival into modern times.

Custom has practical relevance to contemporary resource management. Indeed custom, combined with Western methodologies, provides an effective means to ensure sustainability. Custom has been applied to contemporary practice via statute. Although at times limited, the inclusion of Māori values and concepts in legislation has enabled increased participation by Māori in resource development, and provided opportunities for co-management of resources.

Resource management for Māori is based on relationships as opposed to an exclusive focus on ownership. Traditionally there was no concept of individual ownership or, for that matter, collective ownership. Hapū had a relationship with the environment that was reciprocal. This notion of relatedness originates from the creation story of Ranginui (sky father) and Papa-tū-ā-nuku (earth mother), and contains the idea that the relationship between man and the environment is symbiotic, whereby one provides for the other, so that each enhances the other. This concept of relationships included use-rights to natural resources and was based on whakapapa links to and occupation of a specific area. Moreover, implicit in the relationship was an expectation of wise guardianship. A use-right imposed an obligation to protect the resource, partly for the use of future generations but also for the sake of environmental integrity. The notion of relationships between people and the environment is not unique to Māori but is a defining characteristic of indigenous peoples. According to Durie (2005), all indigenous peoples have a tradition of unity with the environment that builds on a close

relationship with defined territories, land and the natural world. This tradition is reflected in song, custom, subsistence, approaches to healing and birthing, and the rituals associated with death.

The Treaty of Waitangi is a starting point for exploring the significance of relationships in modern times and the relevance of custom to resources. This recognition is reflected in the guarantee of "full exclusive and undisturbed possession of the lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess" (Article 2, Treaty of Waitangi, English version). In the Māori version a relationship between resources and tribes is reflected in the use of the word "rangatiratanga", the "full chieftainship (rangatiratanga) of their lands, their villages and all their possessions (taonga)" (Article 2, Treaty of Waitangi, Māori version).

The importance of natural resources to Māori and their subsequent management was about maintaining not only a spiritual base but also an economic and political base that could be nurtured for future generations. Status and identity were strongly linked to natural resources and are reflected in terms such as mana whenua (the local tribe, authority over land) and tūrangawaewae (a place to stand). The state or well-being of the hapū resources was often a reflection of the mana of a tribal group. A hapū with abundant resources that was able to show generosity in the exercise of manaakitanga (caring, hospitality) was held in high regard and thought to possess great mana because of its resource management abilities. This economic significance is as relevant now as it was in the distant past. Although rights and management practices may have derived from a customary context, the economic interest in all natural resources persists.

Future resource management opportunities for Māori must extend beyond consultation and include joint decision-making processes to ensure Māori interests in resource management and development are considered and upheld. Many avenues could be developed further to allow for increased application of Māori values and practices to resource management and development. By recognising the limitations and identifying opportunities, further improvements can be made to current policies.

Effective and sustainable resource management involves a combination of approaches that contribute to resource sustainability. Western approaches to resource management can be enriched by the considered application of customary Māori knowledge just as customary approaches can be made more relevant when combined with some Western models.

Conclusion

Clearly, custom can be applied to contemporary resource management. This has been confirmed by the fact that Māori concepts of resource management have remained relevant over time; they have transcended environmental uncertainties, and embraced new ways of working with contemporary structures.

Custom has also been applied to contemporary notions of resource management through statutes. At times the benefits of including such values to enable sustainability have been questioned. While Māori concepts have been more readily accepted and included, even if to a limited degree, in recent times, there are still many areas of resource management that have not embraced the inclusion of Māori beliefs and practices even though these could have relevance and lead to benefits.

Custom should not be considered a static element of a culture. It is dynamic and constantly adapting to the socio-environmental circumstances of the iwi/hapū/whānau. It has developed in ways which allow iwi/hapū to meet the contemporary needs of their members. Certain core values persist, such as mauri, mana and tapu; practices change but the philosophical foundations are not necessarily less relevant. It is the combination of customary and non-customary practices that is crucial in maintaining effective programmes of resource management.

Māori environmental perspectives are based on a strong conservation ethic and sustainability is an over-riding consideration. In the Māori world, spirituality is a pervading force: people are

genealogically tied to the earth, and respect for the natural environment is given tangible expression. These values are still embraced by Māori today as part of a living tradition. Māori often look to the past as a way of mapping the future, to learn from the wisdom of ancestors and the knowledge acquired over millennia. The Māori worldview holds valuable lessons for all New Zealanders as opportunities for environmental protection and sustainability are explored (Ruru, 1997).

> We as Māori have to look back, have to look back to see what's happening, or what might happen in the future. If we just keep looking at the future and change the future with no historical reason while we are changing it we will make stuff up after stuff up. Customary practices weren't brought in lightly. They were brought in to protect something and preserve something and if you take them out of the equation you have got no "past" measuring rod. (Jim Elkington, Ngāti Koata, personal communication)

Glossary

ahi kā	burning fires of occupation, title to land through occupation
Aotearoa	Land of the Long White Cloud
atua	gods
hapū	sub tribe
iwi	tribe
kaitiakitanga	guardianship/stewardship
mana	integrity, prestige
mana whenua	the local tribe/authority over land
manaakitanga	caring, hospitality
Māori	indigenous person of New Zealand
mauri	life force, vital essence
mauriora	a vital and sustainable spirit
Ngāti Koata	name of a particular tribe
Papa-tū-ā-nuku	earth mother
rangatira	chiefs
rangatiratanga	full chieftainship
Ranginui	sky father
taonga	prized possession
tapu	sacredness
tikanga Māori	Māori customary practices
tino rangatiratanga	Māori self-determination
tūpuna Māori	Māori ancestors
ūkaipō	the place of nurturing
whānau	extended family

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Research Methods to Capture Whānau Realities

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Abstract

Often research constructs an understanding of whānau (family) from the combined data of individual members or from the information provided by a key informant. For example, whānau members might be considered to be related individuals who live in the same household, with their individual characteristics adding up to a representation of "whānau". For the past year we have been exploring possible methods for researching whānau as a collective who may or may not live within one household, and which more fully captures the complexities and interconnectedness of whānau.

The project began with five hui (meetings) that highlighted the changing dynamics of whānau and the importance of whakapapa (genealogy). Researchers contributed their knowledge of research methods, and 12 were canvassed, including Appreciative Inquiry and Participatory Action Research. These methods were subjected to a Kaupapa Māori (Māori-centred, Māori world view) analysis and pre-tested with whānau. The final stage was a round of feedback hui to let people know about the methods. It is hoped that this project will facilitate research with whānau collectives and thereby contribute to policy that supports whānau development and well-being.

The focus of this paper is on the nature of research with whānau and the ethical issues that should be considered within a Kaupapa Māori approach. Common themes in the research methods are explored, including the relationship between research, facilitating whānau change and social justice. The end result is a kete (woven basket) of methods that researchers may wish to access according to their usefulness and appropriateness for research with whānau.

Keywords

whānau, whānau research, research methods, Kaupapa Māori research

Introduction

Lately, researchers and government agencies have been exploring approaches to understanding whānau (family) other than as a sum of individuals or the collective within a household. Research often constructs an understanding of whānau from combined data of individual members or from information provided by a key informant. For example, whānau members might be considered to be related individuals who live in the same household, with their individual characteristics adding up to a representation of "whānau". For the past year we have been exploring possible methods for researching whānau as a collective who may or may not live within one household, and which more fully captures the complexities and interconnectedness of whānau.

The project was first mooted in 2005, with the Health Research Council and Ministry of Health eventually co-investing in a project to "facilitate the development of a methodology for measuring Māori-based collectives, namely whānau." The 2007 Request for Proposals (RFP) also noted that:

> It expected that the work will contribute to the future of innovative research relating to whānau collectives in New Zealand Aotearoa and support strategic policy objectives, in particular supporting whānau development, whānau wellbeing and the achievement of whānau ora [family wellbeing]. (Health Research Council of New Zealand, p. 2)

The key points of the RFP were that the approach was to be Kaupapa Māori (Māori-centred, based on a Māori world view); it would include the involvement of decision-makers, stakeholders and commentators; it would involve the identification of methods and tools for measuring Māori-based

collectives; there was to be a focus on knowledge transfer and knowledge exchange; and the project would build capability.

Project Phases: Scanning, Reviewing, and Synthesis

There were three phases over the 12-month period of the project: scanning, reviewing and synthesis. Research on the project commenced in May 2009.

The scanning phase involved examining the literature to seek out national and international concepts of whānau, what concepts of family were, and how these were being researched as collectives. As a result of the review, and of discussions with stakeholders about the distinction between kaupapa whānau (family of those united for a common purpose) and whakapapa whānau (family based on kinship), we were of the view that kaupapa whānau people are linking themselves through whakapapa (genealogy), although these familial links may be more distant than in a whakapapa whānau. Whānau is also about support, ongoing relationships and interdependence. We need to explore the realities for whānau, whether whānau are contained within a household or live across multiple households and communities; whānau are defined according to their context.

Five hui (meetings) were held with stakeholders, including policy writers, government agencies, community-based organisations, researchers, iwi (tribes) and whānau. Two hui were held in Auckland, and one each were in Wellington, Christchurch and Whangārei. Stakeholders were asked about their views of what constitutes whānau; whether and how these concepts had changed over time; and the ethics of research with whānau collectives. Stakeholder response was various, noting that whānau was about whakapapa and relationships, and that these dynamics were changing. Some concerns were voiced regarding ownership and control of research tools and methods; who wants to measure whānau; the need to protect Māori concepts and whānau; the need for strengths-based approaches and systems analysis; and the use of the right words. To keep stakeholders informed, hui notes were posted on the Katoa Ltd website (http://www.katoa.net.nz). Hui participants were invited to participate in the reviewing stage.

The second stage of the project involved reviewing a method or tool for use with whānau. Researchers were invited to contribute their knowledge of particular methods they have been using with whānau. The review included completing a template that advised of the methods' origins, theoretical underpinnings and application; a Kaupapa Māori analysis that assessed the tools' usefulness and applicability with whānau; pre-testing the method with whānau and discussing what they thought of the process; and an annotated bibliography so that those interested in the method have access to further information.

Twelve methods were reviewed, many of them qualitative methods—therapy-based and/or strategic planning tools concerned with collecting information as well as instigating change. The methods were:

Appreciative Inquiry
Genograms
Ecomaps
Te Whakapapa o te Reo i Roto i te Whānau (history of the Māori language in the family)
Participatory Action Research: Whānau PAR groups
Participative Action Research: Consensus Cardsort Whānau Future Narrative
Quantitative analyses of changes in whānau using longitudinal population-based surveys
Social Network Analysis in relation to social support networks
He Kōrero Whānau o Te Rarawa (family stories of Te Rarawa)
Kōtahi Whānau (Families First): Māori Community Partnership Research
PATH planning tool
Connecting Our Histories: Mapping the Interconnectedness of Community (Manitoba).

PowerPoint presentations of two of the methods—Genograms and Te Whakapapa o te Reo i Roto i te Whānau—highlighted their applicability to whānau: Genograms for their aptitude to depict connectivity and relationships within whānau across multiple arenas and generations; and Te Whakapapa o te Reo i Roto i te Whānau—using Te Ataarangi, an immersion-style of learning te reo Māori (the Māori language) using rākau (small wooden rods)—for facilitating whānau to talk about their whānau and whakapapa.

Several issues arose from pre-testing these methods and resulting discussions. These included the notion of what Kaupapa Māori research means with whānau; who should research whānau and what expertise is required; the ethical concerns of conducting research with whānau (for example, confidentiality); and how research findings can influence policy.

Conclusion
Researcher and stakeholder hui were conducted towards the end of the project, in May, June and July 2010, to discuss the methods and tools explored and to see what people thought of their applicability to use with whānau. The end result of the project was a kete of methods, which researchers may select according to usefulness and appropriateness for research with whānau. Generally, this collection of tools is considered a starting point for researching whānau as collectives, rather than the solution.

The next step is to publish the peer-reviewed method templates in Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga's *MAI Review* journal, to make information about the methods and tools used with whānau more widely and easily accessible.

Glossary

hui	meeting, gathering
iwi	tribe
kaupapa	purpose, agenda
Kaupapa Māori	Māori-centred, Māori world view
kaupapa whānau	family of those united for a common purpose
kete	woven basket
kōrero whānau	family stories
ora	health, wellness
rākau	small wooden rods
Te Ataarangi	Māori-language teaching method
whakapapa	genealogy, history, kinship
whakapapa i te reo i roto i te whānau	history of the Māori language in the family
whakapapa whānau	family based on kinship
whānau	family, including extended family

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Negotiating the Difference Within: Recreating Multiple Ethnicities in Fiction

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Abstract

This paper will examine ways in which writers negotiate multiple ethnic identities in their novels. Edward P. Jones, Patricia Grace and Michael Ondaatje present multiple versions of ethnicity, ensuring culture is shown to be dynamic rather than rigid. Expectations are subverted in surprising ways, resulting in an awareness of the narrow definitions we often attribute to ethnic groups. Of particular interest is the tactile visual imagery engaged by writers when addressing this subject matter, as if the creation of new art forms and ways of thinking are required.

The connection between fictional and real worlds will be made through a discussion of the author's PhD Creative Writing project, which takes her own mixed whakapapa (genealogy) as its starting point. The PhD will consist of a novel that addresses the complex web of interrelationships between Moriori, Māori and Pākehā, as well as a critical analysis of relevant fiction.

Keywords

indigenous fiction, Story, mixed ethnicity, identity

Negotiating the Difference Within: Recreating Multiple Ethnicities in Fiction

I am Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Maniapoto. I am also Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent). In my family there exists a story that one of my great-great-grandmothers had Moriori origins. My PhD research explores the possibilities presented by this mixed cultural heritage; the creative component will consist of a novel that addresses the complex web of interrelationships that occurred between Moriori, Māori and Pākehā settlers from the 1800s through to contemporary times, observing our colonial and postcolonial past from different angles. At the centre of this narrative will be the Moriori world view prior to Pākehā, and then Māori, contact. This world view stressed a kaupapa (plan, proposal) of peace as espoused by the Moriori chief, Nunuku-whenua, 500 years prior to colonisation.

When preparing for the 4th International Traditional Knowledge Conference 2010, I was aware that I would be speaking to an international audience of indigenous people who are predominantly involved in academic fields: science and social science, humanities and politics. Considering the urgency with which many of us work, it is not always possible to indulge in creative fields like fictional writing. "Why would they want to listen to me?" I wondered, "What do I have to offer?" These questions, in fact, helped me to isolate and define my research question, and to identify the basic assumptions with which I will continue my study. In my mind, my work has to relate to the ground-breaking indigenous research being done in other fields.

Therefore, the perspective I begin with is that no matter what our field, one thing we all have in common is the primacy of Story. "The truth about stories is that that's all we are," states Thomas King (2003, p. 2). He explores this statement via different fields of experience, but always comes back to the same conclusion: the stories we tell about ourselves define who we are. King quotes another Native American writer, Gerald Vizenor: "You can't understand the world without telling a story ... There isn't any center to the world but a story" (King, 2003, p. 32). This attitude to Story as primary in our definitions of self and our way of seeing the world is reflected by many indigenous writers. This is true for us as individuals, whānau (family) and tribes, as indigenous people and as members of various nation states. (Unfortunately, as those who work with the media are well aware, it is also true that the stories others tell about us have the potency to define us.) During a recent visit to

Aotearoa/New Zealand, Lee Gutkind, founder of the magazine *Creative Nonfiction*, stated (in a masterclass of June 2, 2010) that research shows people absorb information best when it is conveyed via story.

The basic assumptions, or points of view, from which I embark on my research are as follows:

1. Story is paramount: my PhD thesis title is *The Primacy of Narrative: "The Stories will Show Who I Am"*.
2. From an indigenous perspective, the divisions between lived experience/history/pre-history and myth are not as defined as they are for non-indigenous groups. Our saying, "I ngā rā o mua", suggests that our past goes before us, leading our current and future endeavours. Our continued ability to trace our whakapapa (genealogy) back to the gods suggests a relationship with "myth" that is based not only on imagination, but also on familial and historical ties.
3. Fiction that re-creates/re-visions history may allow for Our (indigenous) Stories to continue to gain new cultural and societal life and replace long held national myths/fallacies.
4. Story has the potency to reach people directly at the level of imagination.

The Moriori story in Aotearoa/New Zealand illustrates some of the possibilities suggested by these points of view. While excellent historical work has been produced (King, 2000; Waitangi Tribunal, 2001), more recent historical approaches have not yet completely replaced the historical fallacies that pervade the collective New Zealand imagination. To explain briefly, particularly for those not familiar with the story: Moriori are the tangata whenua or original inhabitants of the Chatham and Pitt Islands. After they settled on those islands, they lost contact with Aotearoa and Māori for hundreds of years, until Europeans arrived to hunt and trade. By this time, Moriori had a strong tikanga (custom) of peace: warfare and killing were forbidden. Eventually, pushed out of their own territories by intertribal musket warfare and the desire to expand, Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Tama invaded the Chathams and devastated the Moriori population there, claiming the land for themselves. There is much more to this story than I can do justice to in this paper—see King (2000) for a full description—but the point I aim to make refers to the story our country adopted about these events.

As a child I was told by Pākehā family and schooling that Moriori were the original inhabitants of New Zealand, that Māori arrived later (but before Europeans) and killed and cannibalised them, and that the last Moriori died many years ago. This story was offered to me as proof of the savagery of Māori culture and necessity of the civilising influence of European colonisation. The Chatham Islands were not mentioned. The use of ships and guns to invade was not mentioned. The cultural pressure and change created by new forms of weaponry, trade and disease was never part of the story.

Now the revitalisation of Moriori culture and identity is well advanced by the Moriori people. But despite excellent historical work by Michael King, the Waitangi Tribunal and Te Imi Moriori, I suggest the story that still holds sway in the national imagination is the one I was brought up with.

How can we change this? Perhaps fiction may offer readers a more intimate, vivid and visceral relationship with historical events, through the creation of fictional characters, than is possible via non-fiction. The creation of stories that re-create/re-vision history from different points of view and time periods may allow for indigenous perspectives to continue to gain new cultural and societal life, and replace long-held national myths.

This final idea comes from a question I often found myself asking as I researched the history behind my own whakapapa. Given that so much historical research has been produced, and that we are well on our way to creating rich, accurate and diverse re-visions of the inaccurate histories that were once taught in schools, why is the coloniser's version of history still so prevalent? Thomas King asks, "Do the stories we tell reflect the world as it truly is, or did we simply start off with the wrong story?" (King, 2003, p. 26), suggesting that finding the "right story" could effect change in our world or world view. One reason colonial histories still prevail is that they serve the status quo. A possible response to this, the one I plan to investigate further, is that we need to change the stories of our

nation. We need more Moriori, Māori, Pasifika and other indigenous storytellers. We need more fiction, because—and as indigenous people, despite our academic training, we know this—Story has the potency to speak to our hearts and spirits as well as our minds. What I am suggesting is that Story speaks directly to our imaginations. It might be viewed as a tool to both reclaim our histories and identities, and to expand our definitions of self and our potential for the future.

The complexity, conflict and confusion of the relationship between Moriori, Māori and Pākehā is the "difference within" which marks the title of my presentation. My cultural background consists of all these groups, and the cultural conflict I aim to explore in my writing is both external and internal. An urban lifestyle and fractured nuclear family unit ensured I was not raised strongly within one cultural tradition or another. My empathy and spiritual point of view reside with my Moriori and Māori heritage, but the world I inhabit is most often Pākehā.

In order to write about these sites of cultural difference, I needed to study models. I began with texts from Patricia Grace, Edward P. Jones and Michael Ondaatje. These authors explore different aspects of the story I am writing: colonisation, immigration, slavery, repression.

Patricia Grace has always been a writer of note for her vivid depictions of the lives of Māori. Her work uncompromisingly centralises and normalises a predominantly Māori point of view, but avoids generalising cultural identity. Her stories are often told from multiple points of view and challenge the reader to integrate different perspectives. The primacy of Story is a predominant theme in her books, including *Potiki* (1986) and *Baby No-Eyes* (1998). One of Grace's contributions to New Zealand literature and culture is that it is sometimes through her stories that non-Māori New Zealanders gain their first insight into a Māori world-view.

Edward P. Jones is an African-American writer who won the Pulitzer Prize for his novel, *The Known World* (2003). He is also a short story writer of repute. *The Known World* is about a black slave-owner in the pre-Civil War American South. Jones weaves a searingly complex world around this man and his family. There is much that can be said about Jones's writing style and the way he presents a vivid and detailed historical novel that appears to disregard linear time and the normal limits of characterisation, but for the purpose of this paper, it is his subversion of cultural, racial and even sexual politics that is of most note. In the historical world he re-creates—where free black people were known to own slaves—no one escapes the contaminating influence of slavery. There are no simplistic representations of white evil and black innocence; there is a more complex depiction of a world in which people are both agents in and victims of an oppressive society.

Two of Michael Ondaatje's novels, *In the Skin of a Lion* (1987) and *Anil's Ghost* (2000), also explore the complexities of oppressive systems, this time from a migrant's point of view. Like Jones, Ondaatje also subverts expectations: the main protagonist of *In the Skin of a Lion* is the outsider, despite being the only main character who is a white non-immigrant. In both novels, Ondaatje creates shadowy worlds where boundaries are blurred and the reader experiences the loss and confusion of the migratory experience, as well as the violence of an oppressive society.

Each of these texts work as historiographic metafiction. By this I mean that they do the following: problematise history by unearthing discontinuities, anomalies and multiple possibilities, and by posing alternative content and alternative forms; bring attention to and question their own literary operations of representing history; espouse a postmodern ideology of plurality and recognition of difference; and question and undermine official histories with multiplicities and possibilities (adapted from Donaldson, 2008, p. 270).

A fundamental question emerges with relation to Thomas King's statement and the above definition. If stories are all that we are, then how do each of these authors change our personal, cultural and national understandings of ourselves by re-imagining the accepted historical stories or national myths? This line of enquiry reveals further questions: Why do historical stories require changing? Is it relevant who produces the stories? What stories do we choose and why? Is it valid to

seek societal change through literature? Each novel offers different approaches to these questions, but as I reached the conclusion of these books, I was surprised to find that one kind of motif was repeated throughout them all.

All of these Stories engage tactile visual imagery, as if the creation of new art forms and ways of thinking are required. Each of the following quotes was a discovery: I was not looking for this thread of visual expression, but these four writers from different countries and different cultural traditions spontaneously echoed each other.

From *Potiki*:
> This poupou [carving] ... was the link from the old to the new .... It was the piece that showed that there had been no real death, or showed perhaps that death is a coiled spring. This piece had been the last one carved for the old house ... And it became the first piece for the new house, which meant we were able in our new house to show a linking ... from before ... connecting all of us to the great and ancient ancestor. (Grace, 1986, pp. 171–172)

From *Baby No-Eyes*:
> My self sits inside me trembling as I prepare a new canvas, pin it to a board and let light fall on it .... I squeeze fresh paint on to a saucer, lift a dob of it onto a fine brush and reach, breaching space with a drop of red .... There's a nose, curved at its tip ... A stretching open mouth, a widening, sinuous throat .... In the scraped, clean place between her forehead and the high bones of her face I'll make the gashes, show the invasion. The wailing from the stretched mouth I'll paint in the form of the spirit figures—taniwha and marakihau—and her arms will reach out to something as untouchable as a receding dream. (Grace, 1998, pp. 293–294)

From *The Known World*:
> [P]eople were viewing an enormous wall hanging, a grand piece of art that is part tapestry, part painting, and part clay sculpture—all in one exquisite Creation, hanging silent and yet songful on the Eastern wall. It is ... a kind of map of life of the County of Manchester, Virginia. But a "map" is such a poor word for such a wondrous thing. It is a map of life made with every kind of art man has ever thought to represent himself .... There is nothing missing .... Not a single person missing .... So the slave cemetery is just plain ground now .... It is empty, even of the tiniest infants. (Jones, 2003, pp. 384–385)

From *In the Skin of a Lion*:
> His own life was no longer a single story but part of a mural, which was a falling together of accomplices. Patrick saw a wondrous night web—all of these fragments of a human order, something ungoverned by the family he was born into or the headlines of the day ... the detritus and chaos of the age was realigned. (Ondaatje, 1987, p. 145)

From *Anil's Ghost*:
> Then he drew from his satchel the colours for the eye. He looked past the vertical line of the cheek into the landscape. Pale greens, dark greens, bird movement and their nearby sounds. It was the figure of the world the statue would see forever, in rain and sunlight, a combustible world of weather even without the human element. The eyes ... would always look north. As would the great scarred face half a mile away, which he had helped knit together from damaged stone, a statue that was no longer a god, that no longer had its graceful line but only the sad glance Ananda had found. (Ondaatje, 2000, pp. 306–307)

Each book closes with carving, painting, weaving or the creation of new art forms. This imagery expresses unity without insisting on homogeneity. These artistic motifs suggest reclamation of that which is lost, reassertion of power, remembrance and expansiveness. Grace's poupou (carving) exemplifies the persistence of cultural tradition in the face of near-destruction; the re-embodiment of Baby No-Eyes via her brother's paintbrush evokes the re-establishment and renaissance of cultural traditions even after they have been lost. Jones's extraordinary multimedia panorama demands an

inclusiveness of plural viewpoints and multiple cultures that challenges prejudice at all levels (and manages to delete the notion of a slave cemetery and all it conveys). Ondaatje's reconstructed statue suggests that the reconstructed nation will never be what it once was, while his new statue offers a new vision.

The imagery used in each book is local and specific to the writer's tradition, and embodies the story in a symbolic way. I suggest that each writer challenges us to look at historical stories in new ways and to go beyond the limited expectations they have historically been defined by, and that they have a tenor of hope.

The novel I am writing takes as its starting point my own mixed heritage: in part because of my questions about how to negotiate the cultural differences that reside within this heritage. The novel will contain a slightly different, though equally complex set of circumstances. It will not be possible to tell this story in a straightforward, linear manner. Characters will collide and mingle, bringing their own cultural traditions, assumptions and prejudices with them.

New ways of thinking are required. Is it possible to weave our different ethnic origins together in a way that they remain distinct? How can I do justice to the suffering of one group without demonising another? How can I make a largely historical story relevant and real to a contemporary audience? Novels by Grace, Jones and Ondaatje offer various approaches; historiographic metafiction offers a form and method but, in the final analysis, the only way to answer these questions is to write the Story.

Glossary

kaupapa	plan, proposal
Pākehā	New Zealander/s of European descent
poupou	carving
tangata whenua	original inhabitants
tikanga	custom
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family, extended family

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Stepping Out of Our Paradigm: A Path for the Integration of Scientific and Traditional Ecological Knowledge in Natural Resource Management

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Abstract

The call for the integration of scientific and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) in natural resource and environment management (NREM) is now stronger than ever. Australian central and state governments have indicated that "knowledge integration" in NREM is a way to pursue social equity and enhance sustainability. Yet a clear path for integrating knowledge systems on the ground is still to be developed, which often hinders the dialogue between holders of different knowledge systems. In this paper we argue that the integration of knowledge systems in NREM should be pursued at the level of the knowledge production process and with the involvement of knowledge holders. We are aware that integrating TEK and scientific knowledge requires a change of social values. To achieve this change, we argue that both scientific and traditional ecological knowledge holders need to step out of their own paradigms and meet each other half way.

Introduction

The value of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) as a source of natural resource and environmental management (NREM) practices is widely acknowledged. Extensive evidence has shown the effectiveness of TEK in monitoring complex ecological processes (Chalmers & Fabricius, 2007), in adding knowledge to scientific knowledge systems (Johannes, Freeman & Hamilton, 2000; Moller, Berkes, Lyver & Kislalioglu, 2004) and in providing adaptive approaches to the management of complex social-ecological systems (Mazzocchi, 2006). In summary, TEK can enrich the Western approach to NREM, historically based on the domination of ecosystems, with an emphasis on steady states and predictable yields which often cause the loss of resilience of social-ecological systems (Berkes, Colding & Folke, 2000). In addition TEK can support many environmentally based livelihoods, which represent a potential source of income for indigenous communities, as observed in Australia (Altman, 2004).

The Australian National Government supports a policy of integrating indigenous and non-indigenous values and knowledge in NREM. Many strategic documents promote this integration: examples are the National Strategy for the Conservation of Australia's Biological Diversity and the National Water Initiative. At the local level, however, environmental managers need to engage with many local stakeholders, including indigenous people, to implement integration policies based on NREM plans that address the perspectives of indigenous Australians. Central governments, however, have not provided local NREM managers with a clear path for integrating indigenous and scientific knowledge in NREM (McDonald, Weston & Dorrington, 2003).

Elsewhere we have argued that the adoption of knowledge integration frameworks by local NREM agencies would provide such a path for integration (Gratani, Royee, Butler, Valentine, Burrows & Canendo, in press). In this paper we advocate that parties involved in the process should each "step out of their own paradigm" to facilitate knowledge integration.

Our Case Study

In 2009 we conducted a case study with the Malanbarra Yidinji community in the Wet Tropics of Queensland. These are the "people of the stony river bed" (Nungabana, 1996). The community has a traditional dependence on, and cultural knowledge of, the Wet Tropics rainforest and the resources of the Mulgrave River. As traditional owners, they are involved in the co-management of the World Heritage Area surrounding the river, but are not satisfied with their role. They perceive that decisions made by Queensland and Australian Government agencies responsible for NREM, based on Western scientific paradigms, are disconnected from their aspirations and do not respect their cultural values or TEK.

The case study with the Malanbarra Yidinji community aimed to help answer the question: "How can we combine indigenous and scientific knowledge in NREM?". Within this question, we focus mainly on how scientific validation of TEK could promote its application in NREM (Gratani et al., in press).

In developing our case study, we focused on an environmental problem present in the study area such as the invasion of a type of freshwater fish, the tilapia. Some Malanbarra Yidinji elders, with knowledge of poisonous plants that could affect tilapias, were available to test the plants on the fish in a scientific laboratory experiment. We developed a research plan to test the hypothesis that poisonous plants—prepared and applied according to TEK—were effective on tilapia, set within a co-research framework established for the region (Cullen, Butler, Hill & Margules, 2008). Western scientists involved in the research were sceptics because of their education—thus insistence on scientific evidence to support a hypothesis—and because they knew that the tilapia was a very tough fish. The experiment provided scientific evidence that plants applied in the traditional way—fresh and ground— affect tilapias. During the conduct of the case study we noticed that once the TEK-based notion that poisonous plants can affect tilapias was translated in quantitative scientific terms through the scientific experiment, it was more easily understood and accepted by Western scientists. The conclusion we drew from the case study is that the laboratory experiment (Gratani, Royee, Butler, Valentine & Burrows, in review) facilitated knowledge transfer from indigenous elders to the scientific community. While doing so, it also provided an insight into the knowledge transfer process that led to the development of a framework for collaborative validation of knowledge (Gratani et al., in press). We believe that the adoption of such framework would facilitate knowledge integration in NREM.

Our idea is that collaborative validation provides the opportunity, for all parties involved, to achieve the production of new/validated knowledge by addressing different steps involved in the production of knowledge. Such new/validated knowledge can then be applied in NREM.

Our case study confirmed that there is a limit to the integration of knowledge systems: only knowledge that is shared, understood, contextualised, valued and formally retained, persists in both indigenous and non-indigenous knowledge systems and, as such, can be considered "integrated knowledge". To maximise the production of integrated knowledge we need to act on each of these five steps of the integration process. We discussed elsewhere how to optimise the comprehension, contextualisation and evaluation of knowledge coming from a different domain (Gratani et al., in press). We hereby want to underline how, for the integration process to succeed, each party involved needs to step out of its paradigm (Figure 1) and be willing to experiment with a different collaborative knowledge production process (Mazzocchi, 2006).
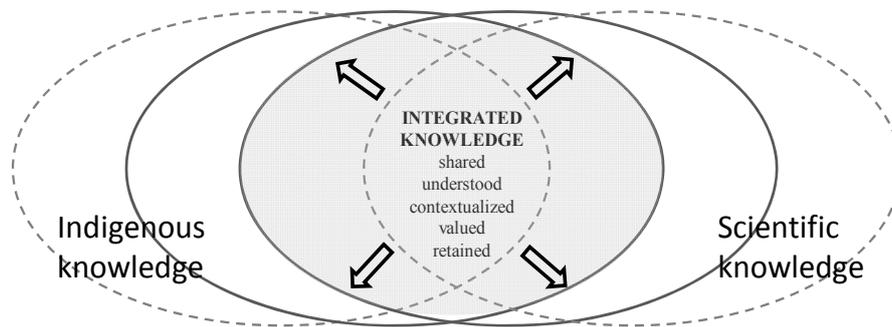
Fig.1. The diagram illustrated that when holders of scientific and traditional knowledge are firm on their initial positions the integrated knowledge produced is limited. To maximize it (arrows) the holders of the two knowledge systems need to step out of their own paradigm and meet half way.

Stepping Out of Our Paradigm: The Need to Value Each Other's Knowledge Systems

When knowledge has been shared and made intelligible to everyone, all parties involved need to contextualise it and value it. In the steps of contextualisation and valuation the information needs to be fitted into a framework of pre-existing knowledge and values in order to be accepted (Gratani et al., in press). If the information is in conflict with the pre-existing framework, it is rejected (Diemers, 1999) and the process of knowledge integration fails in its very first phase. The contextualisation of the information is the step of the integration process where the parties involved need to step out of their own knowledge paradigm to allow integration of knowledge to proceed. During the contextualisation, the parties involved need therefore to:

acknowledge that their own knowledge system is *only one* of the multiple existing visions of the world;
keep in mind the contribution that other civilisations make to the understanding of nature; and
widen their pre-existing framework of knowledge and values, to embrace the point of view of other cultures involved in the "production of integrated knowledge".

Stepping out of our own knowledge paradigm may imply that holders of scientific knowledge must let go of some of the strict rules we have set for ourselves to make evidence acceptable (Mackinson & Nottestad, 1998), that holders of TEK recognise that Western scientific knowledge systems has values worthy of sharing, and that both abandon arrogant attitudes towards their particular knowledge system (Moller et al., 2009). The process may be difficult and even painful, but if embraced, it can enable the innovative learning needed to achieve knowledge integration.

Glossary

tilapia   common name for many different species of high protein, freshwater fish in the Chichlidae family

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Traditional Knowledge and the Sami Struggle in Sweden

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Abstract
This paper deals with the concept of traditional knowledge in Sweden, with special attention to efforts to implement Sami traditional knowledge in environmental conservation management. For the Sami, officially the only indigenous people in Sweden, strengthening and defining their own traditional knowledge is vital and part of a general decolonising struggle. It is suggested that traditional knowledge is inevitably linked to broader identity processes and partly fills the need of the Sami community in Sweden to differentiate themselves, historically and culturally, from the majority of society. A case from the Ammarnäs region in the north of Sweden illustrates the central themes of the paper.

The Sami in Sweden: A Brief Background

Sápmi, the Sami homeland, stretches across Norway, Sweden, Finland and the northwest corner of Russia, the Kola Peninsula. However, the Sami community today is divided by national borders. The Sami population is estimated to be around 60,000 people, 20,000 of whom live within Sweden, although many argue the number is significantly higher.

Reindeer and reindeer herding is what many people associate with Sami culture and, by law, only Sami people are allowed to be reindeer herders in Sweden. While reindeer herding remains an important cultural marker for the Sami community as a whole, only about 10–15% of the Sami in Sweden are active herders. Most Sami today hold jobs within mainstream society across the country, although the population is still concentrated in the north. Inter-ethnic marriages are common and on the surface many Sami lead lives very similar to the "normal" Swede. Nevertheless, their heritage is important to many Sami, and Sami handicraft, language, storytelling, food and other specific cultural expressions are actively maintained.

There is no collective Sami ownership of land in Sweden. They hold a collective "users' right", which means they have the right to herd reindeer, and fish and hunt on their traditional lands. Legislation today allows only reindeer-herding families to practise this right, which means that most Sami have no more rights on these lands than the average citizen.

The Sami population shares many experiences with other indigenous peoples in the world, and has been one of the more politically active groups when it comes to developing the international indigenous movement. Nevertheless, many things distinguish the Sami from other indigenous groups. For instance, the actual colonisation process was very slow and gradual. Historical sources show that the Sami have always had contact with surrounding peoples through, for instance, trading. As the nation states grew stronger, the Sami were integrated bit by bit into the structure of the state and in many ways into the majority society. Today the Sami are part of the Swedish welfare state, with no evident difference between them and the rest of the population in, for example, income, education and health. Despite a long national, political mobilisation and, since the 1970s, a fruitful cultural revitalisation, the lengthy integration process has meant the cultural and historic distinctiveness of the Sami is somewhat underplayed; it is to a decisive degree not recognised by the Swedish state, nor is its authority adequately acknowledged in legislation.

Traditional Knowledge from a Public National Perspective

In the last decade or so the concept of traditional knowledge has increased in importance in Sweden, not least in the fields of environmental protection and biodiversity. This corresponds to an international trend. In general terms, traditional knowledge—preferably that of indigenous or local peoples—is thought to have values that in many ways counter those of conventional knowledge or science. Conventional or Western science is often seen as intrinsically capitalistic and detrimental to biological sustainability. Increasing the status of traditional knowledge might therefore work to defend a rapidly deteriorating environment. This insight has led to a push for the inclusion of more local influence on nature conservation management and especially for the possibility of indigenous peoples taking a larger part in the protection and management of their traditional lands. This, for instance, is proposed in the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). In paragraph 8j, the convention establishes that indigenous and local peoples have the right to be included in conservation management and that their traditional knowledge is to be influential in the protection of these areas (Nairobi Conference, 1992).

Sweden is one of many countries that have ratified the Convention on Biological Diversity. The government has launched an investigation into how the convention could be better implemented, with specific attention to how it could introduce traditional knowledge into environmental conservation and protection (Tunón, 2004). Also, a report (Utsi, 2007) dealing with how to preserve Sami traditional knowledge and how to lay the foundation for the sustainable Sami use of biological resources has been produced by the Swedish Biodiversity Centre and the Sami Parliament (which in Sweden is both a state agency and a publicly elected parliament).

On this public, national level, the objective behind the aspiration to better raise the status of traditional knowledge is very much linked to environmental concerns. The potential beneficial impact on biodiversity is what seems to be the number one reason for further introducing Sami traditional knowledge into different management schemes. However, the development has not come very far.

Traditional Knowledge from a Sami Perspective

In contrast to the "Swedish" interpretation of traditional knowledge, which is very much connected to perceptions of environmental use and management, the Sami perspective is, briefly put, more holistic. Many things the majority society would consider as lying outside their narrow understanding of the concept are brought up by Sami people when discussing traditional knowledge. Among these are the importance of a general cultural revival, the significance of the Sami language, family structure and child rearing, mythology, colonial memories and aspirations of decolonisation.

The concept has gained increasing importance in the Sami political world. The Sami Parliament in Sweden is involved in drawing frameworks around Sami traditional knowledge and producing reports and written information about Sami understanding of the concept. The Sami Parliament is also launching different projects to increase the awareness of Sami traditional knowledge and record old ways and old values.

In public Sami documents, the term árbediehtu, inherited knowledge, is preferred over traditional knowledge. Often traditional knowledge is found to be a problematic concept. It has strong connotations to history, something non-modern, and this is something many Sami oppose. They claim that Sami knowledge is just as modern as any other knowledge system and that it is unique on its own terms. The process of registering and defining customs and values that are distinctively Sami must be understood in a larger context, where there is a strong need for Sami to record and reinforce their own culture and history in relation to the majority societies. This is part of a political positioning and a repressed need to write their own history and decide their own future.

The preference to view indigenous peoples' knowledge systems—or tribal or local peoples' knowledge systems—as "traditional" reveals a dominant and colonial inclination. What knowledge system is not traditional, we might ask ourselves? What we think of as the Western knowledge system (or conventional science) is far from neutral, and is equally embedded in a long history and developed

within a specific cultural context. Moreover, the dichotomy between different knowledge systems, or between traditional and Western knowledge, is far from obvious or natural. Often they overlap and are intertwined (Agrawal, 1995). Rather than displaying different epistemologies, different knowledge systems articulate different peoples' understandings of their shared values and future aspirations. The discourse of traditional knowledge is therefore inevitably linked to identity processes and ethnic mobilisations.

The Ammarnäs Mountain Area and Small Game Hunting—Traditional Knowledge Implemented

In spite of interest from the Swedish Government to increase the importance and implementation of Sami traditional knowledge in environmental conservation management, not much has resulted. However, in the Ammarnäs region in the north of Sweden, cooperation—or a co-management scheme—between local and regional authorities and local reindeer herders has developed. It is not a large-scale operation. The cooperation concerns granting permission for small game hunting in the area and other practicalities involved in administering this. It is mainly the white grouse that is sought after by hunters in the area.

In Sweden, small game hunting in the mountain region (of which most is Crown land) is open to everybody, and many Swedes and other European hunters come to the area each year. Regional county administration offices and the reindeer-herding communities that use the lands for herding are responsible for issuing seasonal hunting licences. Hunters can apply for permits from either organisation. In spite of this, herders seldom have a say in managing the hunt or hunters. In the Ammarnäs area, however, they do. Here, after one catastrophic autumn about 10 years ago, when hunters from outside the region shot almost every grouse in the area, the local herders, the regional county administration and the local community (including non-Sami) decided that something had to be done so that this would not be repeated.

Together they developed a local organisation to control and manage the small game hunting. Today a strong administration regulates hunting here, and local hunters have priority over outside hunters. Only a small number of hunters are allowed, there are strict limits on how many grouse can be shot and each hunter has to prove they have shot no more than the allowed limit. Often a local guide will help hunting parties find the right spots and inform them about the area.

Local Sami reindeer herders play a vital role in administering these regulations. Here, in contrast to other parts of the Swedish mountain area, they decide where hunters might or might not go in order not to disturb herding activities. Herders can call off a hunt in a particular area on very short notice. Herding is virtually impossible to plan in advance. Depending on such things as the weather, the gathering of reindeer or the migratory routes when moving the reindeer might be decided on or changed at very short notice.

In other areas, regional county administration offices try to take the reindeer herders' perspective and work schedule into account. In the Ammarnäs area, however, herders are directly involved in and have control over the small game hunting. The traditional knowledge of the reindeer herders has a practical role in the management of the area, even if just in reference to small game hunting. Further, most of the time there is open and constructive communication between the herders involved and the authorities.

Non-Sami locals and the Sami herders recognise that they (largely) share a common vision for the area and a common understanding of what enterprises might be conducted there. They also recognise they share a common knowledge (traditional or local) about hunting; they all know the wildlife in the area and understand how the fragile environment should be maintained. To a large extent they use the same resources, and most of the time without competition. Herders hunt and herd their reindeer; other locals use it for recreation and hunting. There is also specific knowledge directly linked to reindeer herding. This includes knowing which areas to use for herding on different occasions, when it is most optimal to have a gathering, what migratory route to use on a specific

occasion, and so on. A vital cognitive sphere is represented here. Old Sami burial grounds, sacred sites, mythological landmarks and historic events and memories are also part of the landscape and part of the local Sami reindeer herders' understanding of and relationship with the area.

To be able to influence where and when hunters move and use the lands means that herders can control the management of the area, at least to a certain degree, based on their knowledge of the landscape and what is optimal for herding activities. Their traditional knowledge has been integrated into the management of small game hunting, and allowed to be influential in a way we do not see in other parts of Sweden.

Interestingly, in the discussions leading up to the organisation now in use in the Ammarnäs region, the reindeer herders never actually requested that Sami traditional knowledge be included in management of the area. The outcome, however, has meant that local Sami herders' traditional knowledge has been given a large practical role.

Traditional Knowledge and the Articulation of "Difference"

In the Ammarnäs case, some of the objectives concerning traditional knowledge that both the Sami political establishment and the Swedish Government have shown an interest in implementing on a broader scale have been realised. However, the local Sami reindeer herders never tapped into the more political Sami traditional knowledge rhetoric. To them, the most important reason for going into the co-management scheme was to improve the situation and to strengthen control of small game hunting in the area. Only afterwards, when cooperation had already been successfully employed for a while, did others (such as politicians and academics) remark that what they were engaged in was a co-management operation where traditional knowledge was allowed to influence actual management of the area. This is a development that many want to see implemented more but which seems difficult to realise in practice.

One can but speculate on the outcome had the local Sami in Ammarnäs openly declared that they entered the cooperative scheme on the grounds that they should have more control in managing the area because of their right as an indigenous people and holders of a specific traditional knowledge. I will leave this question unanswered here. There are many ways of interpreting the situation, but the fact remains that in this particular case the more ethno-political aspects of an emphasised Sami inclusion in conservation management was left aside. It was not of immediate importance, and local reindeer herders saw no need to position themselves as Sami in relation to the surrounding Swedish society and no need to accentuate their cultural uniqueness. The major concern for all parties involved was to achieve a situation where small game hunting was conducted in a way that did not exhaust the resources of the area or threaten its environmental sustainability.

Nevertheless, in many other cases, emphasising the significance of Sami traditional knowledge is part of a general wish to accentuate their "difference" in relation to the majority society and population. Sami culture and history have not been given sufficient attention on a national scale, and there are very few laws and regulations that give special rights to the Sami population. As a result— for an indigenous population that is officially recognised—there is remarkably little acknowledgement of the Sami community in public debate and in the minds of the general public. The widespread opinion is that the Sami population should not have any special rights, because "they are just like the rest of us". Displaying and accentuating cultural and historical difference is therefore often vital in Sami political mobilisation work on all levels. The question is how "different" Sami traditional knowledge or culture must appear in relation to the Swedish in order to be considered valid to claim specific rights.

In another interesting case in Sweden, namely Sami involvement in the Laponian World Heritage Site north of the Ammarnäs region, this has been more of an issue. Here, the Sami successfully accentuated their cultural and historical difference in relation to the majority society and the authorities in order to gain a stronger position in negotiations over how to organise the management of the World Heritage Site (Green, 2009). Accentuating difference can, however, be a

tricky road to embark upon. It can render a good negotiating position and help a group to be seen as equal to other parties, but there is also an inherent risk of being seen as the "Other".

One might sarcastically ask if, from the majority Swedish point of view, the Sami people in Sweden are entitled to more self-governance because of their relative distinction from Swedish society, or if they are entitled to more control based on international law that gives them status as an indigenous people, regardless of how, when or why they display their relative difference from the majority society. The traditional knowledge discourse is undoubtedly linked to this discussion. How different must Sami traditional knowledge be in order to be increasingly implemented in Sweden today?

Ways Forward

The different interpretations of how the Sami community and the Swedish Government see traditional knowledge also create a problem. The Government's tendency to see traditional knowledge as potentially good only for environmental development does not seem to be coherent with the Sami interpretation of the concept, which entails broader social and cultural understandings. To the Sami community there is also an ethno-political aspect related to the idea of increasing the status of traditional knowledge. Latent in the concept is the possibility of reaching a higher degree of self-governance and embarking on a development where the normative and hegemonic structure of the Swedish environmental policy (and administrative structure at large) might change and start to decolonise. This is one reason why the Sami political establishment gives so much attention to preserving, strengthening and defining Sami traditional knowledge.

The Swedish Government and state agencies must realise that if Sami traditional knowledge is to be further implemented—and there are signs of such aspirations—there are political implications connected to a wider ethno-political struggle for the Sami. It will mean more control and power for the Sami community as a whole, and there must be a will to distribute power differently. An understanding must be built up that acknowledges that certain structures will have to change and start to be decolonised, and that the norms and hegemonies of the state and the authorities will alter. The state must further move into a situation where it is willing to change legislation, mandates and regulations. This could increase the knowledge of the Sami, and the situation for the reindeer-herding community especially. As it is now, often a lack of knowledge obstructs communication between the Sami community and the authorities. Individual officials need to be educated and made aware of the complexity of the issues discussed in this paper. This could lead to a change in attitude, awareness and respect. This last point has been important in the Ammarnäs area where most Sami herders involved claim they have good relationships with local and regional county administration officials. Moreover, the co-management in Ammarnäs, even if it is a small-scale operation, is a positive example of how Sami traditional knowledge can be given more influence, and how positive effects can be the result.

Glossary

Sami	indigenous people in Sweden
árbediehtu	inherited knowledge

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Tōku Tūrangawaewae: Culture, Identity, and Belonging for Māori Homeless People

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Abstract

To be Māori is to have a tūrangawaewae (a place of strength and belonging, a place to stand). If so, is it conceivable that Māori are homeless in our own homeland? This presentation focuses on the experiences of two Māori homeless people who took part in a 3-year research project conducted in partnership with not-for-profit service agencies. Previous research into street homelessness has all but ignored indigenous histories, circumstances and worldviews. The situation in which indigenous people find themselves requires us to rethink how we understand homelessness and the development of culturally based roles and identities on the street and beyond.

Tōku Tūrangawaewae: Culture, Identity, and Belonging for Māori Homeless People

Homelessness has been a feature of urban life in New Zealand for over a century. It is often portrayed through images of elderly men drinking in parks, bag ladies going through rubbish bins, street kids committing crimes and panhandlers harassing passers-by for money (Cooper, 2001; Winter & Barnes, 1998). Such public images are partial and tell us little of Māori cultural practices among street homeless people. Despite the consistent presence of homeless people, there is no nationwide official census of street homeless people. We simply do not know definitively how many homeless people there are in this country, or their demographic profiles. As a result, service providers in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch have developed local street census counts. For example, in 2008 the Auckland Rough Sleepers Initiative (ARSI) carried out its fourth street count to date (Ellis & McLuckie, 2008). The purpose of the count was to provide a snapshot of street homeless people within a 3km radius of Auckland's Sky Tower. Results suggest that at least 91 street homeless people were in the area. Almost half of this group were Māori (approximately 43 people), the majority were males (approximately 74), and the largest proportion in terms of age were in their 40s (approximately 29). These findings are supported by other studies, suggesting that Māori are over-represented in the street homeless population in Auckland relative to their proportion in the general population (Gravitas Research & Strategy Ltd, 2005). Likewise, indigenous people are disproportionately represented in the homelessness populations in Australia, Canada and the United States (Hanselmann, 2001; Waldram, Herring & Kue Young, 2006). Because of this, it is important to consider *why* Māori are represented within the homeless population.

As for other groups, pathways for Māori into homelessness are various but often stem from vulnerability to poverty and socio-economic exclusion, intensified by a combination of traumatic life events such as family deaths, abuse, relationship breakdowns, mental illness, addictions and job loss (Morrell-Bellai, Goering & Boydell, 2000; Toohey, Shinn & Weitzman, 2004). As with many social issues, those from economically, ethnically and socially marginalised backgrounds are over-represented among street homeless people (Bang, 1998; McIntosh, 2005; Tois, 2005). Kearns and Smith (1994) noted that many urban Māori live in impoverished and overcrowded conditions. Further, continued processes of colonisation and cultural, social and economic subordination (Enriquez, 1995) mean that indigenous peoples continue to die on average 7 years younger than members of settler populations, and are more likely to experience poverty and homelessness (Hanselmann, 2001; Waldram et al., 2006). Māori experiencing homelessness face barriers to accessing basic physical necessities, such as a warm dwelling and adequate food. They often experience hardship in terms of

psychological resources for good health, including supportive networks, respite from stress and a sense of belonging, self-esteem, hope and care. Once homeless, personal vulnerability issues such as mental insecurity intensify the situation so that these people can become stranded (Hodgetts, Stolte, Chamberlain, Radley, Groot & Nikora, 2009; Hodgetts, Stolte, Chamberlain, Radley, Nikora, Nabalarua & Groot, 2008).

While homelessness remains a pressing societal and health concern in New Zealand (Kearns, 1995; O'Brien & de Hann, 2002; Peace & Kell, 2001), which affects Māori disproportionately, little has been written about this group that emerges from economic and social deprivation and encompasses substance mis-users, mental health clients and long-term recipients of welfare (the permanent poor). Previous research into homelessness, even when dealing with issues faced by minority peoples (Prince, 2008) and indigenous groups (Memmott, Long, Chambers & Spring, 2003), rarely employs cultural concepts germane to these distinct groups as interpreted by their lived realities. In this paper we draw on Māori cultural concepts to explore two case studies of Māori homeless people and the ways in which they work to make a place for themselves on the streets of Hamilton (Phil) and Auckland (Ariā). Pseudonyms are used for both, and images in photographs have been obscured to uphold ethical obligations. The case studies are based on an initial biographical interview, a photo-elicitation project where each participant used a camera to capture their everyday life, and a follow-up interview where participants described the photographs they had taken and the significance of the people, places, objects and situations depicted. Both participants are over 40 and came to street life in their early teens, either to escape abuse or after being removed from their family by the authorities. Our analysis is orientated around understanding how specific places, objects, concepts and practices constitute Ariā and Phil as Māori people living on the streets of Auckland and Hamilton. Of particular note is how participants conduct their lives on the streets and the importance they both place on notions of home, heritage and belonging in making sense of their own situations. The analysis also highlights the legacy of abuse towards Māori children that can continue into adulthood, although this material should not be taken to imply that all Māori families embody abuse.

The Case of Phil

Figure 1. Phil: Self portrait.

Phil has been homeless since he was 14 years old. He is now in his early 40s. During the initial interview he uses a history of his iwi (tribe) in the form of a book to introduce himself in a culturally patterned manner. Phil leafs through the book and literally talks to, and of, the people in the pages. As part of the process he recounts walks he used to take with whānau (family, extended family) along an old forestry railroad track, and describes what he sees and points to photographs in the book. In the process he takes us back in time and along for the walk.

> Phil: This book is me, that's who we are … That's my great grandmother and that's my marae [a group's meeting grounds] … that's my dad's side … This was all bush up through our valley … See, go across this little bridge and then go way up the bush. This is who we are and

these are our chiefs … These are our saw mills and that's our river right there … And when we used to go hunting we used to come across the old forestry rail tracks … It's clear like a walking track. No bush or nothing ey. And we just left it like that eh, for our walks through the bush …
Interviewer: Is that by the river?
Phil: Yeah down there, and you can take it down to where the river connects. [Points to another photograph of family] And these are all my whānau on the picnic table by the marae. [He reads the caption]. Public picnic 1911. That's our old school, the original primary.
Interviewer: Gee, it just looks like a deserted farm shed, eh.
Phil: Yeah, and the school now is over here. And there's our route and I used to go up there and I could see for miles. Could see the road and hey bro here comes the cops [laughs]. Everybody gone hey before they turn up [laughter]. And it only took like half an hour before the car actually got to where we are, see on that hill?

Phil makes the walk an occasion of remembering who he is, and to communicate his sense of belonging and place to the researchers. He takes us on a tour of his childhood area, pointing out where his grandfather lived and where the school was located. A tūrangawaewae is something that is engaged, nurtured and sustained through whanaungatanga (relatedness, the establishing of relationships) and ahi kā (keeping the home-fires burning)—connections that are lived in the present. Without these two latter ideas, the notion of tūrangawaewae in relation to Phil's childhood home collapses. Phil is vicariously navigating his childhood kāinga (home), his memories and feelings. This places the idea firmly in the past when he was well connected in lived spaces and environments. He tells his story through the eyes of a "child", which suggests his home fires haven't been fanned for some time. His tour is a means of exploring the place and relationships he hopes to return to in a future where he is no longer homeless. Phil uses the book as a visual map (de Certeau, 1984), to lay out a representation of his past and a potential future back home. Through movement, the narratives of "self" and "home" are constructed. This is seldom a straightforward matter of undisturbed movement and memories, as narratives provide a bridge between the old and new life-worlds (Kuah-Pearce & Davidson, 2008). Images may also be used to invoke the presence of other people and physically distant places in a way that exceeds the materiality of the actual object. References to the police are also important as Phil was removed from his whānau by social services and taken into a youth detention centre. He ran away several times to return home but kept being removed by the police. In the end he ran away to the streets. This action causes tension in Phil's account, as he regrets not asking his whānau for cultural tutelage, but yet he never had access because he was taken away from his whānau. This is a common story among Māori men of his age.

Using the book, Phil becomes immersed in a metaphysically charged world, with objects, places and spaces the mauri (life force) of which only he can see. The images evoke memories, emotions and reflections of his iwi that are extended into consideration of his current circumstance and how his life could be changed. The library answers his yearning to learn more about his culture and history. He says:

I can't face them down there until I do all this stuff first …. Young people should be on the marae learning. You know, I should have done this stuff a long time ago … I go to the library and I read, you know, about different religions or whatever. Something to do during the day time, read about different nationalities and how they go through life. And how I'm living and how are they living. And in some countries it's pretty hard. We've got it pretty easy here. I can't believe why we have to be homeless when there's places for us to go to. And that's what I said, ask your family first and ask them where you're from and what's your heritage, where you're from, who you are, what's the meaning of your whare [ancestral house], your marae, how does that connect to your tribe. I do that research.

Phil's "walk" is similar to a physical walk but more flexible in terms of transcending the issues of time and place. For Phil, the images in the book offer ontological proof of his being and dimensionality to his life, because it contains a record of how he came into being and documents his existence and place in the world. The book is more than a simple extension or manifestation of his

cultural identity as a Māori man; it is a vehicle for constructing himself within a web of relationships, experiences and places that span time and space. It provides a form of connective tissue, linking him to others and invoking a sense of belonging and home at a distance from his present life. Here there is an issue relating to the material basis of cultural practices among Māori homeless people. Objects, such as Phil's book, are woven into a network of relationships, histories and cultural practices that determine their placement in communal life (De Vidas, 2008). The book, for example, provides a focal point for the practice of Māori culture in which Phil can position himself. Cultural relationships and roles are crystallised around such objects.

In Phil's account we see the role of forgetting in the process of making a home away from one's ancestral homeland and the way in which this experience contributes to a multiplicity of "home" (Kuah-Pearce & Davidson, 2008). Phil has had to invoke aspects of forgetting to contend with the profound sense of whakamā (shame, embarrassment) he feels at being separated from his family and childhood kāinga home. Being whakamā is summed up by the whakatauākī (saying), "waiho mā te whakamā e patu" (leave them for shame to punish) (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 418). Phil can use the book to transport us back to his childhood and family and remember once again what has been taken from him, without exposing and laying raw his feelings of whakamā. The book protects him from us and from himself. Through the book, he takes us back and forward in time. In talking and showing us these images Phil is literally walking us through where he's from, who he is and the places and landmarks that are important to him. Here we have a homeless man walking home with a researcher. In this example we see how home is spatially expressed and emotionally realised for a Māori man experiencing home(less)ness.

The Case of Ariā

Figure 2. Ariā (left) and her grand-niece.

Ariā is a homeless woman who presents herself as a guardian of cultural knowledge regarding health and spiritual care. With reference to her interactions with other Māori homeless people, Ariā constructs herself as having an age-related cultural role to guide others as an elder and affirm relational bonds between people by emphasising the values of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga (kindness, support) (Ritchie, 1992). At the time of this research Ariā was 53 years old and had recently returned to the streets of Auckland. Throughout her life Ariā has been socialised by wāhine toa (strong women), who acted as cultural mentors. She reflects on a childhood immersed in the teachings of her grandmother, in tikanga Māori (Māori customary practices), particularly around rongoā Māori (Māori medicines and healing). Despite her grandmother's efforts to provide a safe environment, several children, including Ariā, turned to street life as a means of escaping abuse at the hands of other family members. Ariā took to the streets of Wellington at age 12. By the age of 17 she had made the streets of Auckland her home. On the streets Ariā was cared for by drag queens in Wellington and an older Māori homeless woman named Mā in Auckland. This support led to Ariā training as a nurse aide and working in the rural Far North with geographically isolated, elderly Māori. She returned to the streets of Auckland in late 2007. Her partner had died and her own whānau had asked her to help a niece, grandniece and three cousins living on the streets.

Figure 3: A couple for whom Ariā provides spiritual guidance.

Ariā photographed a young couple (Figure 3) and talked to us about her responsibilities to them:

These two are trying very hard to get themselves together … Because his wahine [woman] is a schizophrenic and so she is having problems coping … Because they believe a lot in our Māori way of life … they think that something's been put on her. Because a couple of nights back she freaked out … They came to me at breakfast the next morning and asked me to bless the taonga [treasured object] she's wearing …. It's been gifted to her by her sister's father-in-law. She was brought up by him. And I blessed it, and then today … she came and kissed me and said, "I feel wonderful."

All cultures have their seers and shamans (Ingold, 1994). The young woman in the picture has been diagnosed with schizophrenia, a diagnosis that often misconstrues the emphasis and value Māori place on spiritual connectedness and communication with ancestors. In the Māori world, seers (matakite) are held in awe for their capacity to connect the everyday and ordinary with the sacred or other worldly. Objects like the taonga mentioned by Ariā, which are designed to be circulated among the living, absorb some of the previous wearers' spiritual status (mana) and or the accumulated mana of succeeding generations (Te Awekotuku, 1990). In the hands of a young woman sensitive to spiritual reverberations, objects like taonga can invite unwanted risks (tapu). Ariā works to remove the tapu (restriction) to return the taonga to a protective state of safety (noa). The fact that the "streeties" have someone to seek cultural wisdom, advice and guidance from is crucial in understanding Ariā's life on the streets.

Ariā invokes familial links central to her identity, which span both domiciled existence back in her iwi homeland and the streets of Auckland. She positions herself as a conduit spanning this divide and keeping family ties alive. References to her niece and grandniece illustrate how Ariā works to maintain connections between her whānau in her iwi homeland and her kin in Auckland. Ariā's grandniece provides a physical attachment to the ancestral land and relationships from which they both come as descendants. Links between places, such as ancestral land and where people enact their familial ties and obligations, are central to a Māori world view and where whanaungatanga "embraces whakapapa [genealogy] and focuses upon relationships" (Mead, 2003a, p. 28). Throughout her account, Ariā draws on this fundamental value by invoking a tradition of women working to keep family members connected through supporting and caring for others. This is particularly evident in how she talks about her grandmother visiting whānau on the streets:

I told my grandmother, "This [the streets of Auckland] is where they run to. They [Ariā's family on the streets] think they're alright here …." Because she was being very judgmental. When she got to see them all, she got a fright. I said "see, they're all here." I said "I'm at home [on the Auckland streets], it's our whenua [land], I'm tangata whenua [person of the land, indigenous],

and I'm still here". And then she understood … I can talk to them about their family back there [ancestral land] because they miss them and like hearing about them. And because I've been back there they want to go back now. But it's taking time, just talking to them, just like you and I are, and just letting them listen …

For indigenous peoples, spiritual homelessness can occur when one is separated from one's ancestral land, family and kinship networks (Memmott et al., 2003). Ariā's account evokes tensions between whānau members having fled their ancestral home because it was not safe and yet wanting to return. Ariā and others in her family who are living on the streets of Auckland may be dislocated from their ancestral homelands. However, they can still centre themselves around family-based relationships enacted in a new place, Auckland. In the process they can maintain a sense of cultural identity and mitigate feelings of mokemoke (loneliness). The presence of Ariā's grandmother represents a strong physical embodiment of the connection between those living on the streets of Auckland and members of their family who live on their ancestral homeland. This gives continuity across places despite the dislocation they experience as homeless people. Ariā transcends the distance between the border of "here" (Auckland, her current place) and "there" (her ancestral land and history). Her whānau living on the street and those back in her iwi homeland allow her to maintain a position of ahi kā (keep the home-fires burning). She cements her position within the street community through an extensive knowledge of the ways in which she can whakapapa to the street. The street becomes a place of strength and responsibility, a place where she can stand with confidence—her tūrangawaewae.

Discussion

We have explored the negotiation of a sense of self and place by two Māori people engaged in street life outside their tūrangawaewae. Durie and colleagues (1996) highlight a number of important conventional markers of Māori identity—self-identification, ancestry, marae participation, involvement with extended family, access to ancestral land, contacts with Māori people and ability in the Māori language. Nikora (2007) argues that a conservative interpretation and application of these identity markers is problematic as they are unable to account for the dynamism of human behaviour. Finding confidence in one's identity based on the strength of how many items can be ticked off on a scale continues to be problematic for many Māori. Those who are not connected in such a way are instead often defined by what they are seen as lacking. It is important to realise the diversity of Māori identity as much as it is to recognise diversity within the homeless population, otherwise we risk dehumanising both groups by reducing their lives to the problems they face without recourse to their own understandings and strengths. One can have multiple homes, or multiple tūrangawaewae, but one has to engage them and be seen to be engaging them. The difference between Phil and Ariā appears to be, in part at least, the level of connection or disconnection from whānau. Phil is more disconnected and has not had the same level of cultural mentoring as Ariā. He holds tightly to his core identity as Māori, but in many respects appears lost. He is looking back for connections to his ancestral home and re-imagining his role there, whereas Ariā is enacting and fostering links between whānau back home and those on the streets of Auckland.

Phil and Ariā have varying degrees of exposure to tribal history and customs within a range of contexts and participatory experiences, which has helped shape and define their reality. This occurs despite being physically dislocated from tribal roots by time, space and distance. Both illustrate the complexities of home and identity among homeless Māori that we are only beginning to explore. Cases such Phil's and Ariā's raise more issues and questions for us than answers. Rather than pretend to have the answers and close off the discussion we would like to raise a number of questions for us all to reflect on.

Do we need to revise our understanding of the enactment of key Māori cultural concepts as applied to the lives of people such as Phil and Ariā?
How might interventions be developed to better meet the needs and to build on the interests and wishes of these participants?
How are iwi responding to homelessness in both the physical and spiritual sense?
What are Māori academics and researchers doing to better understand Māori homelessness?

Glossary

ahi kā	keeping the home-fires burning
iwi	tribe
kāinga	home
mana	spiritual status
manaakitanga	kindness, support
marae	a group's meeting grounds
matakite	seers
mauri	life force
mokemoke	loneliness
noa	protective state of safety
rongoā Māori	Māori medicines and healing
tapu	unwanted risks, restriction
tikanga	customary practices
tikanga Māori	Māori customary practices
taonga	treasured possession
tangata whenua	person of the land, indigenous
tūrangawaewae	a place of strength and belonging, a place to stand
wahine	woman
wāhine toa	strong women
whakamā	shame, embarrassment
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatauākī	saying
whānau	family, extended family
whanaungatanga	relatedness, the establishing of relationships
whare	ancestral house
whenua	land

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Career Enactment as a Quest for Transformation: Perspectives of Māori Leaders in the Screen Industry

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Abstract

The New Zealand screen industry has experienced exponential growth over the last two decades and is now a significant sector in the global creative economy. Within this sector, the determined pursuit of indigenous peoples to gain the right to tell their stories in their own voices has been a major catalyst in the emergence and development of a distinct indigenous film and screen industry. Both the quest and the stories are interwoven in histories of colonisation, the struggle for political rights, social and economic justice, and visual sovereignty. The efforts have led to gaining access to the multiple platforms, creative mediums and leading edge technologies considered hallmarks of the screen industry.

The purpose of this paper is to offer findings and preliminary analysis of careers in the screen industry based on recent interviews with senior Māori institutional experts, all of whom have a background as industry practitioners. Our findings indicate that the pursuit and advancement of collective Māori aspirations played a key role in shaping individual career trajectories.

Keywords
careers, leadership, identity, transformation, film industry, screen industry

Introduction
This paper is based on research undertaken in a project entitled Glamour and Grind: New Creative Workers. The emergence of the term "creative industries" has produced the concept of the new creative worker. Research to date on new creative workers shows a tension between what is considered as the glamour of creativity, passion and potential for fame, and the grind of low pay, precarious work, long hours and tough conditions.

The project itself is organised around a key question: How are new creative careers constructed? Taking the New Zealand film industry and screen production as a case study, additional questions include: How do film and screen production careers develop over time? How are glamour and grind factors perceived and managed by film and screen production workers? What are the institutional forces that shape film and screen production careers? How do diversity issues including gender, age and ethnicity shape film and screen production careers? What are key issues for Māori film workers? How do Māori perspectives contribute to career theory and career research methodologies? How do our research findings contribute to critical career theory?

The study is a qualitative, longitudinal project designed in three phases (2008–11). This paper reports on the first phase, which included interviewing institutional experts in the screen industry. Following, we offer a brief overview of the New Zealand screen industry before presenting an historical and situational Māori screen industry-specific context.

New Zealand Screen Industry
According to Statistics New Zealand (2009, p. 2), "Screen industry refers to all businesses involved in the following sectors: screen production and postproduction, distribution, exhibition and broadcasting." The report provides highlights for the 2008 financial year, such as:

The New Zealand screen industry recorded total gross revenue of $2,743 million, an 11% increase from the previous year.
Funding received by screen production companies increased 59%, to $644 million.
The United States' contribution to the New Zealand screen production sector increased 99%, to $481 million.

In addition to quantitative data, a recent report by New Zealand Trade and Enterprise identified several key strengths in the screen production industry in New Zealand. Highlights included New Zealand's Oscar-winning directors, actors, scriptwriters, special-effects artists, digital animators and costume designers, as well as its professional crews, cutting-edge special effects and digital animation houses, a stunning range of scenery, proficiency at managing major screen productions such as the *Lord of The Rings* trilogy, world-class infrastructure, and regional, national and community support for projects.

Regional activity in the industry is dominated by Auckland, followed by Wellington, Otago and Canterbury. This is particularly relevant for Māori screen production as, according to the 2006 census, 24.3% of all Māori (more than 135,000) lived in the Auckland region. The following section will focus in more detail on the Māori screen production sector.

Māori Screen Industry

In this section of the paper, we offer a brief synopsis of the Māori screen industry. A more comprehensive paper, which will provide specificity and detail, is currently being developed.

Māoriland (1928) and *Rewi's Last Stand* (1936), both directed by Rudall Hayward, are considered some of the earliest works in New Zealand's film-making history. One of the consequences of Hayward's film-making was his marriage to actress Ramai Miha, who became the first Māori film-maker. In the 1960s, actor and opera singer Don Selwyn and Selwyn Muru were amongst the emerging Māori screen industry stars. In the 1970s and for the next five decades, Barry Barclay and Merata Mita were considered major contributors to the Māori and indigenous film and screen industry. Alongside professional developments, political protests in the 1970s and Dr Richard Benton's research (1973–79) provided important impetus to developments in Māori education and language policy, which were to have an impact on the screen industry. Landmark events in the 1980s included the success of the Te Reo Māori (Māori language) claim (Wai 011), led by Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru, Dame Georgina Kirby, Sir Graham Latimer, Tū Williams and Piripi Walker. The Māori Language Act and the establishment of the Māori Language Commission in 1987 were also significant.

In a report commissioned by Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development), Walker (1992) noted leaders in Māori media, including Merata Mita, Whai Ngata, Derek Fox and Rhonda Kite amongst others, all of whom are recognised locally and internationally for their talents. In 1994 the Broadcasting Amendment Act established Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi-Te Māngai Pāho (Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency), and developments moved forward with the establishment of the Aotearoa Māori Television network in 1996, albeit for a brief period. In 1998 the government established a Māori Television Trust and working party to create a business case. In 2000, Cabinet then agreed to the establishment of a Māori television channel and transferred responsibility for Māori broadcasting policy and advice from the Ministry of Commerce to Te Puni Kōkiri. The Minister of Māori Affairs then invited a group of Māori broadcasting experts to make recommendations on Māori, and in 2002, Māori Television became a reality. Māori Television was successfully launched in March 2004.

With increased investment in Māori screen production from Crown funding agencies such as Te Māngai Pāho (Māori Broadcasting Funding Agency), New Zealand On Air (the television funding authority), the New Zealand Film Commission, and a range of guilds and organisations such as Ngā Aho Whakaari, the industry has begun to show signs of sustained growth. In professional, educational and political developments, Barry Barclay, Don Selwyn, Merata Mita and Wi Kuki Kaa are recognised

as inspirations for emerging generations of Māori film-makers and professionals in the Māori screen industry. Cliff Curtis and Ainsley Gardiner, Nicole Hoey, Claudette Hauiti and Taika Waititi amongst others provide leadership and inspiration.

Whilst brief, these overviews of the New Zealand and Māori screen industry provide context for our discussion. We now consider the theoretical matrix we applied in our data analysis.

Theoretical Matrix

In terms of career theory, we considered the work of Arthur, Inkson and Pringle (1999) to be of interest. They conceptualise the notion of the "boundaryless career", about which they write: "One platform for exploring the consequences of increased employment mobility, and providing a counterpoint to traditional career theory, involves a focus on boundaryless careers" (p. 11). This perspective is based on the straightforward observation that nearly all careers cross multiple employer boundaries. The shift from understanding careers as linear trajectories has derived from a number of issues, including the pressures of globalisation, more flexible organisational systems, ongoing restructuring and changing technological environments, to name a few. These changes have required new ways of understanding careers in terms of theory and of career development (Arthur, Inkson & Pringle, 1999, p. 12).

Along with the notion of the boundaryless career, we considered the "enactment" perspective. According to Arthur et al., workers use their accumulated resources to enact their careers upon the surrounding environment. As individuals enact their careers, they enact the environment itself. The enactment perspective stands in contrast to traditional career theories.

In addition, we found wider intellectual discourse relating to changing perceptions of careers to be of interest, in particular the transition from a focus on objective to subjective careers. As stated by Walton and Mallon (2004, pp. 76–77), "The divide between the two has been given renewed attention with a growing belief that the objective career as we knew it, as a path up hierarchies, has disappeared in the face of organisational change." Further to this, they argue that "in the absence of such external markers, the objective career dissolves and in its place the subjective career becomes externalised and treated as a framework for career growth."

We see from this literature a new emphasis on the "subjective career" as a framework rather than a pathway, one that is "boundaryless", in which individuals may "enact" their careers and their surrounding environments. We suggest this literature lays a foundation for analysing the career experiences of Māori working in screen production.

Finally, in tightening the theoretical strands of this work, we draw on identity theory. In particular, we found resonance in Houkamau's study of identity transformation and Māori (Houkamau, 2007). Houkamau provides insight into and analysis of a wide body of identity theory then applies it to our understanding of Māori identity. She argues the need to explore Māori history and the attitudes that prevail among both Pākehā and Māori, to better understand Māori identity at any given point. Her research highlights the psychological and socio-cultural sources of "identity" and "self" as they relate to Māori identity. Her work differentiates between those facets of identity that are socially and individually constructed. She focuses on the role of positive ethnic identity as a means of affirming social worth, and the impact that knowledge of cultural identity has on well-being, self-esteem and self-efficacy. In the following analysis, in particular the latter part, we draw on this to develop a deeper understanding of the role identity plays in the career paths of Māori industry leaders.

The theoretical strands outlined above are interwoven into the following discussion, which combines an explanation of methodology, methods, a presentation of findings, and some preliminary analysis.

Methodology

Kaupapa Māori (Māori-centred) research emerged against a backdrop of socio-political battles for sovereign rights (Durie, 1998; Walker, 1991; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). Spearheaded by Māori academics, kaupapa Māori research includes a critique of "a traditional Eurocentric epistemology" that "claims universal applicability across disciplines, cultures and historical periods" (Seuffert, 1997, p. 98). In the intellectual arena, a Eurocentric epistemology is viewed as a form of colonial imposition (Seuffert, 1997).

In countering epistemological imperialism, the decolonisation of methodologies has become an important feature of kaupapa Māori research (Smith, 1999). Principles that underpin kaupapa Māori research include conscientisation, transformation and praxis, and empowering Māori through validation, legitimation and affirmation of Māori language and culture (L. T. Smith, 1999). Amplification of Māori ontologies and epistemologies within and across a range of fields and disciplines is important in kaupapa Māori research. Although critiqued as a form of semiological, regressive postmodern cultural relativism, kaupapa Māori research is considered an overt form of intellectual and scholarly activism, and a positive force for societal transformation.

Methods and Data Capture

We enacted a kaupapa Māori approach by engaging a set of ethics including respect, generosity, reciprocity, being politically astute and culturally sensitive, and ensuring the process was empowering for all. In order to immerse ourselves in the context, both prior to and throughout the duration of the interview period, we attended and participated in a range of film and screen production events. We attended the Screen Producers and Directors Association (SPADA) Annual Conference (2008), which included industry workshops led by international film and broadcasting experts. We made connections and had enlightening conversations with Māori, Pākehā and international industry professionals. We learnt about current and future trends and technologies in the film and screen industry from local and international broadcasters, commissioners, directors, producers, creative workers, technologists, animators, writers and policy-makers.

We also attended and participated in the Women in Film & Television (WIFT) Annual General Meeting (April, 2009), WIFT Awards Celebration (2008, 2009) the Ngā Aho Whakaari Annual Hui (June, 2009), and the Wairoa Māori & Indigenous Film Festival (June, 2009). We took extensive notes, actively participated, wrote summaries and reflected, discussed, reported and presented results of our experiences to other members of the Glamour and Grind research team in a series of virtual and face-to-face meetings. This component of the data-gathering enriched the quality of our industry knowledge, giving depth to our analysis process.

Simultaneously, we began our interview process. We selected seven Māori industry leaders representing entities that support film and screen production. These organisations include broadcasters, funding agencies and professional guilds. We were fortunate to have a high calibre of leaders in senior executive and governance roles willing to share their knowledge, mātauranga (wisdom, understanding) and experience. All are well-known leaders in the industry, recognised for their expertise in a range of industry roles and their tenacious dedication to advancing the interests and outcomes for Māori in film and screen production.

In practice, we developed and used semi-structured, open-ended questionnaires in our formal interviews. These interviews were captured on digital recorder, transcribed and transferred to N-Vivo8 software for data analysis. N-Vivo8 is a powerful analytical tool that combines subtle coding with qualitative linking, shaping and modelling. It is a reputable tool for enabling grounded theory as a research process. Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed a technique for combined analysis of qualitative data that revealed the theories which drive individual endeavour. N-Vivo8 enabled us to generate a range of thematic "nodes" from the data.

The process of interviewing, transcribing and entering data into N-Vivo8 in a collaborative manner enriched the analysis. Data analysis included extensive discussion between ourselves as

researchers, and as a result 45 themes emerged. These themes were based on frequency of mention; that is, they directly reflect the amount of times certain issues were raised and referenced by the interviewees.

Findings

Whilst the entire data capture is important, in the following visual presentation we focus on the 19 themes that recurred with the most frequency. We argue that they reflected aspects of personal or career journeys as well as the current state of the industry. The strongest emphasis was on the development of Māori Television and the structural issues that had an impact on the Māori struggle in the industry. Broadcasting was a major concern identified by the experts, in particular the competition that exists between broadcasters. Te reo Māori (the Māori language) was also frequently mentioned as a major issue in terms of ensuring cultural survival and continuity. Various interpretations of te reo Māori were expressed, including understanding the language within the context of "the voice" paradigm. Career trajectories, colonisation, Māori film, funding imperatives, tikanga Māori (Māori customary practice, correct practice), film production and storytelling were also mentioned frequently across all the interviews. Figure 1 is a visual representation of 19 of the key themes and their frequency of mention.
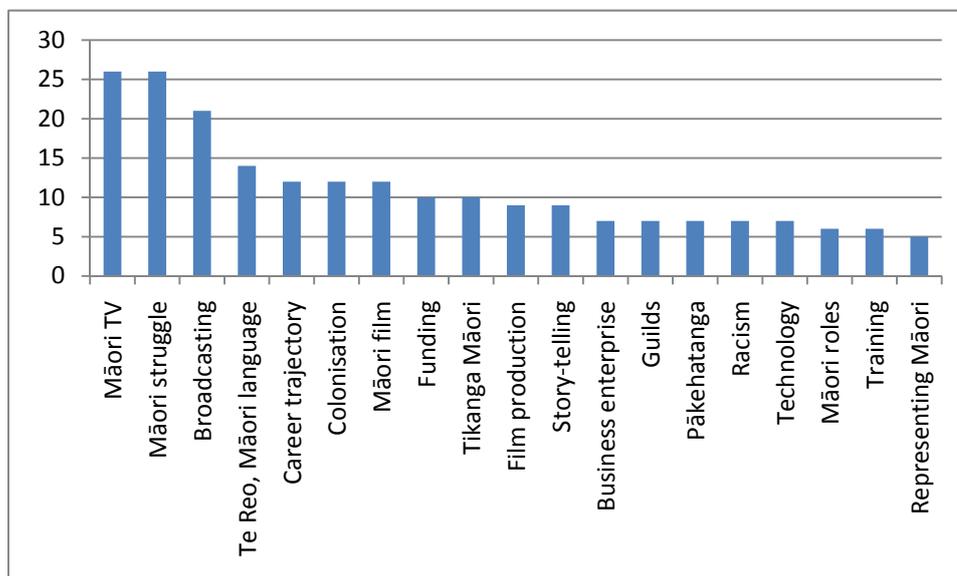
Figure 1. Key themes and frequency of mention.

The participants shared their career journeys, which when synthesised showed similar concerns and aspirations, but also highlighted variations in the experiences and emphases of this group of seasoned practitioners. For example, the revitalisation of Māori language and culture was a recurring theme, as espoused by one: "Revival of te reo is the revival of the voice of the people, not just the words it utters, you are concerned with preserving the way a people think." That cultural revitalisation was occurring in film production as, "that way of sharing and tautoko [support]."

Further, the importance of sharing stories and culture was acknowledged: "We should be taking our culture to the world and we should be taking Māori stories to the world, I mean, New Zealand is such a really small market"; as was the importance of the storyteller: "We need to enhance our storytellers because it's crucial to the health of our culture, to re-mythologise our stories, to give mana [authority] to what we think is important"; and the telling of Māori stories using appropriate tikanga: "They're good stories and there was mentoring of rangatahi [young people] in the whole process, [there] were appropriate liaisons, informed consent with all necessary iwi [tribes]."

However, it was acknowledged that Māori in the industry had endured racism and stereotyping, and one participant spoke of: "Having worked in the commercial world, having been the Māori person

working in a Pākehā environment where you become the instant Māori expert on everything and anything Māori." Others acknowledged the struggle to achieve the current gains: "Māori needed to have a voice in the industry and we had to fight"; and coping with inadequate funding and investment: "The butter is [spread] as thin as it will go."

Despite these concerns, there was also cause for optimism. For example: "Māori TV is the largest independent producer of New Zealand material now, bigger than any other channel. Māori Television Service (MTS) makes more New Zealand content than any other channel." And, "one good thing about the technology is it's given us the opportunity to take that screen back out to the edges." Finally, there were hopes for training the young: "We need to up-skill our creative people, our creative youth, you can be creative in every area of the film and television industry, even just being production secretary you have to be creative."

In terms of the Glamour and Grind project, the quotes above offer insights into an industry that is often perceived by outsiders as glamorous, yet acknowledged by participants as a grind in terms of cultural, work, budget and time constraints. However, these industry leaders also affirm that there is change and that Māori have the expertise and commitment to make further changes—to grow industry capacity, to tell Māori stories, and revitalise language and culture.

Preliminary Analysis

In making sense of these findings, we developed a continuum from the data. This involved reconsidering the data from another perspective. We first selected elements that could be linked to the individual and to individual experience. We then selected a second set that referenced features of their work and the industry context. Finally, a third set of factors focused on broader, national and international contexts.

From this continuum of data, sharper distinctions emerged. We discovered three key factors that shaped and influenced the experiences of participants. In the first instance, we found that "being Māori" was linked to identity, culture and aspirations. Whakapapa (genealogy), whānau (family, extended family), tikanga, te reo Māori (language and voice) and gender also played a key role in notions of identity. These factors shaped how they viewed themselves and indicated a certain depth with which they approached their roles in the industry. It confirmed the influence of their Māori culture and identity. Participants expressed confidence, not only in terms of being Māori, but also in terms of how their competencies, experience and skills delivered results for whānau and the industry. Informed by the contextual background, career and identity theories offered in this paper, we argue that these industry leaders have consciously "enacted" their careers, and in doing so have contributed to the growth and development of the Māori film and screen industry.

The second distinction, "being a creative worker in film and television production", highlighted the generic aspects of work in the industry. Here, we were told of the benefits of training and the need for more of it, the issues of convoluted funding structures, industry politics, the rigours of creative work and building careers in the industry, and the intensity of divisive competition and contestability. Participants made reference to the mentorship, support and guidance of people such as Don Selwyn and Barry Barclay, but also to Pākehā who had aligned with Māori and supported the struggle for a stronger Māori presence in the industry. Finally, the benefits of networking in wider local and international contexts, markets, and with other indigenous peoples were acknowledged.

The third distinction, "being in the world", emphasised the contextual influences and structural challenges encountered on participants' life journeys. Conversations here focused heavily on issues of colonisation, struggle, racism, micro- and macro-aggressions of institutional racism, and the broader structural issues they encounter in their roles. However, comments also highlighted areas of potential growth and the future of the Māori film and screen industry in the context of global opportunities.

Conclusion

Our findings and analysis are the results of phase one of a longitudinal study. This initial foray has enlightened our understanding of careers from the perspectives of institutional experts. These leaders hold prominent positions in organisations that have a significant impact on the funding, broadcasting of and support for Māori film and screen production. In some cases, they are the first to rise to such positions of prominence. They have done so by "enacting" their careers, building careers where none had previously, and in doing so have "enacted" the Māori film and screen industry. Our findings indicated a series of issues that influenced their careers, 45 themes in total, 19 of which we presented in this paper. Further, in making sense of this data, we identified three sets of factors that shaped and influenced their careers: "being Māori", relating to identity, culture and aspirations; "being a creative worker in the industry", which highlighted generic aspects of work in the screen industry; and "being in the world", which emphasised the contextual influences and challenges they encountered on their life journey. The findings make a contribution to understanding the ways in which culture, identity and world views shape individual careers. The drive, vision and tenacity of these industry leaders then influence the direction of the Māori film and screen industry. Thus, we argue their careers are transformative quests which realise their individual and Māori collective aspirations. In further research, we will interview a wider range of Māori industry professionals and practitioners as we seek to gain deeper insights into careers of Māori in the screen industry.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

iwi	tribe
kaupapa Māori	Māori-centred, Māori philosophy
mana	authority, prestige
mātauranga	wisdom, understanding
rangatahi	young people
tautoko	support
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	customary practice, correct procedure
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family

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Ki Uta ki Tai: From the Mountains to the Sea. Holistic Approaches to Customary Fisheries Management

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Abstract

The East Otago Taiāpure (traditional fishery, fishing reserve) was first proposed in 1989 in response to the depletion of local fisheries. The taiāpure was gazetted in 1999 and the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee (EOTMC) was established in 2001, with a goal of maintaining and enhancing fisheries and habitats for future generations. A framework for managing the taiāpure is "Ki Uta ki Tai: From the Mountains to the Sea". This kaupapa (framework) is a blending of world views, perspectives and backgrounds. The EOTMC comprises 50% iwi (tribes) and 50% community stakeholder groups. One of the challenges for the EOTMC has been to acknowledge differences while maintaining the focus central to the kaupapa (intention). An essential point of similarity for the authors is encapsulated beautifully in the Ngāi Tahu whakataukī (proverb): Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei (for us and our children after us).

Ki Uta ki Tai: From the Mountains to the Sea. Holistic Approaches to Customary Fisheries Management

Taiāpure (local fisheries) were established to provide iwi (tribes) with rangatiratanga (sovereignty, self-management) and the rights secured in Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi with respect to fisheries over coastal areas of special significance (Fisheries Act 1996). Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki (Ngāi Tahu council whose territory includes the greater harbour of Ōtākou) identified the area encompassing the East Otago Taiāpure as a wāhi tapu (site of cultural significance). The taiāpure is managed by the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee (EOTMC), which consists of eight people who have been appointed by the Minister of Fisheries: four representatives and the Chair are from Kāti Huirapa; the others represent the local environmental group River-Estuary Care Waikouaiti-Karitāne, the University of Otago, commercial fishers, and a recreational fishing group (Eastern Boating and Fishing Club). The community surrounding the taiāpure is committed to the model of a shared fishery, with customary, commercial and recreational fishers being included along with other interest groups (for example, scientific, educational and conservation groups). People from these different worlds have successfully worked together, through the EOTMC, to develop management strategies with a similar goal of maintaining and enhancing fisheries and habitats for future generations. Despite misconceptions during the inception of the taiāpure, this model has been important in maintaining community support.

History of the East Otago Taiāpure

The Waitaha and Hawea peoples, Kāti Mamoe and more recently Ngāi Tahu, have all left legacies of their use of what is now the East Otago Taiāpure (Prebble & Mules, 2004). Fisheries have flourished and collapsed since the arrival of Europeans, and today the area supports a small commercial fishery, a recreational fishery and limited customary fishing to support the rūnaka (local council).

The East Otago Taiāpure was applied for in 1992 in response to the concern of Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki elders for diminishing pāua (abalone) stocks. It was finally established in 1999 and a management committee was formed in 2001. The first regulation proposed by the EOTMC was gazetted in 2007. This was a set-net restriction, where fishers had to stay with their nets. The regulation was designed to prevent marine mammals becoming entangled but was superseded by a nationwide set-net ban in coastal waters. However, the regulation still protects marine mammals in estuaries, rivers, lagoons and inlets in the taiāpure as there is no national requirement to stay with set nets within these habitats (Ministry of Fisheries, 2010). The EOTMC finally applied for regulations to address overfishing within the taiāpure in early 2009; 18 months later these regulations were accepted. The new regulations are a major achievement for the community surrounding the taiāpure, and mark the beginning of active management of fisheries by local people.
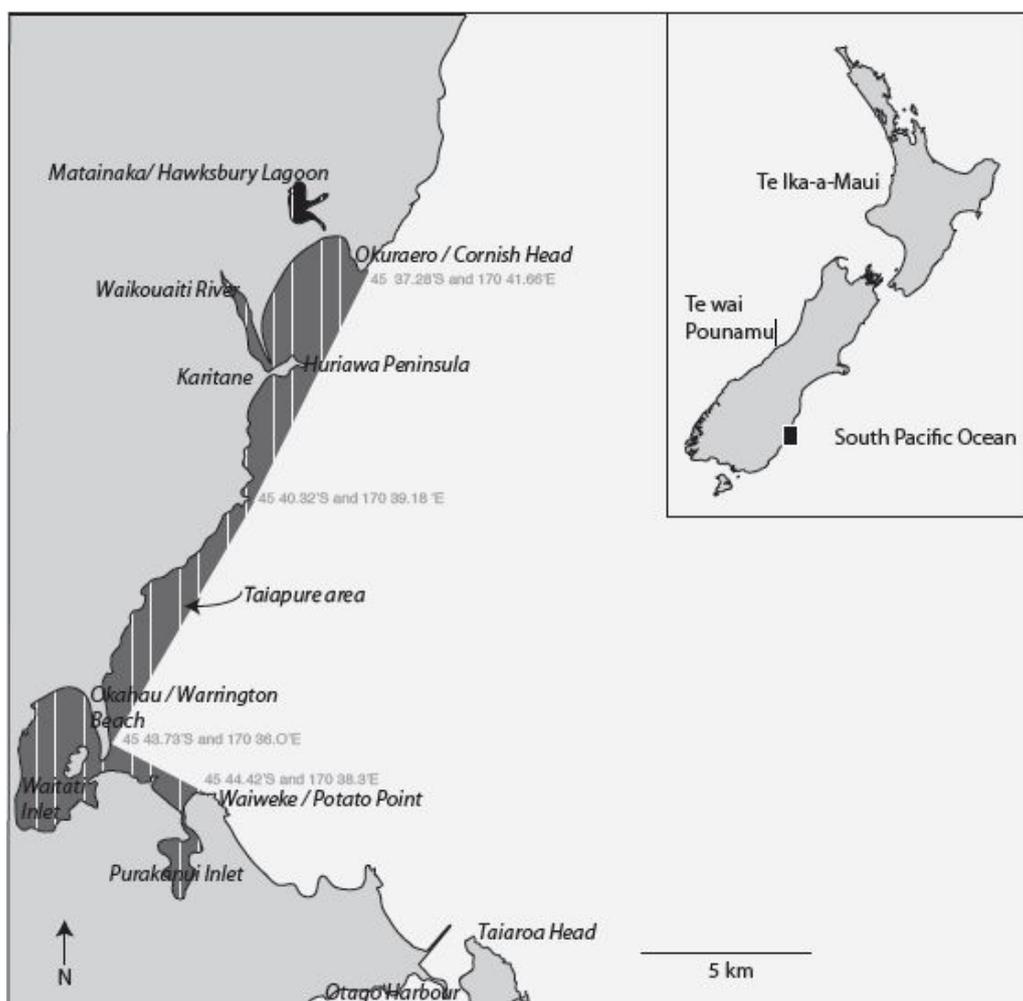
Figure 1. Location and main features of the East Otago Taiāpure.

The Taiāpure Area

The East Otago Taiāpure encompasses 25 kilometres of coastline just north of Dunedin city (Figure 1). It covers a diverse range of estuarine and marine habitats, from intertidal zones to a depth of approximately 18 metres. Three estuarine systems (Purakanui, Waitati, Waikouaiti) within the taiāpure provide habitat of varying quality for important species such as tuaki (cockles, littleneck clam, *Austrovenus stutchburyi*), pātiki (flounder; for example, *Rhombosolea plebeia*), aua (yellow-eyed mullet, *Aldrichetta forsteri*), īnaka (whitebait, *Galaxias* spp.) and tuna (eels, *Anguilla* spp.). Hawksbury Lagoon (known to Māori as Matainaka, meaning spawn of the whitebait) once also provided habitats for these species but has been severely modified by the development of Waikouaiti township (Prebble & Mules, 2004). Wave-exposed rocky reef habitats and rimurapa (seaweed)

communities—including forests of giant or bladder kelp (*Macrocystis pyrifera*) and beds of bull kelp (*Durvillaea* spp.)—provide refuge and food for key species such as pāua (*Haliotis iris*), kūtai (mussels; for example, *Perna canaliculus*, *Mytilus edulis*) and a range of fish species (for example, rāwaru (blue cod, *Parapercis colias*), hoka (red cod, *Psuedophycis bachus*) and moki (*Latridopsis ciliaris*). Deeper, soft-sediment sand or mud habitats support other species, including a range of flatfish species. Makā (barracouta, *Thyrsites atun*) is a common pelagic species, as is hāpuka (groper, *Polyprion oxygeneios*), which is no longer caught in the taiāpure.

Fisheries of the Taiāpure Area

The taiāpure supports recreational and commercial fisheries for a range of species, and also supports a limited customary take. The soft-sediment habitats surrounding the reefs provide flatfish for a commercial trawl fishery, with all boats coming from Port Chalmers (25 kilometres steam to the south-east). There is a "gentlemen's agreement" between commercial trawlers and the EOTMC that no trawling will occur within the taiāpure. However, as older fishers retire and the next generation takes over, this agreement appears to be adhered to less, and trawlers are now often observed fishing within the taiāpure.

The taiāpure has limited habitat for kōura (New Zealand rock lobster, *Jasus edwardsii*), which is harvested occasionally by commercial fishers. Beaches provide some surf clams, flatfish and pāpaka (paddle crabs, *Ovalipes catharus*); the latter two also support a commercial fishery. Waitati Inlet is a key site for recreational and customary take of tuaki, and is also the site of a commercial tuaki fishery. The other estuaries in the area also provide some habitats for kai (food) species. Matainaka/Hawksbury Lagoon was once a key mahinga kai (customary food gathering) site, but due to the draining of surrounding wetlands and the closure of its mouth to the sea, it is no longer suitable for gathering kai.

Management Through Regulations

The primary role of a taiāpure management committee is to help manage fisheries by recommending new regulations to the Minister of Fisheries and develop fishery management plans. In any management decisions they make, the EOTMC has aimed to include local knowledge, tikanga (correct way of doing things), mātauranga Māori (traditional knowledge) and relevant science.

It took 6 years before the EOTMC gained the confidence to plan for the submission of regulations to modify bag limits and advocate the temporary closures of areas badly affected by overfishing. The EOTMC was careful to slowly gain support within the community before lodging regulations with the Ministry of Fisheries. They consulted with user groups and gained scientific support for changes in management strategies through baseline surveys of fisheries in the taiāpure (Hepburn, Flack, Richards & Wing, 2010; Richards, 2010). Pre-consultation and a number of compromises resulted in very limited opposition to the regulations during the formal consultation process. A proposed suite of regulations was finally accepted in July 2010, and included closing an important pāua fishery at Huriawa Peninsula, reducing bag limits for fin-fish (from 30 to 10) and shellfish (tuaki 150 to 50, pāua 10 to 5, kina 50 to 10), and restricting the expansion of commercial tuaki fisheries within the taiāpure. The gazetting process took 18 months from lodging the application to acceptance, on October 1, 2010. The successful application included the input of other points of view and promotion of stakeholder buy-in.
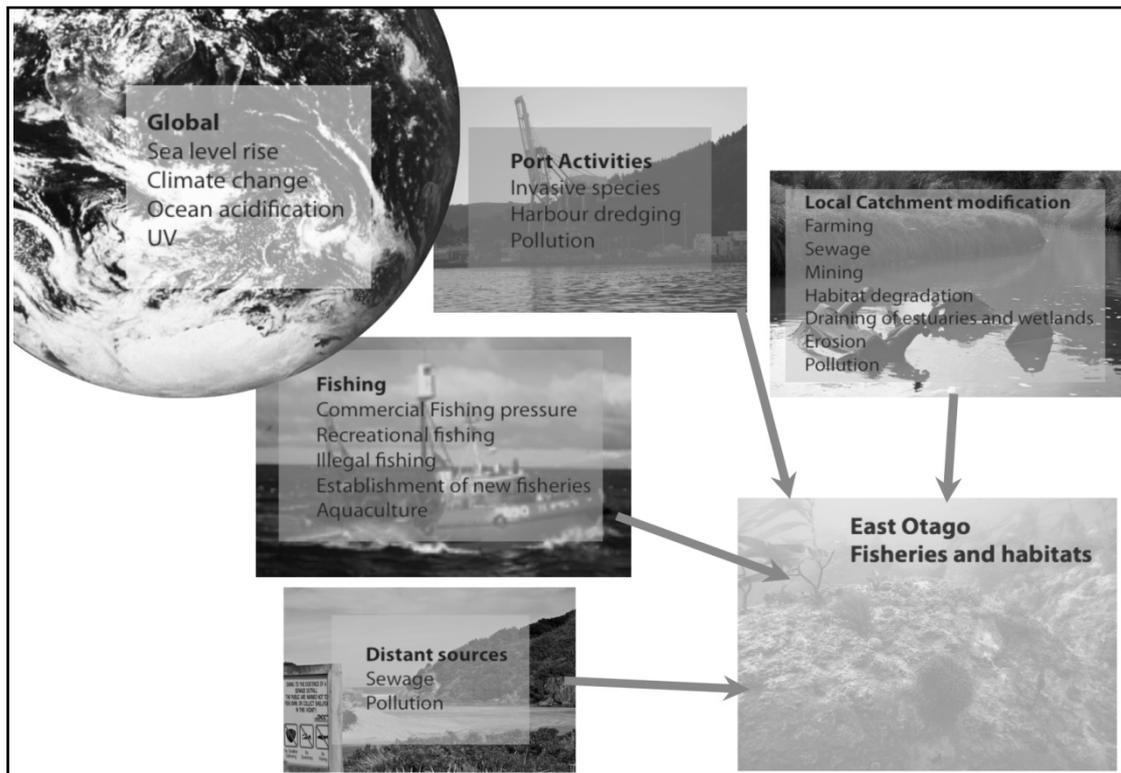
Figure 2. Local, regional, and global threats to marine habitats and fisheries within the East Otago Taiāpure.

Other Roles

The EOTMC has a much wider role than just recommending new fisheries regulations. It tries to address a range of threats to fisheries in the taiāpure that may be local, regional or even global in origin (Figure 2). This challenge is approached in a number of ways. The EOTMC is an active participant in consultation processes for fisheries and environmental concerns to do with the taiāpure. They lodge submissions relating to the establishment of new fisheries, changes in quota, foreshore and seabed legislation, coastal policy statements, conservation issues, local coastal reserves management, water and waste strategy planning, and others. For example, the EOTMC recently consulted with a telecommunications company to ensure they followed best practice when laying a fibre-optic cable through the Waitati Inlet. The EOTMC has also had a leadership role in identifying and challenging the proposed disposal of 7.2 million cubic metres of dredge spoil near the taiāpure by Port Otago Ltd (Jackson, Hepburn & East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee, 2010 in press).

Individual members of the EOTMC are involved in a number of activities. For example, they have evaluated resource consent applications (under the Resource Management Act 1991) for effluent disposal (to land adjacent to the taiāpure by local council and private operations), prepared public submissions and participated in consent hearings. They have had a hands-on approach to environmental issues, such as visiting sewage treatment plants with council staff and operators, which has resulted in much improved operations, conditions of consents and monitoring for the future. EOTMC members' participation in these and other processes has resulted in the regular inclusion of the EOTMC in appropriate community consultations. As a result, the councils and wider community have a better understanding of the characteristics of local fisheries and threats to their survival.

The EOTMC is a great supporter of scientific research at all levels and makes good use of its proximity to the University of Otago (45 kilometres away). It supports the work of at least 15 students and many other researchers from the university. This research is very wide-ranging, including law, Māori studies, education, ecology, biology, chemistry and ocean physics. Scientific work conducted in the taiāpure was recently celebrated in an evening event at Puketeraki Marae, at which 10 young

researchers shared their work with the community. By capturing the broad skill base of a range of scientific minds, the EOTMC is able to call on scientific expertise when required and has enough influence to direct researchers into areas that may benefit the management of the taiāpure. Some of the work supported by the EOTMC has been influential in developing new regulations, and programmes to restore pāua stocks.

Most EOTMC members live locally, and educate visitors and the community about management of the taiāpure. For example, sometimes people just want to know what a taiāpure is. Some members educate fishers directly on bag limits and appropriate fishing techniques for different species. Some primary schools in the taiāpure area are part of the Enviroschools programme (see Environment Waikato, n.d.) and are interested in healthy fisheries habitat. Members of EOTMC, along with researchers from the University of Otago, recently participated in the national Secondary Schools Enviroschools hui held at Puketeraki Marae, where they used lessons learned in taiāpure marine research to help young students understand the marine environment of the taiāpure. The River-Estuary Care Waikouaiti-Karitāne newsletter features a regular article written by the EOTMC. Members of the EOTMC are also involved in the educational programmes, Kids as Tangata Tiaki and Learning Experiences Outside the Classroom.

Tangata tiaki (guardians) have adopted a conservative approach in their authorisation of customary take within the taiāpure. To support conservation measures and address dwindling stocks, there have been no customary authorisations for gathering pāua for 2 years. A fisheries plan has been developed over a period of years to help the EOTMC set goals for the restoration and enhancement of local fisheries.

What Makes it Work?
EOTMC members are realistic and hopeful in their approach to the challenge of setting a course for responsible local fisheries management. Their confidence is based on having a clear mandate and authority, a common cause and set objectives. Collectively, they perform well because the right mix of people is actively and reliably working with good leadership. Their early work on several significant issues helped build good foundations of trust and confidence.

The EOTMC works collaboratively, understanding it has the clout to make a difference. In fact, the committee is able to be quite brave in setting standards for protecting local fisheries. For example, when gazetting the proposed regulations was stalled, the EOTMC set voluntary closures and regulations, and posted and promoted these in the local and regional media. In most cases the voluntary regulations were respected. The EOTMC policy and practice to ensure that local knowledge guides scientific research has paid off in strong research results that sit well in academic as well as in local communities. Robust discussions and debates within the EOTMC result in clear, common decision-making where all people involved understand the rationale and reasoning behind decisions. Furthermore, full participation in local and central government consultations puts the EOTMC "at the table" as a voice for the local fishery.

The combined result includes better chances of maintaining or enhancing the biodiversity of the fishery, informed decision-making about catch limits and recovery times, adequate habitat for marine and estuarine feeding and breeding, and resilience of marine and estuarine ecosystems.

What's in it for the Community?
EOTMC members and the communities they represent aspire to be more confident about food security. They are working to future-proof their local food source, the fishery. They take satisfaction in knowing that through their stewardship they are making an effort to improve the health of local fisheries while building environmental, social and cultural capital.

Kaitiakitanga (Guardianship)
Underpinning customary fisheries management is the concept of kaitiakitanga, where tangata/takata (people) have a responsibility to care for the environment just as they are nurtured by the resources of

the land and ocean. This relationship is crucial to the continued good health of people and the abundance of Tangaroa (guardian of the ocean) and Papatūānuku (earth mother). There is an understanding that the mauri (life force) of the ocean is enhanced or decreased by the actions of people, and that all aspects of nature are linked.

Vision

The EOTMC believes that it is not possible to effectively manage fisheries within the taiāpure in isolation. Embracing "ki uta ki tai" in future management initiatives, EOTMC aims to acknowledge the links between the land, rivers, estuaries and ocean with the health of fisheries within the taiāpure.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

aua	yellow-eyed mullet
hapū	kinship group
hāpuka	groper
hoka	red cod
īnaka	whitebait
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kaupapa	framework; intention
kina	sea urchin
ki uta ki tai	from the mountains to the sea
kōura	New Zealand rock lobster
kūtai	mussel
mahinga kai	customary food-gathering place
makā	barracouta
mātauranga Māori	traditional knowledge
mauri	life force
moki	*Latridopsis ciliaris*
pāpaka	paddle crab
pātiki	flounder
pāua	abalone
Papatūānuku	earth mother
Rangatiratanga	(sovereignty, self-management)
rāwaru	blue cod
rimurapa	seaweed
rūnaka	local council
taiāpure	traditional fishery, fishing reserve
Tangaroa	guardian of the ocean
tangata/takata	people
tangata tiaki/kaitiaki	guardian
tikanga	correct way of doing things, customary practices

tuaki	cockle/littleneck clam
tuna	eel
wāhi tapu	site of cultural significance
whakataukī	proverb

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Integrating Indigenous Values in Geothermal Development

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Abstract

An indigenous approach to development has its own ethos, ethics, principles and practices appropriate to an intergenerational sustainability strategy that incorporates the quadruple bottom line of economic, environmental, social and cultural well-being. The reputation of Geothermal Energy as renewable and sustainable makes it desirable to many indigenous peoples. Māori have used geothermal waters and materials for centuries. In contemporary times only a few groups have developed their geothermal resources—which seems at odds with the sustainable and renewable attributes of geothermal energy. A potential barrier to development has been a clear pathway that accounts for kaitiakitanga (guardianship, stewardship, wise use of resources) responsibilities.

To address this issue we are creating a geothermal development model, which fulfills the requirements for government consent and responds to Māori obligations. The major outcome of this project will be a model that integrates geothermal science, engineering, appropriate governance and management systems with investment opportunities—all underpinned by kaitiakitanga.

Keywords

indigenous values, geothermal development, sustainability, kaitiakitanga, Mauri Model

Introduction

The Māori worldview is both acknowledged and valued in New Zealand culture and society, and is recognised legally under the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) and the Resource Management Act (1991). As observed by Morgan (2006), the arenas that constitute well-being as denoted by the government parallel indigenous interpretations of well-being. In a bicultural nation such as New Zealand, it is imperative that diverse knowledge systems are accounted for in decision making. Further, as sustainability is on the national agenda, traditional beliefs and practices are becoming more and more relevant, as they tend towards sustainability. In New Zealand, the Māori term for such practices which are based on centuries of knowledge is called kaitiakitanga, its closest translation being guardianship. Insofar as geothermal development on Māori land is sought after for its economic viability and promise as a renewable energy source, a weaving of Western science and indigenous worldviews is required.

To create the Kaitiaki Geothermal Development we will be using a decision-making framework that is designed to afford all stakeholders a voice and which can also assess the "sustainability" of various development options during all stages of development including the planning stage. The combined contributions of the two knowledge systems (science/engineering and indigenous knowledge) provides the potential for integrated decision making, to enhance the practice of sustainability for the benefit of our future generations and find solutions for problems that cannot be provided by either knowledge system in isolation.

The Mauri Model, developed by Te Kipa Kepa Morgan, is a decision-making framework unique to the context of Aotearoa-New Zealand, because it is designed in accordance with the Resource Management and Local Government Acts and is also grounded in mātauranga (knowledge, Māori knowledge) (Morgan, 2006). The Mauri Model provides the structure of the Kaitiaki Geothermal Development Model. The model has four dimensions: environmental, social, cultural and economic. Weightings of the dimensions can be changed based on the worldview of any individual completing the assessment. In this case, they are all equally weighted to avoid any bias. For any activity being considered the impact upon mauri (life principle) is assessed and given an integer score between -2 (mauri destroyed) and +2 (mauri enhanced). See Figure 1.

Mauri Barometer
Sustainability Assessment in Absolute Terms

Maintaining
0

Diminishing
-1
Mauri heke

Enhancing
+1
Mauri piki

Denigrated
-2
Mauri noho / mate

Fully Restored
+2
Mauri tu / ora
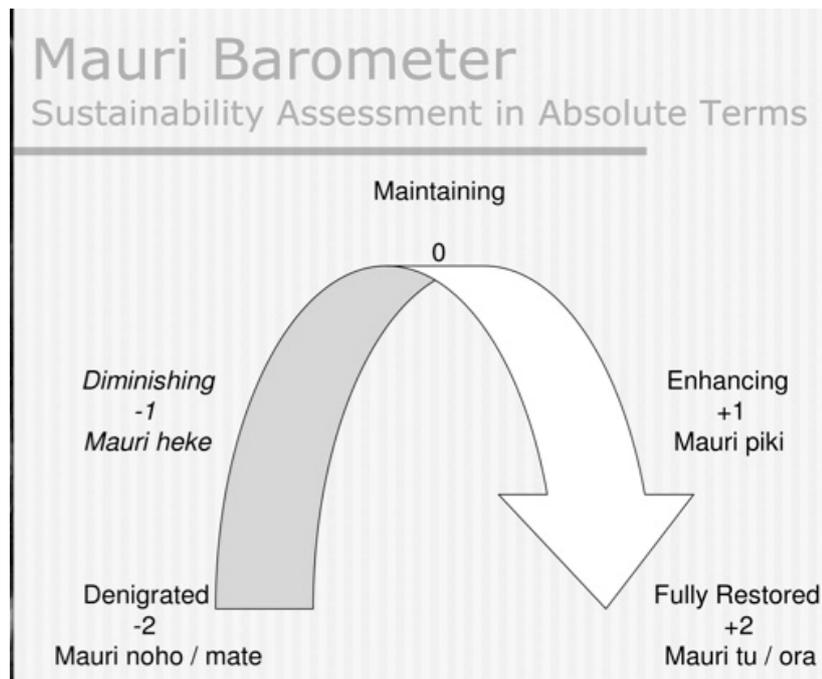
Figure 1. Mauri Model assessment scale. After Morgan (2006).

Māori Connection

New Zealand's diverse landscapes are of great importance to the Māori worldview. Most groups trace their heritage, or whakapapa (genealogy), to rivers, mountains, or other landforms, thus defining themselves by the earth. Certain kōrero, or oral histories, describe the origins of natural features and their relationships to important Māori ancestors, and geothermal springs are no different. According the Māori belief, water from the earth, in the form of rivers and springs, are Ngā Puna Tapu o Ngā Atua, or tears of the earth mother, Papa-tū-ā-nuku. Rain, conversely, is Ngā Roimata o Ranginui, or tears of the sky father, Ranginui. These two entities weep because they have been separated by their children, who govern the realms between the sky and the earth. Thus water from the rain and water from springs are tapu, or sacred, and contain mauri, as water is required for all life. The practices surrounding taking water from the earth are thereby potential points of conflict with the Māori worldview (Morgan, 2006).

Certain kōrero apply to specific geographies, such as the Taupo Volcanic Zone, which is New Zealand's hotbed of volcanic activity and geothermal heat. Ngātoroirangi was one of the first Māori to land in New Zealand from the Polynesian homeland of Hawaiki, as the history is told. As a leader, Ngātoro-i-rangi took it upon himself to forage inland from the coast to find a suitable place for his people to settle. Upon seeing Mount Tongariro, he commenced to climb its frosty slopes. Dismayed by the unexpected, crippling cold, Ngātoro-i-rangi sent out a cry to his sisters in Hawaiki, Kuiwai and Haungaroa. In response, they sent him heat. In some kōrero this heat took the form of taniwha or spirit guardians, Pupu and Hoata. Pupu and Hoata made stops along the way, which resulted in the volcanoes and geothermal heat that span almost in an exact line from White Island, off the coast of the

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Bay of Plenty, to Mount Tongariro. Western geologists have attributed this line to the Pacific and Indo-Australian plate boundary. Some groups still refer to the hot pools in geothermal fields as "eyes of the taniwha", and revere the source for its contribution to the salvation of an essential ancestor, and hence the people today.

Solutions

The Mauri Model affords the opportunity for diverse worldviews to be integrated, is designed to fit New Zealand legislation and is grounded firmly in mātauranga. In this example we use it as the basis for a new model we are building, the Kaitiaki Geothermal Development Model (KGDM). The KGDM comprises a two-step process. First, a Mauri Model assessment is undertaken to ascertain the sustainability of proposed activities and/or variations of proposed activities. Second, capital investment and funding options will be explored, by analysing current models such as joint venture partnerships and exploring new ideas such as wholly Māori-owned enterprises. As the project is in its infancy, only a Mauri Model analysis will be presented here.

The Mauri Model assessment scenario presented below (Figure 2) is based on a hypothetical, yet very realistic situation where currently those tangata whenua (people of the land, local people) remaining in the ancestral lands retain a connection with hot pools, but due to a lack of opportunity there is a net loss of community members through urban drift. For Group 2, there is some debate in the community whether some springs have been lost or not.

	Indicator	Status Quo	Group 1	Group 2
Environmental	Surface Features	0	0	+1
	Waste Water	0	0	0
	Subsidence	0	-1	-1
Economic	Cost/Benefit	0	+1	+1
	Cash Flow	0	+1	+1
	Employment	0	+1	+1
Cultural	Ancestral Connection	+1	+1	+1
	Kaitiakitanga	+1	+1	+1
	Returning Home	-1	+1	+1
Social	Sustainability	0	+1	+1
	Community Resilience	-1	+1	+1
	Aesthetic Environment	0	-1	-1
	Results:	**0.00**	**0.5**	**0.58**

Figure 2. A hypothetical Mauri Model assessment of geothermal development.

The results are based on a time frame of 2 years after development. Certain indicators have positive and negative effects on mauri, but in general mauri is being restored. One of the strengths of the Mauri Model is that it allows for a temporal component to be considered. The results of an assessment of mauri in 30 years' time is presented in Figure 3. Thirty years is appropriate because consents are often given for this period, and 30 years is also the "lifetime" of a geothermal plant (lifetime of infrastructure not the resource; the Wairakei geothermal power station has just celebrated its 50th birthday). As can be seen, the positive effects on mauri are intensified, so that during this time, mauri is enhanced even more.

	Indicator	Group 1 2010	Group 1 2040	Group 2 2010	Group 2 2040
Environmental	Surface Features	0	+1	+1	+2
	Waste Water	0	0	0	0
	Subsidence	-1	0	-1	0
Economic	Cost/Benefit	+1	+2	+1	+2
	Cash Flow	+1	+2	+1	+2
	Employment	+1	+1	+1	+1
Cultural	Ancestral Connection	+1	+1	+1	+1
	Kaitiakitanga	+1	+1	+1	+1
	Returning Home	+1	+1	+1	+1
Social	Sustainability	+1	+1	+1	+1
	Community Resilience	+1	+2	+1	+2
	Aesthetic Environment	-1	-1	-1	-1
Results:		**+0.5**	**+0.91**	**+0.58**	**+1**

Figure 3. A hypothetical Mauri Model assessment of geothermal development, including a 30-year temporal component.

Summary

The Mauri Model provides a means of moving forward. It is based on New Zealand legislation and allows the integration of science with mātauranga and concepts of kaitiakitanga. Its use affords those Māori with geothermal resources on their land the opportunity to explore development options while maintaining their obligations and responsibilities as kaitiaki. The Mauri Model is flexible enough to allow tribal/hapu differences and may in time prove to have international utility.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

kaitiakitanga	guardianship, stewardship, wise use of resources
kōrero	oral history, discussion
mātauranga	knowledge, Māori knowledge
mauri	life principle
tangata whenua	people of the land, local people
taniwha	guardian spirit/s
tapu	sacred, restricted
whakapapa	genealogy

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Restoring Rotoitipaku's Mauri: Implementing Mātauranga and Kaitiakitanga in a Scientific Paradigm

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Abstract

A common dilemma facing Māori decision makers is the paucity of appropriate and specific tools to find solutions to environmental damage. In a case study, this paper demonstrates the efficacy of the Mauri Model, a decision-making framework borne out of complexity science, based on systems thinking and grounded firmly in mātauranga (Māori knowledge).

Lake Rotoitipaku (Kawerau) was taken and used as an industrial waste dump-site for more than 30 years. When the lease expires in 2013, the land will be returned to the Māori trustees, including toxic pulp and paper mill waste. A way must be found to restore the mauri (life principle, life force) of the land and lake. The use of the Mauri Model in this context can, for the first time, help the trustees to establish a restoration plan that will best meet the needs of present and future generations.

Introduction

In this paper we will introduce you to an industrial waste site and briefly outline the events that led to its creation and to the main elements of its contamination. The authors have been working with the landowners to develop a restoration plan using the Mauri Model, and based on a multidisciplinary scientific programme and investigation that embodies the concepts of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and mātauranga. The use of the Mauri Model in this context identifies for the first time for the trustees from Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau, not only pathways to the restoration of the environment, but the best solutions to meet the needs of present and future generations.

Contaminated Land

Until the early 1960s Lake Rotoitipaku in Kawerau, New Zealand, was a shallow lake with active hot springs and sinter terraces on its southern shore. It was fed by a natural spring and was rich in fish (particularly eels), which were a vital source of food for the local people. In 1954 the New Zealand National Government passed the Tasman Pulp and Paper Enabling Act, which gave the Tasman Pulp and Paper Company carte blanche to construct and operate a pulp and paper mill, including dumping waste onto Māori land. Despite landowners' protests, the Government appointed a group of Responsible Trustees (none of whom were landowners) who agreed to lease the area to Tasman Pulp and Paper in 1971, with the lease expiring in 2013. Consequently, Lake Rotoitipaku has become Norske Skog Tasman Pulp and Paper's primary disposal site for solid paper-mill waste. Today, the Responsible Trusteeship for Lake Rotoitipaku has been restored to the landowners and Norske Skog Tasman Limited now owns the pulp and paper mill.

Almost a dozen environmental assessments have been conducted to ascertain the magnitude of contamination and the potential environmental hazards. One consulting firm described Lake Rotoitipaku as "one of the worst locations one could contrive for a waste disposal site." Geologically, the waste site is situated on highly permeable young rocks, with active fault traces traversing it and a high groundwater surface. In addition, the site sits atop an active geothermal area and is within 100

metres of the Tarawera River. Among other contaminants, groundwater beneath the disposal area has elevated values (exceeding national and international drinking and ecological standards) of dioxins, arsenic, zinc, boron, ammoniacal nitrogen, and manganese. Furthermore, soil samples show an excess of boron, arsenic, mercury, PCBs, dioxins, lead and zinc, above and beyond the national and international threshold for agricultural use and ecological protection. Lake Rotoitipaku is no longer a waterway for migratory fish and eels, geothermal surface features and hot springs have been destroyed, ponds formed behind large constructed berms are suffering ecologically, and contamination has migrated offsite.

Despite efforts to contain the waste within the primary solid waste disposal area, data from these early investigations suggest that contamination has spread into groundwater, soils and nearby surface waters. Although preliminary environmental assessments have investigated soil and groundwater contamination in and around the solid waste disposal area, they have not characterised contamination in the nearby surface water bodies such as the Tarawera River.

Hikuroa and Gravley were introduced to the current trustees in 2006 after undertaking work with and within Māori communities at nearby Matata (after the 2005 debris-floods). Soon after, these authors became the scientific agents for the trustees. The aspiration of the trustees is to see the mauri restored to their land, lakes and geothermal pools. The disconnection between the intent of the scientific reports being produced by Norske Skog Tasman and the information sought by the trustees is wide and our task is to find a pathway forward. Thus scientific data are necessary to understand the long-term impact of the mill, but are not the only relevant measure.

Solution

Combining empirical, scientific data (that is, levels of contaminated waste measured in parts per million or billion and stated with uncertainties) with kaitiakitanga, interpreted by some as enhancing mauri (Morgan, 2006) has proven difficult enough, but finding some agreement that all parties will "buy into" is even harder. Decision-making frameworks are designed to address the multiple complexities in the decision-making process. The Mauri Model is a decision-making framework unique to the Aotearoa-New Zealand context as it is designed to fit within the Resource Management Act 1991 and the Local Government Act 2002 and is also grounded in mātauranga (Morgan, 2006). The model has four dimensions: environmental, social, cultural and economic. Weightings of each dimension can be changed based on the worldview of any individual completing the assessment. In this case, all dimensions are equally weighted to avoid any bias. Each is measured with three ratings (see Figure 1). Each rating is given an integer score between -2 (mauri destroyed) and +2 (mauri enhanced). See Figure 1.
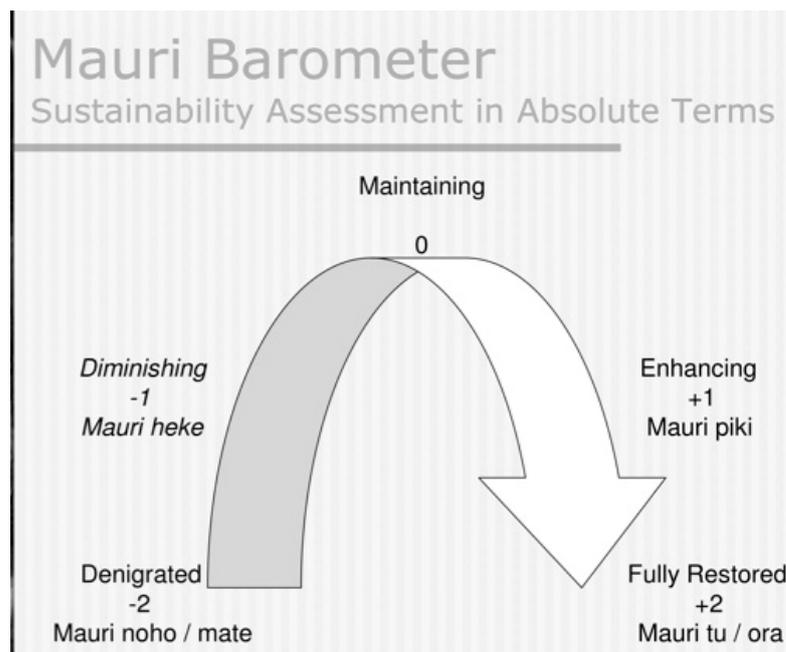
Figure 1. Mauri Model assessment scale. After Morgan (2006).

An assessment of the current state of the land affected by industrial waste is presented below in Figure 2. Indicators were selected and assessment made by the authors for this example. The authors will facilitate Mauri Model assessments with the trustees in July and August 2010.

	Indicators	1900s	Today
Environmental	anthropogenic contaminants natural contaminants biodiversity	+2 +2 +2	-2 -1 -2
Cultural	tikanga "food basket" wāhi tapu healing properties	+2 +2 +2	-2 -1 -2
Social	swimming public health loss of lake/land	+2 +2 +2	-2 -1 -2
Economic	cost of restoration family income loss of discretion re private property	+2 +2 +2	-2 -2 -2
	mauri	+2	-1.75

Figure 2. An indicative Mauri Model assessment of Rotoitipaku and its surrounding lands.

Conclusion

The Mauri Model provides a means of moving forward. It is based on New Zealand legislation and allows the integration of science with mātauranga and concepts of kaitiakitanga. In this example, its use affords indigenous peoples in the Kawerau area the opportunity to have their mātauranga, otherwise viewed as "anecdotal" evidence, incorporated into the process and gives them the confidence to engage in the process of seeking a restoration plan. The Mauri Model is flexible enough

to accommodate tribal/hapū (kinship group) differences and may in time prove to have international utility.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

hapū	kinship group
kaitiakitanga	guardianship, stewardship, wise use of resources
mātauranga	Māori knowledge
mauri	life principle, life force
PCBs	polychlorinated biphenyls; part of a broad family of man-made organic chemicals; their manufacture was banned in 1979
tikanga	appropriate, right; customary practice
wāhi tapu	sacred places

Reference

Morgan, T. K. K. B. (2006). Decision-support tools and the indigenous paradigm. *Engineering Sustainability, 159*, 169–77.

Information Poverty and Aboriginal Peoples:
The Maintenance of the Digital Divide

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Abstract

The advent of the information age has amplified the importance of Australia's Aboriginal peoples being able to access and utilise information. As the ever growing sum of information being published online increases, so does the importance of Aboriginal peoples being literate in the accessibility and employment of electronic information. In this paper I will explore the status of Aboriginal peoples as "information impoverished participants" in the Australian information economy and society. Fahey (1999) identifies many factors that contribute to information poverty including language, culture, poor English literacy skills, lack of access to telecommunications, the inability to use software and the lack of recognised need to access electronic information.

As the global information infrastructure grows, the global society is increasingly dependent on the "creation, accessing, sharing and manipulation of information" (Fahey, 1999, p. 2), and the disparity between the "haves" and the "have nots" becomes more and more apparent. Yet Australia's self-identification as a knowledge society presupposes that all its citizens have equal access to information through well connected information and computer technologies (ICTs) (and more recently mobile learning hardware and its tools), and the highly sophisticated physical infrastructure, which underpins the communication highways of Australian society. This could not be more further from the truth for Aboriginal peoples and their communities.

The recognition of social responsibility and social justice for this disparity, while registering in the socio-economic, political and educational paradigm of Australian policy-makers, does not play out in the delivery of funding for ICT infrastructure and relevant educational programmes in Aboriginal communities. Instead the digital divide between Australia's Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples persists and the Australian economy and society continues to thrive at the expense of Aboriginal peoples and their knowledges.

Keywords

Aboriginal peoples, digital divide, information and computer technologies (ICT), information poverty, social justice, social responsibility

Introduction

In 1989 at the time that the Berlin Wall was being dismantled, the World Wide Web (WWW) was being assembled by its inventor, Tim Berners-Lee. This latter occurrence was supported by the development of the Mosaic graphical browser program and other similar programs which led to the popularising of the technology (Norris, 2001). Since the mid-1990s the WWW has given birth to the amplification of the global information and knowledge revolution. Despite this ongoing and fast moving technology revolution, not all countries and their peoples have been projected into the technological stratosphere. Indeed the Australian context provides a telling example of the actual political commitment of governments by not including all Australians in the new information economy.

This new information economy requires the use of information and knowledge. In fact this economy is built around the "creation, accessing, sharing and manipulation of information" (Fahey, 1999, p. 2). The position of Aboriginal peoples in the recently proclaimed Australian information and knowledge society is one that needs to be examined in greater detail. In particular Aboriginal peoples,

despite recent policy and budgetary commitments by the Australian Federal Government and various state governments, have been noted as continuing to be "information impoverished" in society and the rapidly expanding Australian information economy (Fahey, 1999, p. 1).

In this paper we argue that Aboriginal peoples suffer from this information impoverishment because of the well-maintained digital divide agenda of the policy-making and funding bodies of the federal and state governments, which locate Aboriginal peoples at the lowest layer of the social strata.

Though numerous promises have been made about closing the digital divide between the haves and have nots, information impoverishment cannot be truly eradicated without proper physical infrastructure being built to accommodate Aboriginal peoples and their communities. Secondly, relevant information and computer technology (ICT) educational programmes must be developed to meet Aboriginal peoples' community and individual needs. ICT courses have the potential to provide meaningful educational pathways into technical and further education (TAFE) and university courses, which could lead to meaningful long-term employment for Aboriginal peoples. Finally, we argue that maintaining the digital divide is deliberately sustained by federal and state governments so that Aboriginal peoples are continuously "information starved". What does this mean for Aboriginal peoples? First let us turn our attention to poverty. What is it and what does it mean in the context of the new information economy?

What is Poverty?

Poverty has been defined as "that condition of life where the majority of people lack sufficient resources to supply their basic needs for survival" (Britz, 2007, p. 16). Britz, however, takes it further by adding that poverty "not only refers to the presence or absence of resources" but that it is also "expressed in the inability to produce these resources" (2007, p. 16). These two aspects of the definition of poverty succinctly identify the issues for Aboriginal peoples. Indeed all Australian social indicators acknowledge and reinforce Aboriginal peoples' poverty status in Australia's information economy. Furthermore Aboriginal peoples have been described as "one of the most socially excluded groups of poor and disadvantaged people living in a first-world setting" (Hunter, 2004, p. 5). But Hunter (2004, p. 6) goes further: he identifies Aboriginal poverty as the product of "entrenched disadvantage being conditioned by historical, social, and cultural circumstances." It is no wonder, then, that Aboriginal peoples' participation in the Australian information or creative (as it is sometimes referred to) economy has been stymied.

The Council of Australian Governments commissioned the Productivity Commission (2009) to report regularly on the main indicators of Indigenous disadvantage, in order to inform Australian governments on whether policies and interventions were achieving positive outcomes for Indigenous people. According to the Productivity Commission's website, this report will help guide Australian governments as to where further work is needed. The Productivity Commission emphasised the participation of Aboriginal peoples in the welfare economy and nothing else. Known statistical information is reinforced in the report, which noted that:

48% of Indigenous people aged 15 to 64 years received government pensions and allowances as their main source of personal cash income, compared to 17% of non-Indigenous people aged 15 to 64 years; and

Government pensions and allowances (71%) were the most common source of cash income for Indigenous households, followed by employee income (57%), other cash income (22%) and income from Community Development Employment Projects (6%). (This information is illustrated in Table 1, which is taken from the website of the Productivity Commission.)

Table 1
Sources of Cash Income for Indigenous Households
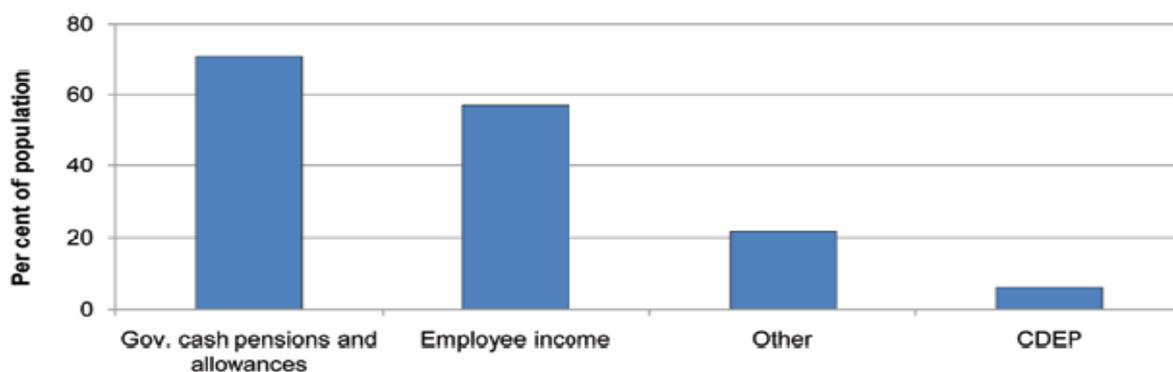
Nowhere in the Productivity Commission's report is the phrase "new information economy" or "creative economy" (as the Australian Government refers to it) used in reference to Aboriginal peoples. Rather, you would think from reading the report that Aboriginal peoples were only passive and willing participants in the welfare economy. Another rather telling factor is the scant regard paid to the cause and effect of entrenched Aboriginal disadvantage, what the authors described as "measuring multiple disadvantage". Indeed what the report did recognise is the fact that "different aspects of disadvantage often seem to occur together—for example poor education appears to be linked with poor employment outcomes, and both are linked with low income" (Productivity Commission, 2009). One positive outcome of the report is the fact that the Council of Australian Governments has agreed that the improvement of indigenous data is a high priority.

This having been said, it needs to be stressed that the lack of participation of Aboriginal peoples in the new information economy is not going to be overturned overnight. As the saying goes, Rome was not built in a day. Instead, this exclusion from the information and knowledge economy, based on the lack of accessibility, connectivity and usability, in other words, "where know-how replaces land and capital as the building blocks of life" (Fahey, 1999, p. 6), has to be taken on board by all Australian governments.

Indeed poverty is a multidimensional societal occurrence that cannot be addressed by a one-size-fits-all approach to resolving the problem. Information poverty is a logical consequence of poverty. In other words, information poverty is a manifestation of poverty (Britz, 2007, p. 33).

What is Information Poverty?
Information can be said to be "both a process and a product" (Britz, 2007, p. 35). Britz succinctly describes information as a process, that is, "to inform" and suggests that it is an action whereby content is transferred/communicated by means of a specific medium, with the purpose of giving meaning.

But what about the product of the "informational action", that is, information (Britz, 2007, p. 35)? Information is "both a process and a product". It is an action that can bring financial and social benefits to the generator of the information, his/her family, and community. Information is also a product which is extremely useful, not just financially but in many other ways, especially if you are the only holder of that information.

Information poverty is defined as that poverty that "relates to an individual's or community's inability not only to access essential information but also to benefit from it in order to meet their basic needs for survival and development" (Britz, 2007, p. 1). In essence, information poverty is the result

of a shift from the industrial age to the information age; this is exemplified by the new information-based economic model developed by the World Bank.

There are many forms of poverty, such as absolute poverty, subsistence poverty, chronic poverty, transitional poverty, spatial poverty and susceptibility poverty, but there are only three levels—individual, family/group and regional/community poverty. For Aboriginal peoples, I would argue that all three levels are information impoverished. In particular I would argue that Aboriginal peoples are located at a subsistence poverty level that afflicts all individuals, families and communities.

Subsistence poverty relates to "people who have some form of income and/or resources which can be used to supply their most basic needs". But unfortunately their "standard of living is much lower than that of the average person in a society". This is clearly indicative of the situation of most Aboriginal peoples and is substantiated by the statistics previously stated in the Productivity Commission's 2009 Report.

What we are attempting to do is to draw a correlation between poverty and information poverty. You cannot have one without the other. In truth, the two are inextricably entwined, like the double helix. In particular the underlying philosophy of information poverty recognises that sustainable and lifelong education is the divine pathway from information impoverishment to the super information highway of knowledge wealth. Accessibility to education, then gaining meaningful and sustainable employment, leads to increased levels of income and material affluence and access to wider social benefits.

The World Bank and other international agencies have long recognised that information poverty impacts on people's everyday lives and how they relate to and interrelate with the wider community. (Relevant here is the work of Fink & Kenny (2003) on the digital divide.) Aboriginal peoples of Australia are no different to other minorities in other countries in this respect. Why is it then that the Council of Australian Governments, in particular the Federal Labour Government (and previous federal governments), have continuously failed to provide appropriate ICT infrastructure, education and training programme opportunities for Aboriginal peoples?

According to Britz, education can be "regarded as one of the core criteria for the measurement of poverty" (2007, p. 27). In my opinion, it is the core criteria for poverty and for information poverty. Education is the panacea for information poverty, and indeed it is the universal remedy for poverty. So what does this mean for the maintenance of the digital divide?

The Digital Divide: What is the Digital Divide? How is it Maintained by Information Poverty?

Martin (2005, p. 5) defines the digital divide as the "gap in levels of access to information tools such as the personal computer and the internet". These items are, according to Martin, critical to economic success and personal advancement. Martin argues that those groups who lack access to such opportunities form "a new class of *have-nots* in society", and that the *have nots* "typically are people on lower incomes, with lower levels of education, living in depressed urban or rural areas" (2005, p. 5). In the case of Aboriginal peoples this is true, but many also live in remote Aboriginal communities.

The tyranny of distance is a major factor in many Aboriginal communities, and not just in relation to ICT but in relation to access and delivery of many other basic goods and services, which many of us take for granted. And yet some of these more remote Aboriginal communities have really embraced ICT. Despite this fact, state and commonwealth governments, past and present, continue to ignore the ever-widening digital divide. This is borne out by numerous reports commissioned by government and private enterprise. The National Centre for Social and Economic Modelling, Australian Council of Social Services and the Communications Law Centre, for example, collaborated to produce a report titled, *Socio-Demographic Barriers to Utilisation and Participation in Telecommunications Services and Their Regional Distribution: A Quantitative Analysis* (Hellwig, 2000). This report argued that the Australian digital divide is one of income and social situation, not

geography, and questioned the government's concern with supply to rural areas. Without stating the obvious, would it be fair to say that this omission on the part of these three major peak organisations speaks volumes for the lack of recognition that distance plays in the digital divide in Australia?

More recent reports commissioned by the New South Wales and Australian Capital Territory governments indicate that Aboriginal peoples are less likely to have computers at home, and are much less likely to have access to the Internet. As part of the 2001 Budget, the Federal Government committed $400,000 in the coming year for research on the telecommunication needs of Aboriginal communities. Figures for use of the net (and ICT) by Aboriginal peoples are problematic, given the thinness of much of the data and uncertainty about particular demographics. The National Information and Referral Service of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2006) noted a marked difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations in the use of information technology in the week preceding the 2001 census, including: home computer use (18% of Indigenous population, 44% of non-Indigenous population); home Internet use (9% of Indigenous population, 29% of non-Indigenous population); Internet use overall (16% of Indigenous population, 39% of non-Indigenous population).

The same (2006) report noted only a small difference between males and females in use of information technology (IT) within both populations. Slightly more Aboriginal females (19%) than Aboriginal males (17%) had used a computer at home, whereas more males (46%) than females (43%) in the non-Aboriginal population had used a computer at home. The difference in the rate of IT use among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth was substantial: 28% of Aboriginal 15 to 17 year olds had used a computer at home, compared with 75% of non-Aboriginal teenagers in the same age cohort, with Internet use at 29% versus 70% respectively. Aboriginal persons living in very remote areas were least likely to have used IT, with 3% of the 71,100 Aboriginal persons in those areas having used a computer at home, 1% having used the net at home, and 4% having used the net elsewhere.

Realistically, information poverty will continue, if the digital divide continues to be a significant influence in the life-chances of Aboriginal peoples. Norris in her assessment of the existence of the digital divide acknowledges that the "the heart of the problem of the social divide in Internet access lies in the broader patterns of socio-economic stratification that influences the distribution of household consumer durables and participation in other common forms of information and communication technologies, as well as in the digital world" (2001, p. 234).

What Causes Unequal National Diffusion of Digital Technologies?

Quite simply there is only one answer and that is government action, both state and federal. While "it is clear that governments around the world (have) embarked on building the economic and technological foundations for social and political programmes" (Martin, 2005, pp. 5–6), the previous Howard and the current Rudd government have been extremely slow at rolling out ICT infrastructure, particularly in rural and remote Aboriginal communities (Daly, 2005). The two-stage sale of the previously government-owned telecommunications company, Telstra, was to provide telecommunications services to remote Aboriginal communities. For example, the Telecommunications Action Plan for Remote Indigenous Communities (TAPRIC) was allocated a budget of $8.3 million to provide a digital telecommunications network for remote Aboriginal communities. This sum does not go very far in a continent with a total area of 7,686,850 square kilometres (2,967,909 square miles). The TAPRIC Report identified numerous factors that created "barriers to developing modern communications systems in these communities", including "cultural, social and economic factors such as poor and inadequate housing, and physical obstacles created by isolation and the harsh environment in which many of these communities exist" (Daly, 2005, p. 8).

Access to ICT is presumably easier in urban Aboriginal communities, but in my experience other issues come into play. In particular, accessibility is determined by income and affordability of hardware, software and Internet connectivity, and ongoing maintenance of hardware. In urban communities, economic and social isolation are factors in the ICT uptake by Aboriginal people (Daly, 2005, p. 8).

At the same time the education sector has also been slow at implementing appropriate programmes for Aboriginal peoples in ICT. What needs to be addressed in this area is the "high level of information literacy that will not only ensure access to necessary information but also the ability to benefit from it" (Britz, 2007, p. 395). Interestingly, the Telstra sale also provided $10.1 million for Internet technology training and support services in rural and remote areas. And yet only the Cape York Digital Network has been established to provide 16 remote communities on Cape York Peninsula with public internet and video-conferencing facilities (Daly, 2005). As long as we continue to have meagre funding regimes from the public purse, Aboriginal peoples will continue to wallow in the digital divide and suffer information poverty.

Despite the pre-eminence of existing information poverty and the continuing prevalence of the digital divide in the new Australian creative economy, pathways of information have been forged through e-Hubs and the use of mobile technology. These technological revolutions will provide pathways for trans-generational changes and growth, which will be reflected in the educational, employment, economic and social development of Aboriginal peoples and their communities.

Pathways out of Information Poverty: e-Hubs and Mobile Technology

One good model for Aboriginal people to gain ICT access is through e-hubs, or community-based computer centres. These have been implemented in various parts of Australia, but most successfully where they are managed by the community. The e-hubs in the Maclean and Yamba communities on the North Coast of New South Wales were formed in partnership with the local TAFE to deliver infrastructure, education and employment outcomes (Australian Flexible Learning Framework, 2006). Community ownership includes a "whole of community" approach, in which both elders and young people learn side by side; people select the tasks, content and pace at which they want to learn; and cultural knowledge and personal histories are incorporated. The e-hubs provide both a training ground for governance and leadership as well as a pathway to tertiary education and community development.

Mobile Technology

A second pathway that Aboriginal peoples have taken to escape information poverty is mobile technology. In adopting mobile phones and MP3 players, Aboriginal Australians have subverted government policies aimed at increasing their take-up of fixed-line phones, personal computers and home Internet access (Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts, 2002). These policies ignored cultural and socio-economic factors and Aboriginal people largely rejected the technologies they were meant to promote, instead leaping into the mobile age.

Studies in remote areas where mobile networks are in place show mobile phone ownership to be about 56% of the adult Aboriginal population (Tangentyere Council & Central Land Council, 2007). The Northern Territory Government (Regional Telecommunications Independent Review Committee, 2008) states that:

> Mobiles are the product of choice in remote, and particularly, Indigenous communities. Prepaid mobile services resolve issues of customers defaulting on monthly payments and also solve problems associated with Indigenous cultural issues of resource sharing. (p. 75)

Given the fairly short period of time that many Aboriginal communities have had access to mobile technology—for example, the 3G network was only installed in Cape York communities in January 2008—it has not yet overcome information poverty but is certainly making a start. For example, research done in the town of Wujal Wujal in Cape York found that 45% of interviewees used their mobiles for work calls, to keep in contact with clients or to receive information about new job opportunities, and the same proportion used the Internet from their mobiles. Sometimes mobile phone calls and text messages were used effectively to recruit and organise students for courses in financial literacy, to collect evidence of prior learning and current competency to build m-portfolios for adult learners, and to teach children mathematics via mobile phones (Aboriginal Economic Development, 2007; Sinanan, 2008; Wallace, 2009). Many potential applications in the health sector are only now

beginning to be realised; for example, sending SMS reminders to diabetes patients (Downer, Meara & Da Costa, 2005).

Conclusion

The position of Aboriginal peoples in the creative economy is dependent upon the development of ICT accessibility, connectivity and usability, hand-in-hand with appropriate training and educational pathways that are conducive to their aspirations. This progress will, in turn, lead to the diminution of information poverty and subsequently general poverty in Aboriginal communities. Martin argues that while there are those "who proclaim the Information Society as providing the answer to social inequality, poverty and unemployment, there are others who would regard it as likely to widen the gap between information *haves* and *have-nots* and to maintain existing socio-economic disparities" (2005, p. 5). Regardless of which position one takes, the answer lies with the empowerment of Aboriginal peoples to be able to grasp the tools of the information age.

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Rangatiratanga and Customary Fisheries Management

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Abstract
Legislated through the Fisheries Act 1996, the object of taiāpure (fishing reserve, traditional fishing ground) is to make better provision for the recognition of rangatiratanga (self-determination, paramount authority). Using the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee (EOTMC) as a case study, we discuss rangatiratanga with respect to the proposed Port Otago Ltd dredging programme, Project Next Generation. The EOTMC strongly opposes the proposed location for depositing spoil from the dredging. Despite engagement with Port Otago Ltd, the resource consent applications have not been affected by the EOTMC concerns. Although the EOTMC has a role to play in managing the fishery, it has no power to protect the habitats that support fisheries. The Fisheries Act 1996 does not make better provision for the recognition of rangatiratanga in respect to the proposed dredging of Otago Harbour, or any other activity that threatens marine habitats and their values.

Keywords
taiāpure, dredging, customary fisheries management, rangatiratanga

Customary Fishing and Fisheries Management in New Zealand
The provisions for customary fishing and customary fisheries management in New Zealand are provided for under: Part 9 of the Fisheries Act 1996 (s174–186B); Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1999; Fisheries (Kaimoana Customary Fishing) Regulations 1998; and Regulation 27A of the Fisheries (Amateur Fishing) Regulations 1986. These provisions are administered by the Ministry of Fisheries.

Customary Fishing
Customary fishing can be conducted either through an authorisation under the Customary Fishing Regulations or by a permit under Regulation 27A of the Fisheries (Amateur Fishing) Regulations 1986. Fishing that occurs under the customary provision needs to be approved by tangata tiaki or tangata kaitiaki (guardians) beforehand. Fish caught for customary purposes, such as hui (meeting, gathering) or tangi (funeral), cannot be sold or traded. An allowance is made for customary fishing within the Total Allowable Catch (under New Zealand's fisheries management scheme—the Quota Management System) for each stock, which in total is less than 5,000 tonnes. Customary fishing has slightly different regulations in the South and North islands. In the South Island, customary regulations are allowed for under the Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1999; and in the North Island, the Fisheries (Kaimoana Customary Fishing) Regulations 1998.

These regulations emerged as part the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisheries Claims) Settlement Act 1992, to better recognise the special relationship between tangata whenua (people of the land, local people) and customary food gathering, as long as there was no commercial gain. To use customary fishing regulations, tangata whenua status must be shown. To fish in the area, iwi (tribe) and hapū (kinship group) must appoint tangata tiaki or tangata kaitiaki, who must also be endorsed by the Minister of Fisheries. These people are able to approve or decline applications made by the general community (Māori and non-Māori) to harvest seafood under a customary fishing permit. There are 112 tangata tiaki in the South Island and 234 tangata kaitiaki in the North Island (Ministry of

Fisheries, 2009). Even if Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1999 and Fisheries (Kaimoana Customary Fishing) Regulations 1998 have not been implemented, tangata whenua are still allowed to customarily gather seafood for hui or tangi through Regulation 27A of the Fisheries (Amateur Fishing) Regulations 1986.

Customary Fisheries Management
Tangata whenua have recourse to three customary fisheries management tools: mātaitai (reserves), taiāpure and temporary closures. Mātaitai (fishing reserve) are managed in the South Island through the Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1999, and in the North Island through the Fisheries (Kaimoana Customary Fishing) Regulations 1998. Tāiapure are managed under the Fisheries Act 1996 (s174–185), and temporary closures are allowed for under s186A and s186B of the Fisheries Act 1996. There are currently 10 mātaitai reserves, 8 taiāpure and 6 temporary closures (Ministry of Fisheries, 2009).

Taiāpure
Taiāpure are local fisheries based on spatial allocation. They are part of the suite of tools used to manage customary fisheries. Taiāpure exist within the context of Māori Treaty fishing rights (Boast, 1999; Jackson, 2008; Memon, Sheeran & Ririnui, 2003; Milroy, 2000), and were first defined by the Maori Fisheries Act 1989 as an interim measure to settle Māori rights to fisheries (Boast, 1999; Jackson, 2008; Meyers & Cowan, 1998; Milroy, 2000). The object of taiāpure is to make "better provision for the recognition of rangatiratanga and of the right secured in relation to fisheries by Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi" (Fisheries Act, 1996). The better provision is "in relation to areas of New Zealand fisheries waters (being estuarine or littoral coastal waters) that have customarily been of special significance to any iwi or hapu either (a) as a source of food; or (b) for spiritual or cultural reasons" (Fisheries Act, 1996). Taiāpure are managed by a committee and allow both commercial and non-commercial fishing. The committee can recommend regulations to the Minister of Fisheries, and can only be made with respect to fishing or fishing-related activities within the taiāpure.

East Otago Taiāpure
The East Otago Taiāpure was applied for on March 9, 1992, by the Kāti Huirapa Rūnanga ki Puketeraki (Ngāi Tahu council whose territory includes the greater harbour of Ōtākou). The taiāpure was gazetted on July 1, 1999, with the committee appointed in 2001. The East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee (EOTMC) comprises 50% iwi and 50% community stakeholder groups. There is representation from Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki, customary fishers, commercial fishers, recreational fishers, local environmental groups, and the University of Otago. The EOTMC meets regularly, about once a month. They may apply to the Minister of Fisheries to regulate fish- and fishing-related activities within the taiāpure. On October 1, 2007, the first regulations were gazetted, stating that fishers must not leave set nets unattended within the East Otago Taiāpure. The EOTMC applied for regulations in 2009 to decrease bag limits of fish and shellfish caught in the East Otago Taiāpure, and to temporarily close an area adjacent to the pā site on Huriawa peninsula. These are yet to be gazetted by the Minister of Fisheries.

Proposed Port Otago Dredging
The major environmental issue currently facing the East Otago Taiāpure is the proposed Port Otago Ltd dredging programme, Project Next Generation. The programme is opposed by a number of environmental groups in the Otago region. It proposes to deepen and widen the lower Otago harbour to allow larger ships to enter Port Chalmers (Port Otago Ltd, 2010). About 7.2 million cubic metres of spoil will be deposited at sea over a period of 100–120 days. Port Otago Ltd applied for resource consent for the dredging programme on May 25, 2010, and submissions closed on August 13, 2010.

Project Next Generation follows a trend of harbour deepening programmes, both nationally, for example in Port Tauranga (Port of Tauranga Ltd, June 3, 2010) and Port Lyttelton (Lyttleton Port Company Ltd), and internationally, for example, in Port Melbourne (The Port of Melbourne Corporation, n.d.). The premise is that to compete internationally, New Zealand must deepen its harbours to provide deep water ports where shipping lines will berth. The international shipping lines

bringing in the "Next Generation" of larger container ships are likely to make one stop for the South Island, either at Port Lyttelton or Port Otago. Partly because there is no national policy on channel deepening, ports are acting regionally—competing against each other to have the deeper port in the shorter period of time to allow for the Next Generation of container ships, although there is no guarantee that these ships will in fact come.

The EOTMC has been clear in its opposition to the proposed spoil dumping site. Dumping is most likely to affect fisheries in the taiāpure through loss of or damage to key reef habitat and seaweed communities, which form the basis of coastal food webs. Habitat destruction may jeopardise the sustainability of fisheries (Armstrong & Falk-Petersen, 2008), and could have major implications for the EOTMC and its management of fisheries within the taiāpure.
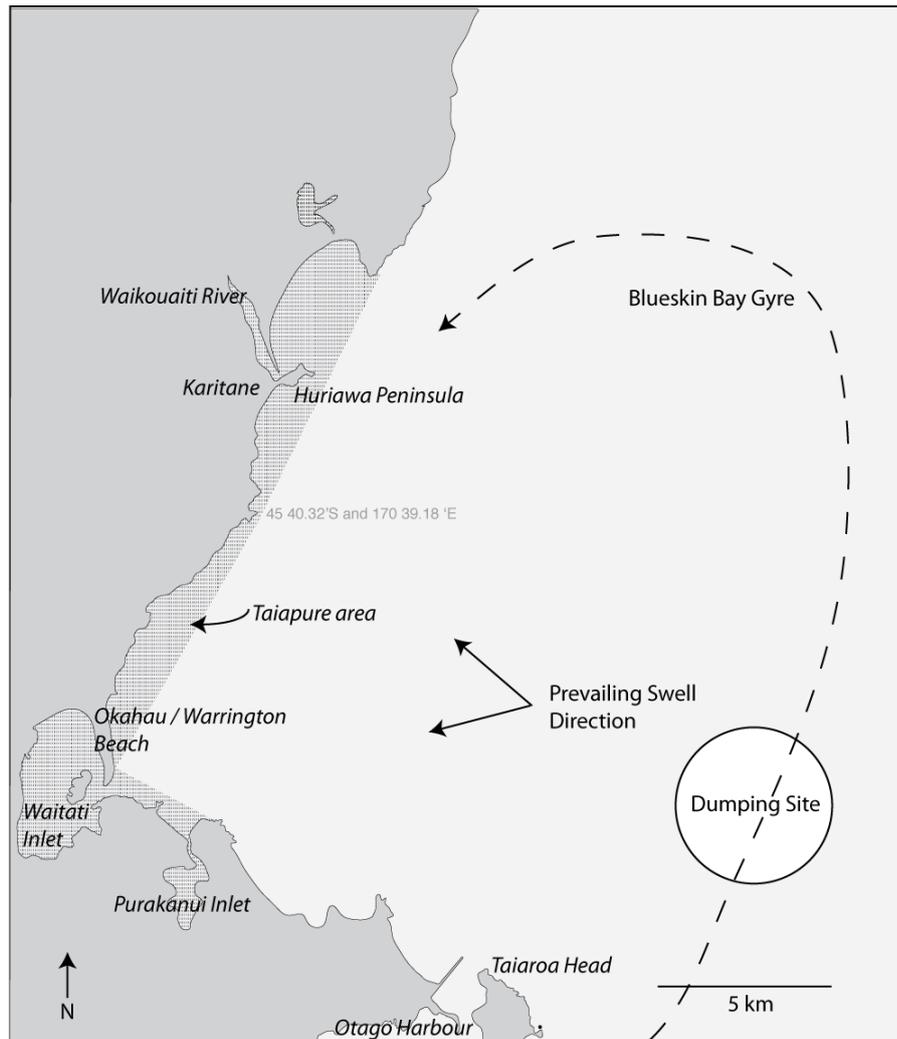
Figure 1. The East Otago Taiāpure and approximate location and size of the dumping site of spoil from Port Otago's proposed harbour dredging.

The proposed dumping site is approximately 6 kilometres off Taiaroa Head, where the Blueskin Bay gyre begins (Figure 1). The gyre is a counter-clockwise current, formed when the Southland current meets the Otago Peninsula (Murdoch, Proctor, Jillett & Zeldis, 1990). The gyre and prevailing easterly wave patterns drive large amounts of sediment inshore (Bell et al., 2009). Re-suspension of spoil (particularly finer silts) by the action of waves and entrainment into the Blueskin Bay gyre could result in sediment being deposited on sensitive rocky reef habitats within the East Otago Taiāpure. Even a small amount of sediment can have a major effect on the recruitment and survival of seaweeds, which provide habitat and food for key species (Airoldi & Cinelli, 1997; Eriksson & Johansson, 2005).

Deposited sediment from the dredge spoil could also reduce the survival rate of pāua (abalone) and other invertebrates (Phillips & Shima, 2006; Schiel, 1993).

The dredging programme has the potential to significantly damage key habitats and fisheries within the East Otago Taiāpure. The EOTMC is deeply concerned that sediment from the dredging will have an irreversible impact on the fisheries and habitats of the area they manage (Hepburn, Jackson, Vanderburg, Kainamu & Flack, 2010 in press). The EOTMC has not been convinced by scientific models and underlying data provided by Port Otago that suggest that major depositing of sediment in the taiāpure is unlikely.

Also shown in Figure 1 are major sediment dispersal mechanisms, the prevailing ocean swell and the Blueskin Bay gyre.

Rangatiratanga
As mentioned earlier, the object for taiāpure is to make better provision for rangatiratanga. There are many translations for rangatiratanga: "full chieftainship" (Young in Orange, 1987, p. 265); "full possession" (Ngata, 1963, p. 7); "the unqualified exercise of … chieftainship" (Kawharu, 1989, p. 321); or "paramount and ultimate power and authority" (Mutu, 2010, p. 25). Despite legislative provisions, the EOTMC has not been able to exercise rangatiratanga—in any sense of its definition—over the fishery. The EOTMC was first made aware of the proposed sediment dumping sites in 2008 and has been in consultation with Port Otago Ltd since then. Unfortunately, the strong opposition voiced by EOTMC towards the proposed site, expressed in numerous meetings, has altered neither the proposed method of dumping nor the location. Alternatives such as land-based disposal, a disposal site further out to sea and methods that limit the spread of sediment after dumping appear to be options that Port Otago Ltd are not pursuing.

The EOTMC is preparing submissions for the resource consent process. Volunteers are trawling through technical reports which use hydrodynamic modelling to ascertain the spoil's movements and its predicted impact on the taiāpure and surrounding habitats. The ideal outcome of the resource consent process for the EOTMC would be a dredging programme that does not threaten the values of the East Otago Taiāpure and surrounding habitats, which provide so much for the people of Otago.

Conclusion
Creating the East Otago Taiāpure has enabled limited community management of a fishery; however, the community is powerless to stop the dumping of sediment that could cover the taiāpure's reefs. Without reef habitats there is no fishery. The Fisheries Act 1996 does not allow for rangatiratanga in regard to the proposed dredging of Otago Harbour, or any other activity that threatens marine habitats and their values.

Acknowledgements

Glossary
hapū	kinship group
hui	meeting, gathering
iwi	tribe
mātaitai	fishing reserve
rangatiratanga	paramount authority, self-determination
rūnanga/rūnaka	local council
taiāpure	fishing reserve, traditional fishing ground
tangata whenua	people of the land, local people
tangata tiaki/kaitiaki	guardians

tangi	funeral
whānau	family, including extended family

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Te Ao Hurihuri: The Changing World: Colonisation, Assimilation and Deculturalisation

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Abstract

Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki is one of four dominant iwi (tribes) in the southern part of the North Island's East Cape. This paper is about the emotions and stories of some members of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki of my father's generation, who were more affected than my generation by the aggressive colonial policies of assimilation between 1900 and 1970. Colonisation, assimilation and urbanisation are among many demoralising and deculturalising dynamics that indigenous cultures have had to endure. Located between the zones of colonisation and decolonisation are the lives of those who were and are affected by deculturalisation.

Keywords

Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, Māori, colonisation, assimilation, deculturalisation

Te Ao Hurihuri: The Changing World: Colonisation, Assimilation and Deculturalisation

My father's generation—those born in the mid-1900s—was greatly affected by their assimilation into a Western (Pākehā) ideal aimed at developing a brown underclass or ethnic working class to undertake manual labour, speak English, and think like Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent). I conducted my research with the question, "How has colonisation affected those of my father's generation?"

The main concepts in my paper are: colonisation and assimilation; deculturalisation of ngā taonga Māori (Māori treasures); denigration of wairua (spirit); losses and triumphs in the face of adversity.

Before continuing, I wish to give a short history of the genesis of this paper. I have been researching Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, including its founding waka (canoe) the *Horouta*, first settlement, its tribal traditions and taonga. My research began out of personal interest in my own identity and heritage, which led to a desire to increase my understanding of my father and his generation in terms of the impact of colonisation. This involved interviewing members of my iwi.

Rangahau Māori (Māori Methodology)

The following were influencing factors in my methodology:

Research
Importance was given to researching within Māori paradigms.
Questions
I asked questions that were relevant and respectful to individuals and their life situations. I had knowledge of their history due to my close relationship with them.
Listening and learning
Although I had designed interview questions, it was also important to sit back and listen. In doing so, I learned a lot more than my questions could have answered. Also, having a list of questions sometimes left the interviewee quite apprehensive as to what might be asked.
Manaakitanga (kindness)
Respect towards interviewees was of paramount significance when writing interview questions, in one-on-one interviews, and when writing the paper.

Wairua (spirit)

In telling my whānau's (family) stories it was important to stick as closely as possible to their dictation. To retain the inner wairua of the story, the history and the person, I have attempted to accurately retell and honour their stories.

Through the interview process many of my own personal misconceptions about my father and others from his generation came to the fore, for instance, I had assumed that te reo Māori (Māori language) was not spoken at all in my father's household. I also found that I approached the paper with a negative tone, which was not at all how my father viewed his upbringing.

My Father

I now turn to my main interviewee, my father. Wi Haare Jones was born in 1949 in Gisborne, on the East Coast of New Zealand, to Francis Paranihi Jones and Julia Reid. My father was not raised by his biological parents; he was a whāngai (foster child), and nurtured by Raymond Tūhoe and Emma Peawini. Caring for and raising children who were not genetically those of the nurturing parents was common and a well developed practice before colonisation. The bond between my father and Emma was established when my father was an infant. Emma used to look after him for Julia and Francis. Ultimately, my father was handed to Ray and Emma and they raised him along with four other whāngai. Wi grew up on a farm owned by a Pākehā family, the Kirkpatricks. Raymond and Emma worked on the farm. They were extremely hard workers, and my father grew up with a strong work ethic.

My father attended a primary school where it was not discouraged to speak te reo Māori but it was common knowledge that what was taught there would fit within a Pākehā realm of education and therefore no one spoke Māori at school. He was also not spoken to in te reo Māori at home. My father's parents both spoke Māori fluently. In many ways my father's parents were forward thinking. They knew the world had become, and was continuing to become more Westernised. They felt that in order for my father and his siblings to thrive within non-Māori society they needed to think, talk and manage themselves well within a Pākehā world. My father missed out on learning the language of his ancestors; his parents would only use te reo Māori if they needed to hide something from their non-comprehending children.

My father's parents followed a trend common at the time and moved from their rural home to the city. When they lived rurally they lived more traditionally. They harvested crops and would go eeling and practise other kinds of mahinga kai (food gathering). When they moved to Gisborne township many of their more traditional practices ceased, as did their close connection to the land.

My father felt he wanted to move away from home early on in life. He left home at 16 years of age and took the opportunity to move south with his biological brother and biological first cousin. He had always known his biological family, but had never created a strong emotional bond with them. He looked on the move as a chance not to get to know his biological brother but rather to escape the multitude of responsibilities he had in his home life. Because my father's parents were such hard workers, they often left the day-to-day care of their younger whāngai to my father. He remembers feeling embarrassed as a young teenager when he would see his high-school mates hanging out together and wasn't able to join them because he had his younger brother strapped to his back in a sling-style blanket.

My father had no specific plans in mind when he left Gisborne other than to escape his family responsibilities, gain personal freedom, work and make money. Retaining his culture or regaining his ancestral language was not relevant to his frame of thinking at the time. Raymond and Emma's goal for my father was to see him become a police officer. My father chose a similar career path. He achieved the major accomplishment of becoming Christchurch's first Māori firefighter at just 20 years of age. By doing so he faced many discriminatory struggles that would have steered away a less goal-orientated person; however, he dealt with the snarky comments, sniggers and other bigotry.

My father had changed from a rural East Coast boy living and working on a farm, to a teenager with major family responsibilities, to a citizen of a city with a very small Māori population (in the 1960s and 1970s). What a major transition! My father's only option in moving forward–to his thinking as formed by the values instilled in him by his parents–was to become assimilated into the dominant Pākehā culture in order to survive and thrive in his new lifestyle and surroundings. Although culturally he had endured losses, in his new Western society he had made it.

This account of my father's story is only one summarised narrative from my group of case-studies; however, the themes of disestablishment of cultural customs, loss of te reo Māori due to assimilation into Western (Pākehā) society, disconnection to tūrangawaewae (home lands, place to stand) or homeland through urbanisation, the introduction of a working-class attitude to get ahead, smaller whānau settings becoming the main focus rather than working to advance the iwi whānui (wider tribe), Christian influences and shifting of core values, are all evident in some way or another throughout the interviews and throughout many other indigenous people's stories.

My research goes on to compare and analyse interviews with people of my father's generation with my experiences and those of others of my generation. Our generation has been fortunate in that we have helped the renaissance. Although there are continuous struggles for equality in all realms of life, it is not my generation that has felt the severe pains of oppression. We are the lucky ones. I am both a devotee and a beneficiary in regard to continuance, sustenance and revival of culture, heritage and language.

My Life
I turn now to my thoughts as a child about what Māori meant to me. I reflect upon a time when I remember thinking, "I am Māori and I am proud of it." I was only 5 or 6 years old, and this was quite an innocent yet profound revelation at such an early age. I remember walking to school with my mother and a Pākehā neighbour who was in the same class as me, and he asked with conviction and disbelief, "Are you truly a Māori?" My pride when I announced, "Yes, I am a Māori," was evident. I didn't truly know what being Māori meant. I knew my skin was brown—not quite as brown as my Dad's but still browner than the majority of my classmates. I knew that boil-up was a weekly kai (food) in our household, the meaning of which many of my Pākehā friends did not even know. I knew that we had a shed full of old irons from railway tracks that Dad would use for heating when preparing a hāngī (food cooked in an earth oven). I knew that I called my grandparents on my Dad's side Nanny, and it didn't have the same meaning to a Pākehā way of thinking. I knew that we would go for trips in the car with Dad, with a knife and plastic bag in the back, on the lookout for watercress in creeks. I knew that sleeping in my Mum and Dad's bed was similar to the way we slept when we visited our marae (tribal meeting complex), and that my Pākehā friends didn't do that. I knew that listening to Prince Tui Teka, Dennis Marsh and John Rowles was quite normal, and watching Billy T. James re-runs was customary for our household. I knew that smelling lambs' tails on the BBQ instead of sausages, or terotero (sheep intestines) or mutton birds in the pot instead of stew, told me who I was. "I was, I am Māori, and everything that entails."

My father has never looked at his childhood or life negatively. He has thought himself lucky for the taonga (treasures) he has been handed by his parents. He never mentions he has felt loss in regard to his ancestral language or aspects of his culture he may have learnt if assimilation into Western society was not so comprehensive. I do think sometimes that he feels a sense of shame, a shame that he should not own. I do feel that he expects he should be able to understand and converse in te reo Māori, that he should be able to explain aspects of our culture that I haven't yet understood, that he should be able to relay our whakapapa (genealogy). He did try to learn Māori at Polytech from his whāngai mother's biological son's son, therefore his nephew. He stood up to give his mihi (introductory speech). After the fourth line he was corrected in front of the class and wasn't given a proper explanation as to what he had done wrong. The fact he was corrected by his nephew—a younger generation—and the fact he was one of only a handful of Māori, and the oldest, gave him a feeling of real embarrassment and made him question his identity. He has always put expectations on

himself and doesn't like to leave them unfulfilled. This instance was enough to instil a negative attitude in my father's mind in regard to learning the language.

My father is now a grandfather to my 2-year-old son. I talk to my son in Māori a lot of the time. In daily life my father has spoken only the odd word in te reo Māori, usually in regard to kai. However, since my son was born the amount of te reo Māori he uses has increased dramatically. He has been learning from both me and my son. He doesn't speak it the majority of the time, or in full sentences; nevertheless, the increase in words and short phrases he knows is wonderful in helping our generation continue one part of our heritage that could have been lost.

Every generation tries to do its best to help the next generation move forward and thrive. The psychological effects of deculturalisation to the psyche of indigenous peoples do not have to be everlasting. Offering an understanding to those who have not undergone colonial affliction or assimilation into the dominant culture can be educational for the soul. There is much to be learned by listening to the stories of those who have experienced cultural condemnation, and those who have undergone these acts can be appreciated and admired.

I leave you with this whakataukī (aphorism, proverb): "E kore e piri te uku te rino" (clay will not stick to iron). As clay dries it falls away from the metal. This saying comes from a haka (traditional dance), "Mangamanga Taipō", which originated in Taranaki. The cultural inheritance of the Māori is the iron and must be preserved to maintain Māori integrity, whereas Western culture (the clay) fails to provide real support.

Glossary

haka	traditional dance
hāngī	food cooked in an earth oven
iwi	tribe
iwi whānui	wider tribe
kai	food
mahinga kai	food gathering
manaakitanga	kindness
marae	tribal meeting complex
mihi	introductory speech
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent, Western
rangahau Māori	Māori methodology
taonga	treasures
taonga Māori	Māori treasures
te reo Māori	the Māori language
terotero	sheep intestines
tūrangawaewae	home lands, place to stand
wairua	spirit
waka	canoe
whakapapa	common descent; genealogy
whakataukī	aphorism, proverb
whānau	family
whāngai	foster child

Beyond Consultation: Getting Good Outcomes for Everyone in Cross-Cultural Resource Consent Practice

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Abstract

When the Resource Management Act (RMA) was introduced in 1991 it brought in new requirements for the consideration of Māori knowledge and values. Nearly 20 years on, consultation with Māori has become a normal part of the resource consent process, and many best practice guidelines are available on how to consult. Less attention has been paid to what a good outcome might look like and how this might be achieved. Our research seeks to identify what makes for good resource consent processes where Māori knowledge and values are given appropriate consideration and inclusion in the process and outcomes. We report here on the first four stages of a 3-year research process. Firstly, a review of formal national guidelines on consultation and incorporating Māori values in decision making. Secondly, analysis of Environment Court decisions and how the court deals with Māori witnesses and their knowledge. Thirdly, interviews with Māori and Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) involved in resource consent processes in a variety of roles. Finally, we discuss a case study of a "win–win" situation in which both the hapū (kinship group) and the developer of a significant coastal development are happy with the process and outcomes in a situation where significant cultural values were at stake.

Keywords

Māori knowledge and values, mātauranga, resource consent

Introduction

The 3-year research project, *Māori Knowledge and the RMA*, was funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology and commenced in October 2008. This paper is an interim report at the halfway point of the project. It summarises some of the key points to come out of the research so far, and indicates the direction in which we think the research will go from here.

The project is led by the Cawthron Institute with a subcontract to the University of Otago. Team members are Marg O'Brien and Jim Sinner (project leaders, Cawthron), and Lisa Kanawa, Siu Montgomery and Janet Stephenson (CSAFE, University of Otago). We also draw from aligned research projects by University of Otago students Chris Hancock (MPlan) and Rachel Hogg (BA/LLB). We would also like to thank the many participants who have shared their time and knowledge with us.

The Aims of the Research

When the Resource Management Act (RMA) was introduced in 1991 it brought in new requirements for the consideration of Māori knowledge and values. Nearly 20 years on, consultation with Māori has become a normal part of the resource consent process, and many best practice guidelines are available on how to consult. Less attention has been paid to what a good outcome might look like, and how this might be achieved. Our research set out to discover what the current issues are for stakeholders in relation to the consideration of Māori knowledge and values in RMA processes, and to develop a user-friendly toolbox for iwi (tribes), local authorities, the Environmental Court and other end users that provides guidance on how consultation can be improved.

The first year of the research (2008–2009) looked at the experiences of iwi and hapū members involved in resource consent processes; the existing guidelines on Māori knowledge and values and how these are utilised; and how Māori concerns and values are being considered by the Environment Court. This resulted in three pieces of work—a problem statement, a Master's thesis and a research report.

In the second year (2009–2010) we changed tack to look at examples where both parties to a resource consent—applicants and iwi/hapū—were happy with the process and outcomes. The intention here was to record examples of good practice, and to identify "what went right". As far as possible we wanted to record participants' own stories of how they went about the process and what worked for them and why. We are still part way through this stage and so far have recorded one case study—that of Ngāti Torehina and Mataka Station in the Bay of Islands (presented at the conference). Once we have completed further case studies, we hope to draw some conclusions about what constitutes good practice to achieve win–win situations: where the local council, applicants and Māori believe that a fair process has occurred, within which Māori knowledge and values have been respected and effectively integrated to provide an all-round, successful outcome.

In Year 3 (2010–2011) we will be drawing all of this work together and developing some suggestions on how to encourage good practice more widely. We will take our draft conclusions back to the various participants in our study to see if they support them and how they think our findings should be communicated. While initially we thought of a "guidance" publication, we realise increasingly that words on paper don't necessarily have much effect. We will therefore think creatively (and are open to suggestions) about how best to make sure the findings are heard by the people who need to hear them. At the very least we would like the success stories of our participants to be an important part of the final product, using their words and examples.

Research Findings to Date: Year 1
What Sort of Guidance Is Already Out There and How Is It Used?
Hancock's Master of Planning thesis (Hancock, 2009) set out first to assess the use of national guidance material relating to Māori participation in planning, including issues of concern to them, and to establish the effectiveness of the guidance in achieving its goals. He reviewed literature on participation and guidance, and carried out a content review of guidance material on this topic made publicly available by the Ministry for the Environment (MfE). Interviews were carried out with regional and district council planners, iwi resource management specialists and planning consultants in three case study areas, to ascertain the use of this guidance material in practice. Findings from the literature review, relevant guidelines—such as the MfE's *Iwi Management Plan Guidelines*—and the case studies were used to determine the effectiveness of the guidance material.

Of the 19 guidance documents on Māori issues available from the MfE and Quality Planning websites, half were over 10 years old, and the most recent was dated 2006. The most common topics were consultation, participation and iwi–council accords. The majority were aimed at iwi–council relationships, with only five having some relevance to applicants for resource consents. Surprisingly, there was almost no use and very little awareness of the national guidance material by practitioners. Those who were aware of the material described it as not helpful, too general and out of date. There was no evidence of unwillingness by practitioners to incorporate Māori values and concerns into the process, but they said that this was informed by such things as locally produced guidance and training workshops rather than reference to national material. Local tools included protocols and memoranda of understanding (MOU) with iwi and hapū, cultural impact assessments, iwi management plans, checklists, GIS maps, in-house training, district and regional plans and the RMA itself. For many interviewees, however, the quality of relationships between councils and iwi/hapū, and the personal relationships they themselves had developed, were the key to guiding good process.

These findings were somewhat surprising as we had anticipated that formal guidance would be more consistently used. On the other hand, it was heartening to see the widespread appreciation of the

importance of relationships. But a good relationship does not necessarily mean a good process, and this is explored in the next two sections.

How Does the Environment Court Respond to Māori Knowledge and Concerns?

Hogg's research paper, *Mātauranga Māori in the Environment Court* (2009), explored the extent to which the Environment Court supports different forms of knowledge and legitimises knowledge holders. Given that the court proceedings set the tone for council-level hearings, it is particularly instructive to look at how Māori witnesses, and their knowledge and values, are treated during hearings and in formal decisions. Hogg's research analysed three environment court cases where Māori parties opposed the granting of resource consents involving freshwater: Te Maru o Ngāti Rangiwewehi v. Bay of Plenty Regional Council; Mōkau Ki Runga Regional Management Committee v. Waikato Regional Council; and Walker v. Hawkes Bay Regional Council. Quoting her findings:

> In each of these cases, Māori had varying levels of success in having their concerns addressed or mitigated. These ranged from a clear acknowledgement of the desecration of Māori culture, and a reduced term of resource consent in *Rangiwewehi*, to the acceptance of a traditional fish passage in *Mōkau*, and conditions placed upon the spraying of Roundup in *Walker*.
>
> I propose that the achievements of Māori in these cases, and particularly in *Rangiwewehi,* can be regarded in two contradictory ways. First, it can be argued that the mātauranga Māori discourse used by the claimants was an empowering process that enabled Māori to express their knowledge, and environmental worldview in the Court. Furthermore, the use of te reo, the acceptance of narrative evidence, and the agreement of the Court to mitigate some adverse effects of the resource consents can be regarded as a recognition of mātauranga Māori as an acceptable knowledge system through which to understand such environmental issues.
>
> The second way, however suggests that the achievements of Māori in these cases masks the power relationships underpinning the legal process. I submit that this is the more plausible understanding of these cases. In *Rangiwewehi,* I argue that the frequent, yet vague references to the protection of Māori "culture" allowed the Court to avoid a deeper discussion into epistemological differences between Māori and Pākehā perspectives on the environment. While the Court in *Rangiwewehi* referred often to the need for "sensitivity" towards Māori culture, none of these cases discussed the nature of Pākehā culture and the values that underpin scientific evidence presented in resource consent cases. I propose that the concessions given to Māori by way of the natural fish passage in *Mōkau* and the conditions placed on the spraying of Roundup in *Walker*, are further evidence of the Court evading more fundamental questions of power and knowledge. (Hogg, 2009, p. 28)

Hogg also found that scientific evidence given by experts was regarded as being superior to mātauranga (Māori knowledge) evidence given by Māori witnesses. The experience and standing of Māori witnesses (for example, kaumātua (elders)) were largely ignored by the court except where this fitted with Pākehā hierarchies (for example, university dean, farm consultant). In her conclusion, Hogg argues for a more thorough discussion on the needs and philosophies that lie beneath different worldviews. She considers also that there are missed opportunities to discuss how a Māori perspective on an environmental issue can benefit all New Zealanders.

Hogg's research alerted us to pay attention to what goes on in the decision-making process (hearings plus formal decisions), rather than just looking at what happens in the lead up to this. At a superficial level justice may have been seen to be addressed, but at a deeper level there are cultural constraints being played out, of which even the participants may not be aware.

Is There a Problem?

We also needed to establish if those involved in resource consent processes thought there was a problem with incorporating Māori values and concerns. Accordingly, we carried out a series of face-to-face interviews with 16 people, including iwi resource management practitioners, council planning

and iwi liaison staff, an independent hearing commissioner, resource management lawyers and relevant MfE staff. The purpose was to build a picture of the issues and opportunities around incorporating Māori knowledge and values into the resource consent decision-making process. Key findings of these interviews were as follows:

We Don't Have the Capacity to Deal With This Issue Effectively

Māori resource managers were concerned they lacked the people and financial resources to keep up with the complexity and ongoing demand of the resource consent proceedings. A need to react in these circumstances undermines their ability to work more strategically on the holistic long-term development of iwi and hapū.

Māori were not alone in their concern about capacity. Key issues for council staff were that high staff turnover meant the institutional knowledge around issues of mātauranga Māori and the RMA was lost rather than developed.

There Are Enough Tools

Both Māori and European respondents felt there were enough resource management tools available to ensure that Māori knowledge and concerns are properly considered in the resource management process. These tools include joint management agreements, transfers of functions and powers, iwi management plans, submissions, sections 6, 7 and 8 of the RMA, and "affected party status". Local Government Act provisions (specifically s81 and s40) are also relevant to consultation and decision making with Māori and Māori representation opportunities.

The sticking point is that the implementation and use of these tools leaves much to be desired. Some are little or rarely used, and others are not used in ways that are seen to be successful. Throughout the interviews, we found that the successful implementation of these current tools was seen as an opportunity to improve the interface between Māori knowledge and the RMA.

Implementing the Tools Is a Different Matter

Overall, six themes emerged regarding the implementation of the tools:

RMA tools are not effectively implemented to meet the needs of Māori.

There is a lack of capacity on both sides and the variable performance of both councils and iwi is attributable in part to limited resourcing.

There is not enough understanding about the process of consultation from either side; that is, neither the council/developer understanding of consultation of iwi and hapū nor the Māori understanding of the consultation process within the RMA process.

Decisions are made by decision makers without appropriate training or knowledge and experience in engagement with Māori.

Attitudes on both sides may be less than constructive.

The importance of appropriate engagement and participation, and the potential for rich relationships to develop as part of a partnership, is not appreciated.

At their core, these concerns reflect three key issues: limited *resourcing*, limited engagement in *relationships* and a level of *resistance* that may well build as a direct result of the limited resourcing and engagement in relationships. It will be important to bring all these matters to the fore in developing our "toolbox".

Research Findings to Date: Year 2

At the end of Year 1, with the findings above, the team re-assessed the role and purpose of the project. We decided that seeing things always as a problem suggests blame and can blind us from seeing solutions. From our discussions with interviewees it appeared there had been some excellent outcomes

to resource consent processes, but the way we worded the research project mitigated against us hearing about these cases. So, we proposed a change, to look at successful experiences with resource consent processes—win–wins—where tangata whenua (people of the land) *and* the applicant are happy with the process and outcome. Would we learn more from this approach? We tested the proposal on the people we had interviewed above and found general support for the idea. So, the research team now shifted from problem identification to success identification. In particular we wanted to know: Was success dependent on good resourcing and relationships? If not, how were these earlier issues overcome? Also, how was resistance, if any, played out throughout the process? What were the ingredients that ultimately led to success? Our first case study (and the only one to date) was Ngāti Torehina/Mataka Station in the Bay of Islands.

Win–win cases for this project are defined as those that are successful from a Māori perspective first and foremost. We found that Ngāti Torehina have been keen for a long time to talk about their project and share the learnings with others. This research afforded them the opportunity.

Mataka Station is an 1160-hectare site on the Purerua Peninsula in the Bay of Islands. Originally a dry-stock farming unit, the station was later put on the market and the site purchased for subdivision development. The original resource consent for subdivision was granted in 2000, for 28 allotments ranging from 30 to 90 hectares. A variation to the resource consent was applied for in 2004; Ngāti Torehina became involved at this stage. They forwarded a submission on the Variation to the Far North District Council (the council) and so began their engagement with this project. The key kaumātua on this project were Hugh Rihari and Whakaaropai Rihari.

Interviews with Hugh Rihari were informative in gaining an insight to the challenges and opportunities presented as a result of this engagement. The biggest concerns for kaumātua were the historical, cultural and spiritual significance of the area and the need for the land's integrity to be upheld. It was interesting to note that the spiritual significance of the land was of utmost value to the hapū, yet this had no standing in terms of legislative or regulatory support. The hapū has been bestowed the role of kaitiaki (guardian) through their ancestral connection to the area, and members felt they had an obligation and responsibility to be involved in the development of the site.

Hugh Rihari spoke about the need to be navigating "two worlds" as a result of being involved in the project: The need to take constant reference to the teachings of their ancestors and uphold the cultural practices established before their time, and the need to have an in-depth understanding of the Western or colonised world that created the legislative provisions within which they were forced to work. By this Hugh Rihari meant, and made reference to, the provisions of the Historic Places Act and the RMA. Hugh quoted all the relevant sections and explained how in some cases they were inappropriate; but, more importantly, he stressed the need to understand the Acts and be able to navigate one's way through them.

Contrary to our previous interview experience, Hugh Rihari found the council was not helpful. The hapū were always involved in the reactive parts of the resource consent process and the council did not encourage proactive engagement. It provided them with very few helpful answers, and provisions were working against hapū; for example, consent conditions previously granted on original consent. However, Hugh Rihari said that in this case the hapū decided that the best avenue would be to establish a relationship with the owner and developer.

The relationship between Ngāti Torehina and the owner/developer was, in Hugh Rihari's view, the key to the success of the project. From the outset both parties were open, honest and respectful of each other's values and culture. As Hugh Rihari said: "We had to go back to grassroots, back to the start and get the understanding built between the parties. It was important to understand each other's culture, and work through as partners" (H. Rihari, personal communication, May 5, 2010).

As a result the owners wanted the hapū involved in every part of the project, to help find solutions to both sides of the problem and talking and working together proactively rather than

reactively. They went a step further with this relationship and helped resource the hapū to put together a Cultural Management Plan for the entire site. A Cultural Management Plan is developed from the hapū perspective. It details the cultural and historical significance of the site but, more importantly, is a set of rules between the developer and hapū of how things are to happen on the site. For example, under such a plan, excavation activities on the site (such as levelling house sites, trenching for utilities) carry a protocol, due to the high occurrence of archaeological finds. The plan is provided to each allotment owner of the development and acts as a body corporate covenant over the allotment.

It is interesting to note that little weight was given to official archaeological assessments on the site due to their inaccuracy, and that both Hugh Rihari and the owner preferred the Cultural Management Plan approach as it provided a framework for archaeological finds and how to deal with them in a culturally appropriate way.

This approach differs from that of a Cultural Impact Assessment (CIA) which is a one-off recognition of values before a proposal is given consideration for resource consent approval. A CIA is therefore a snapshot in time for a particular area, and the council makes the decision for recognition. A cultural management plan, by contrast, is a living document of rules for considering Māori cultural values and knowledge for the life of a particular site, which is a lot more enduring.

Hugh Rihari states that the overall keys to success for this win–win case were the relationship between the hapū and the owner, and the cultural management plan. In essence, he believes the hapū would not be where they are today with this development had they not achieved either of the above.

Ways Forward From Here

Core issues that we will need to consider in the design of the toolbox include:

The relative importance of relationships, resourcing and resistance, and how these might be addressed.

The particular importance of relationships between *applicants* and tangata whenua—as compared to councils and tangata whenua, a relationship that seems to be relatively well developed.

The role of Cultural Management Plans, compared to cultural impact assessments.

The way hearing situations can give better recognition of the credibility of indigenous knowledge holders and their knowledge.

The different ways guidance could be communicated, other than the written word.

The next steps of the project involve further win–win case studies, the identification of tools to address the issues above, and work with the participants to further develop appropriate tools. The completion date of the project is mid-2011.

Glossary

hapū	kinship group
iwi	tribe
kaitiaki	guardian
kaumātua	elders
mātauranga	knowledge
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
tangata whenua	people of the land
te reo	language, the Māori language

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Kaupapa Wānanga: An Indigenous Framework to Guide Teaching and Learning

Erita Kingi
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Abstract

This paper explores and attempts to theorise a teaching and learning framework termed Kaupapa Wānanga that privileges Māori wisdom and knowledge. Kaupapa Wānanga embraces principles that underpin the daily practice, thinking, acting, and decision making at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWoA).

Introduction

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, the largest Māori tertiary institution in the world, began in 1984 with the vision to provide tertiary learning and employment opportunities for the local community. In 1993 the centre was awarded Wānanga status and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa was born. Today, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWoA) is to be celebrated as a Māori-centred tertiary education institution (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa Mission Statement, 2006).

A Māori-Centred Tertiary Institution: What Does This Mean?

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is described as a Māori-centred tertiary education environment where culturally preferred methods are contextualised within the programmes of study. Programme curricula are founded on conceptual frameworks underpinned by a Māori worldview.

Māori worldview, āhuatanga Māori (Māori practices), kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophy) and cultural principles are some of the names ascribed to a Māori-centred pedagogical learning environment. For example, the Te Korowai Ākonga (Woven Cloak of Learning) (TKA) Bachelor of Teaching (Primary) degree challenges the problem of Māori educational achievement by educating student teachers within a Māori context to utilise a Māori pedagogy based on Māori beliefs about teaching and learning and contextualising āhuatanga Māori.

Āhuatanga Māori includes cultural values—as underpinning Te Korowai Ākonga—which are core to the degree's conceptual framework. The degree's conceptual framework sets out to make sure that any elements taught within the degree are Māori centred or aligned to a Māori perspective. Pihama, Smith, Taki, and Lee (2004) confirm that much has been written recently about how to operationalise a Māori worldview:

> Writer after writer indicates that Māori pedagogy is not new, but is derived within a long and ancient history of tikanga Māori [Māori practices] and is informed by mātauranga Māori [Māori knowledge] that is sourced in thousands of years of articulation and practice. The ability and commitment to look to the past for answers to present (and future) Māori educational developments is perhaps the most critical factor to Māori educational achievement. (p. 53)

Tensions

Despite the quantity of thought and discussion given to TKA's Māori worldview philosophy and deliberate staff facilitation to this end, a research project undertaken in 2009—with recent programme graduates employed in local schools—identified that many of the participants struggled to describe evidence of Māori teaching pedagogy that works for Māori learners or holistic Māori teaching and learning models within TKA. Participants were also hesitant to recall the significance of cultural values or a Māori worldview (Kingi, Mackie, Pukepuke, Hemana & Rogers, 2010).

Researchers, Kingi et al., as staff of TWoA, were perplexed as this was seemingly our point of difference and the reasons why applicants choose to enrol in this pre-service teacher education provider. Further probing is suggested; there are more questions to be considered. Here is a point of tension. Can we articulate what it is we value? What is our truth? Have we parked up our principles? Are our visionary lenses blurred? Or perhaps it is an assumption that our principles and values are so entrenched that we struggle to articulate an understanding. Foucalt suggests that "people know what they do; frequently they know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what they do does" (cited in Krips, 1990, p. 173). This is consistent with Rev Māori Marsden's definition of worldview cited in Royal (2005):

> as something that lies deep within a culture and the individuals of that culture. In many instances, a worldview is often a "given", an implicit set of impressions about the world that are often left unchallenged and discussed. Worldviews are invisible sets of ideas about the world that lie deep within a culture, so deep that many if not the majority of a culture will often have difficulty describing them. (p. 37)

Kaupapa Wānanga: A Teaching and Learning Framework for Indigenous Learners
Central to Kaupapa Wānanga are the principles and practices of how to articulate a TWoA vision founded on Māori bodies of knowledge, āhuatanga Māori, Māori worldview, and kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori is best described as a local approach to critical theory (Smith, 1999). There are a number of major writers in critical theory. One that most closely articulates Kaupapa Wānanga is Paolo Freire. A number of the tenets of transformative praxis as described by Freire can be identified within the Kaupapa Wānanga framework.

Kaupapa Wānanga is about "our ways of doing" and seeks to position a unique and distinctly TWoA way of teaching and learning. Kaupapa Wānanga identifies how the philosophy and values are manifest in our work (T. Pohatu, personal communication, February 15, 2010). It is intended that a Kaupapa Wānanga framework is planned to make us more deliberate and conscious of Māori thinking and should be visible, articulated, and saturate all elements of the workplace. Ultimately it refers to a local approach or a paradigm that is characterised by principles that fit a cultural worldview described as best practices defined by a group of people.

Why is This a Unique Framework?
This framework is a work in progress and is unique in that it is organic. It is being written, implemented, and monitored from within the institution. It is an inclusive framework that can be applied to and guide work practice in all departments of the institution and at all levels within TWoA. A focus team has been established to manage the process within the Wānanga. At the same time it allows teams to articulate their own understandings of the principles and how they plan to implement the framework as a working model (Hunia, 2009).

Foucault also supports this practice in his statement, "We have to be there at the birth of ideas, the bursting outward of their force; not in books expressing them, but in events manifesting this force, in struggles, carried on around ideas, for or against them" (Foucault, n.d.).

Elements of Kaupapa Wānanga:
Kaupapa Wānanga privileges Māori thinking and legitimises the way we do things. Kaupapa Wānanga will be liberating. Kaupapa Wānanga invites participants to "be and see" according to Māori epistemology. Meyer (2004) refers to epistemology as "what is worth knowing or what you want your grandchildren to know" (p. 9).

Principles that embrace the philosophy of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa were decided upon as descriptors to link thinking to practice and measure quality, success and achievement of the institution's core business of teaching and learning. Each of the principles encompasses a range of understandings and further principles or tikanga are embraced within the wider meaning. Tikanga

refs to "the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or an individual" (Mead, p. 12).

Kaitiakitanga (responsible trusteeship), Āhurutanga (safe space), Koha (contribution) and Mauri Ora (well-being) are the four elements, principles positioned within Kaupapa Wānanga. These principles were selected to embrace the activities and challenges within all the levels of TWoA workplace. The principles articulate how we are unique in how we do what we do and to engage kaimahi (workers) and students a shared teaching and learning vision. These principles are timeless. Through workshop discussions TWoA staff are invited to develop a shared understanding and clarify how the principles can be applied to their positions in the workplace.

For example, Pohatu (2003) explains kaitiakitanga as being a responsible guardian and trustee of taonga, (treasures of high value), prestige, and wealth for future generations. This empowering strategy has long been written and practised by resistance theorists like Friere (1972) and Smith (1997). It is one of many penetrating strategies that are taken up by Māori resistance and opposition initiatives, whare wānanga (higher school of learning) being another example. Marsden (1988) links kaitiakitanga to "ultimate reality". He talks about

being connected to the centre where our most basic convictions are found. A person must create a relationship with the universe in order to give direction and purpose to his life. From that centre derives the basic convictions about the meaning and purpose of life in general. (p. 5)

In a Kaupapa Wānanga context, kaitiakitanga can be about responsibilities, relationships, empowerment, obligations, service and "inner clarity" (Marsden, 1988, p. 5).

In a similar manner, understandings of Āhurutanga, meaning a safe place, would consider such things as what is needed for a safe learning or working environment and the provision of tools, facilities, and resources to achieve a quality outcome. The principle of koha questions the knowledge, skills, abilities and gifts or contribution one brings to the discussion, workplace, or teaching and learning and what one might need (in the way of koha) to effect a quality delivery or outcome. Koha also includes the concept of reciprocity and the idea that both the teacher and the learner each contribute to the learning environment.

How Might it Work to Enhance Teaching and Learning?

An expectation of Kaupapa Wānanga is that it will change behaviours in that it is transformative. Asking critical questions will guide reflection and prompt transformative praxis. Kaupapa Wānanga is solution focused, culturally relevant, and encourages positive outcomes. Implementation of Kaupapa Wānanga is a work in progress.

Kaupapa Wānanga is based within a Kaupapa Māori approach. According to Tuakana Nepe (1991), Kaupapa Māori derives from distinctive cultural epistemological and metaphysical foundations. This is reinforced by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1996) who states that: The concept of kaupapa implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about those ideas and practices" (p. 204). Kaupapa Māori theories and practices assert a need for Māori to develop initiatives for change that are located within distinctly Māori frameworks. The key components of Kaupapa Māori theory are espoused by Smith as being conscientisation or consciousness-raising, resistance and transformative praxis.

According to Hunia (2009), "consciousness-raising" refers to:

- questioning with the intention of informing change and improvement;
- freeing our own minds from a history of oppressive and hegemonic behaviour to reawaken "the Māori imagination that had been stifled and diminished by colonization processes" (Smith, 2003); and
- challenging those systems that play a central role in propagating oppression and the belief that Pākehā society knows what is best for Māori people.

Kaupapa Wānanga is an inclusive approach which invites workplace participation. Input from the outset is more likely to be supported and embraced. Therefore it is expected that although the working party will guide the implementation process, programme teams alongside the working party will shape their own understanding of the takepū and Kaupapa Wānanga which move the workplace from positions of compliance and transactional to transformative and progressive.

For example, critical questions will endorse and give meaning to Kaupapa Wānanga by informing principle-based decision making and reflective practice in every department of the institution which in turn has an effect on the core business of teaching and learning. Reflection or dialogue may include attending to Kaitiakitanga, Āhurutanga, Koha and Mauri Ora. A sample of reflective questioning follows:

How do we address kaitiakitanga when inducting new students into TWoA?
How is Kaupapa Wānanga visible in my teaching practice?
What is or was my contribution, my koha to my students/my teaching/their learning in this?
When did I consider kaitiakitanga in this dilemma?
What aspects of āhurutanga have been attended to for this programme?

Measures of Quality

According to Meyer (2005), quality can be found in how education responds to the community's quest for wellness, quality leadership, restorative justice, land stewardship or economic sustainability. Culture defines what excellence looks like in these five areas.

Kaupapa Wānanga will be our measures of quality within the institution. The questions asked will validate critical thinking to explain and serve the well-being of our people. Applying critical thinking to Kaupapa Wānanga invites dialogue, conversation, hui (meetings) and wānanga (discussions). This can happen in one-to-one conversations, small group dialogue, large group wānanga, or in mixed teams to articulate an understanding of quality focused solutions. Reflective questioning will frame positions of Kaitiakitanga, Āhurutanga, Koha and Mauri Ora to measure quality within one's daily work. Examples of such may include:

How have you taken care of Kaitiakitanga obligations toward quality teaching and learning? Reflective responses may include, "I planned really well for this module. I did … I spoke to ... I researched ..."

What is your Koha to quality teaching and learning?

In pursuit of Mauri Ora, what does quality teaching and learning look like for your team/your programme/your students?

What are the things that are present in the teaching and learning environment that create a place/space of āhurutanga?

Again the door is open for participants to speak or respond collectively and as individuals to these positions. Royal (2005) states:

Unfortunately, many adults do not fundamentally address the ideas, beliefs, values and thinking they gained in their childhood in order to discard those things that are not helpful and to retain those that are. Instead, they continue to labour under certain views, impressions and beliefs deep into their adulthood that need not exist. This arises through a lack of *wānanga,* or analysis, reflection and thinking in their lives. It is fair to say, that there is a fair amount of anti-intellectualism in Māori society. There is the mistaken impression that critical thinking is somehow not Māori. This is connected to the mistaken view that "Māoritanga" is somehow fixed in some form and that it remains unchanged as it passes from one generation to the next. Both views are deeply incorrect and serve to compromise the health and wellbeing of our people. (p. 27)

In its quest for quality and excellence as defined by Kaupapa Wānanga, our culturally defined framework serves to enhance the health, education and well-being of our people in the pursuit of mauri ora.

Glossary

āhuatanga Māori	Māori practices
āhurutanga	safe space
ākonga	student, learner
kaimahi	workers
kaitiakitanga	responsible trusteeship
kaupapa	philosophy
kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy
koha	contribution
korowai	woven cloak
mātauranga	knowledge
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
mauri ora	wellbeing
takepū	principles
taonga	treasures of high value
Te Korowai Ākonga	Woven Cloak of Learning
tikanga	set of beliefs and practices
tikanga Māori	Māori practices
wānanga	discussions, gathering
whare wānanga	higher school of learning

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The Others: Early Settlers' Views of Māori before the Taranaki Wars: Case Studies on the Wakefield Settlements in Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth

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Abstract

This paper will argue that in the early settlement period in New Zealand, there was a variation between the official views of Māori, which were mediated through political issues, and the views of ordinary people, who had close and continuing exposure to Māori. These personal views, which were neither public nor mediated through public discourses about Crown–Māori issues, will be examined in letters, diaries and journals. Early settlers' first encounters with Māori took many forms and were difficult and frustrating, yet they were also interesting and fascinating. This is one of the first attempts to construct a general overall view and critically reflect on the shared experiences of settlers with Māori.

Introduction

> The kindness with which the natives received us desire to be recorded, all had smiling faces and outreached arms which made a strong impression on all our feelings. (Newlands, 1841)

The colonisation of New Zealand under the Wakefield scheme can be labelled a rushed enterprise resulting in confusion and disappointment. In May 1839, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the National Colonisation Society were worried that other speculators might establish themselves in New Zealand ahead of Wakefield's New Zealand Company (Gledhill, 1982; Wolfe, 2007). Some historians have suggested that Wakefield knew about the British Government's intention to annex the country, which would be potentially ruinous to the Company as it would then become difficult to purchase cheap land for "systematic colonisation" (Turnbull, 1959). Accordingly, the Company dispatched the *Tory* to Wellington in a hectic rush on 5 May 1839 to arrive in August, after 3 months at sea. The departure was so hurried that Chaffers, the captain, had joined the crew with only 24 hours notice; they set sail without their surveyor being aware of their intended destination (Burns & Richardson, 1989).

The Company dispatched more immigrants in ships from London before knowing whether the *Tory* had arrived safely on the other side of the world. At that stage no one knew what had occurred regarding the establishment of a settlement in the antipodes, or what to expect. These fearless first settlers were sent out in uncertainty and with hopes of success.

The initial settlers spent many months at sea never sure where exactly in New Zealand they would land. Many primary sources record traumatic experiences during these migrant journeys, experiences that would continue with the creation of new homes on shore, in places different from anything they had ever known. The ships worked as a kind of "transitional room", where new ideas and hopes became evident. What had these people left behind? A country undergoing industrialisation and change, as well as an unfortunate life lived in poverty (at least for the steerage passengers). Cabin passengers who paid for their passage to New Zealand often left behind an uncertain social status. The new country would bring them a career and opportunities they never had in the Old World of Europe.

However, the Company did not prepare immigrants for what awaited them at the end of their journey, especially in the early period of settlement. Great then was the settlers' disappointment when they arrived at their destinations and the images of advertisements they had seen met with reality. There was no surveyed land; sometimes there was not even shelter. Settlers found New Zealand to be cold and damp, and there was a food shortage. It was far from the promised "God's Country". Many letters and diaries reported these difficult times and the disappointment and frustration they brought. And there was another surprise: there were other people living there—Māori:

> I fancy how shocked you would have been, no door, no windows, no fire, and the Natives coming in when they liked particular when we were eating. Notwithstanding my dear Father, I slept well that first night and when I awoke in the morning I found Edwine gone and two ghastly Maories with their faces tattooed all over sitting down on the ground close to my bedside. How I felt or looked I cannot describe—I did not scream or speak but waved my hand to them to go away. (Harris, 1841)

Encounters with Māori

Encounters with Māori took many forms and were by turns difficult and frustrating, interesting and fascinating. The diversity of encounter experiences is fascinating and provides new insights into those first months on shore. This project seeks to recover what these ordinary settlers really knew about Māori, what they really thought, and what their responses were to Māori at this more personal level of observation and engagement.

New Plymouth Encounters

Research on New Plymouth settlers reveals they had an interesting relationship with Māori. The white settlers called themselves Pākehā at a very early stage, which is surprising as today the term is sometimes regarded negatively. It appears the white population had no resistance to this term. Another word that found usage in daily conversations was whare, which not only meant a simple Māori hut, but was used to refer to houses in general. We find, as well, an adoption of Māori places names, foods and plants. Daily encounters led to an exchange of language. Māori language was widely adopted and integrated in a short period of time. Māori words are found incorporated into everyday settler language. For example, Henry Govett ([1843?]) wrote in his diary: "Mr. Hargraves to dinner—long korero [talk] with Maories in the evening."

> Māori, with their knowledge of resources, were essential for the daily survival of the settlers. There was a constant shortage of food in New Plymouth in the first year of settlement. Reports frequently discuss the need for food and the hopeful wait for new immigrant ships carrying supplies. Māori traded potatoes, pigs and other items with the white settlers on a daily basis, which intensified the encounters between the two peoples. Potatoes were commonly traded for blankets. Māori also helped the new arrivals with labouring tasks:

> Tipen (Stephan) a Maori came in, and James asked him to help him an hour to dig a piece of ground for the Mangol wurzel; he worked so hard, James was very much pleased; he gave him sixpence. He promised to come tomorrow to spite rails for fencing, we thought ourselves very fortunate in getting him, as they are all busy on their own land it is next to impossible to get one. (Hirst, 1854)

> Despite these early examples of acceptance, the settler experience nevertheless included a significant "shock moment". Upon their arrival, settlers were frightened of these other people. Their descriptions of Māori are infused with the common "savage" theories of the time. Opinions covered the whole spectrum, from deep fear and disgust to happiness and curiosity. Sydney Wright (1842) noted:

> What we saw of the natives they seemed a very fine race tall bony well proportioned black and long hair fine white teeth bright eyes and a quick and lively expression of countenance …. Mostly of a coper colour some darker than others and the oldest had their face tattooed which

was cut very deep in the face and some very regula[r] and curios figures they brought a few potatoes of which they exchanged for biscuit.

In contrast, John Hursthouse (1843) reported that: "The natives of whom one stood by our landing are fearful to look at, their tattooed faces are horrible ugly."

Nevertheless, as time moved on and the settlers encountered and experienced the indigenous people further, their attitudes changed or stabilised. One finds descriptions of trust and familiarity. With increased encounters, the use of Māori language and place names increased as well. A significant number of white people developed a kind of friendship or close relationship with the native population. Savage theories were no longer mentioned.

We were on friendly terms with all the Natives, a Pah joined our farm, the Natives of which were always about our house. One woman used to wash for us, and they always came to us in any difficulty. (Vickers, 1851–53)

Evidence such as the above journal entry introduces the concept of some sort of "middle ground". The term was used and developed by Richard White to describe the American Indians in the Great Lakes region of the US and their relations with the French between 1650 and 1815. White (White, 1991) defines the "middle ground" as a space where two different "races"—people with different views, backgrounds and social attitudes—create a new "togetherness". This new way of living together is epitomised by trust, peace, respect, exchange of knowledge, and eventually a mingling of culture and space. White proposes that the middle ground was destroyed in the moment that there was a shift of power to one side. After the shift of power, the powerful and stronger side denies that this middle ground ever existed and returns to savage theory-styled thinking. I believe that White's middle-ground theory can be applied to diverse times and areas of New Zealand.

In the case of New Plymouth, I propose the middle ground existed and became destroyed by a shift in power to the white population with the beginning of conflict in early 1858, which led to the Taranaki Wars of 1860. After all, the Taranaki Wars and the circumstances leading to them finalised the shift of power. After the fighting, horror and destruction, nothing was the same. The Māori–Pākehā relationship in New Plymouth during and after the wars changed dramatically. The denial of the existence of a middle ground is still evident in 2010. Since the shift of power, Māori have been seen through the lens of "savage" theories, deeply affecting attitudes to "living together" in New Zealand. This time was characterised by distrust, fear, and a feeling of superiority, as researched by James Belich and Danny Keenan (Belich & American Council of Learned Societies., 1989; Keenan, 2009).

Nelson Encounter

The encounter in Nelson between Māori and the British was significantly different from that in Taranaki. To begin with, it is important to acknowledge that the number of sources discussing Māori in Nelson is fewer than in the other two settlements discussed here. There is also less said about Māori within those sources. There may be many reasons for this relative lack of sources that need to be taken into account, such as the destruction of material or lower literacy. According to my research, the Nelson encounter between indigenous people and settlers is best characterised by indifference and disinterest as opposed to a middle ground.

Settler–Māori contact was not as intense in Nelson as in Taranaki. Possibly this was due to a better and more stable food situation, and closer and more regular contact with the main settlement at Port Nicholson (Wellington). People in Nelson used Māori mainly as guides to explore the country. On their travels, they enjoyed Māori hospitality by spending nights and even some days in the safe environment of a pā (fortified village):

Their hospitality and aid to the strangers was mere remarkable then any I had before seen during my constant travels to strange countries and occasional interviews with Aboriginals

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from my Boyhood to 1840, to this I esteem the Maori Character and I have a friendly feeling. (Moore, 1876)

Another significant difference in Nelson compared to New Plymouth was that settlers spoke less Māori and reported fewer encounters. The Nelson settlers were not as closely engaged with Māori in the exchange of knowledge and language. Interestingly, Māori were willing to share their knowledge of the land and countryside with surveyors like J. W. Barnicoat, who made good use of it. His diaries cover several years and give detailed descriptions of the information that he received from "the natives", for example, in 1842: "the native told us yesterday 'rain tomorrow—no rain next day'."

This raises various questions, such as: Why did Māori share this knowledge with Pākehā? The answers seem diverse: trading purposes, no understanding of the consequences, goodwill, or perhaps even a feeling of pressure. Shared information and knowledge were not always guided by so-called "bargaining", which should be understood as a kind of trade set up for information. Most of the knowledge shared was given voluntarily. So there was no gain from a Māori perspective, which contrasts with the widely adopted opinion that Māori were just interested in trade and increasing their belongings (Petrie, 2006).

Interestingly, we find more writing about indigenous issues in response to the "Nelson incident" of 1843, in which Arthur Wakefield and his party were killed due to land disputes. Barnicoat, who was involved in the Nelson incident, describes in great detail in his diary the entire incident and its outcomes. The main effect was that the town was divided into pro-Māori and anti-Māori settlers, which is fascinating in terms of the historical adaptation of this incident.

The town is now divided into two parties who may be called Maurieted and Anti-Maurieits. The first part maintains that the native in coming to Wairoo had no express imitation of shedding blood of committing Violence to personal property but marly to uphold their claim to property in the land…. The second party declaim violently against their views which they endeavour to connect with indifference to the fate of those who have fallen, and a general partisanship with the natives in their acts of extortion and rapacity. (Barnicoat, 1843)

It was initially believed that the Nelson incident would have a huge effect on reporting about Māori in the area, but after roughly 2 months of discussing the incident, settlers returned to normal reporting and language in their diaries and letters. This indicates that no middle ground for Nelson ever existed, and that Pākehā were living quite separately from Māori. It cannot be proven that there was more intensified resentment towards Māori than before the incident, or an increase in "savage" theories that influenced writing and thinking. This lack of a middle ground could be due to increased living space. However, I believe the primary reason is because there was no necessity for Nelson settlers to look to Māori for survival.

Wellington Encounters
Discussing and comparing in detail the Wellington encounters with those of New Plymouth and Nelson requires deeper research. So far it is evident that close encounters occurred at Port Nicholson, but no pattern has been discovered. The intriguing question for Wellington will be: Was there a middle ground?

First relations between the arriving settlers and Māori were very good, even if the two chiefs, Te Puni and Te Wharepōuri, were at first shocked about the number of white people "invading" the land (Wakefield & Stevens, 1987). Māori were helpful to the badly equipped settlers, providing food and shelter, as well as unloading the ships. However, soon after their arrival, some settlers decided to move from the swampy mouth of the Hutt River to Lambton Harbour, where they hoped to find a place that was more suitable for farming. There, settlers occupied land that had never been sold by Māori to the New Zealand Company (Gledhill, 1982). This was the beginning of confrontations and disruptions in the relationship between Pākehā and Māori. People of the local pā insisted that the land had never been sold.

Tensions became more heated as time went by. Settlers were very disappointed in Wellington and its agricultural opportunities. Fertile, flat land was scarce. Māori lost much of their land. Olssen and Stenson (1989) talk about 600 acres in Māori hands that were reduced to 100. Settlers led their cattle and sheep over Māori plantations, destroying the basis of living for Māori even further. So if we suggest a middle ground for Wellington, then the destruction was a slight and developing process driven by daily interruption and not by a powerful event as in Nelson and New Plymouth.

Conclusion

As has been well documented, the New Zealand Company brought settlers to New Zealand without first adequately preparing them for living there, or for living amongst Māori people. There were many shared "lived realities" that settlers experienced with Māori. The placement of Māori within the "lived realities" of settlers was important, but that placement varies between the public and private records. Political realities within new settlements located Māori as "others", commensurate with official statements and official views of Māori which were essentially negative. Many settlers learned to speak Māori and accepted the Māori language for its currency when establishing important economic and community relations. Some married into Māori families and established strong familial relationships with local tribes, acting out strong social and personal aspects of encounter and contact. Without Māori support in regard to the provision of food and shelter, settlements could barely have been established, much less continue to exist. In New Plymouth there was a strong bond between Māori and settlers which can be defined as a "middle ground". In Nelson there was not a strong opposition against Māori. The Nelson relations were defined more by indifference, which implied a kind of non-disturbance, despite the Nelson incident. In Wellington, the question as to whether there was a middle ground is still unanswered.

Even during the periods of early "disruptive encounters", there is evidence of settlers and Māori establishing hybrid relationships that escaped the attention of officials, who instead preferred (and insisted upon) the binary relationship that was largely neglectful of Māori people and their culture.

I conclude that at the private level there was sufficient interest, if not motivation, from both sides to overcome emerging barriers and cultures of difference. Even impacts like those in Nelson did not change this. Only the Taranaki Wars, which have been defined by Belich (1989 as "civil wars", had the power to interfere with the private encounters between Māori and Pākehā.

Glossary

kōrero	talk
pā	fortified village
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
whare	house

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INTERSECTING KNOWLEDGES:
WHAT IS AN APPROPRIATE MODEL FOR SCIENCE AND LOCAL TECHNOLOGIES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA?

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Abstract

Knowledge production, sharing and adaptation become beneficial where they translate to enhancing sustainable human progress. "Scientific" and local/traditional knowledge are not mutually exclusive. Local traditional and Western technologies can achieve more in combination than they can aim to do individually in some specific contexts. This paper provides a platform for debate on the intersection of different kinds of knowledge in agricultural enterprises, and identifies their commonalities and how to build on their common strengths. Essentially, the paper employs discourse analysis to critically address political, economic, environmental and cultural issues in knowledge production. It also suggests a model for the integration of science and local knowledge, in order to enhance sustainable growth and development in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Keywords

politics, science, local technologies, agriculture, culture, sub-Saharan Africa

Introduction

This paper employs discourse analysis to offer some critiques and open up debate on political, environmental, cultural and economic issues in knowledge production. It also suggests a possible framework/model for the integration of science and local/traditional knowledge, in order to enhance sustainable growth and development in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA).

How Knowledge is Politicised: Drawing From Home Experience

While it is acknowledged that neither local/traditional technologies nor Western science can achieve any meaningful progress alone, the challenges of integrating both knowledge systems for sustainable development remains a daunting task in the face of the politics of knowledge. The power relations between knowledge "industrialists", and about who decides the research agenda, what to research and where, continue to be debatable issues. What is conceived as an acceptable form of knowledge or innovation is also a matter for debate. Undoubtedly, the contests and war of attrition between the modernists and postmodernists remain with us. Attrition between the dominant form of knowledge and local knowledge is presented vividly in Milovanovic's (1997) work. Seen as illogical and unsystematic, local/traditional knowledges seeking expression have either been covertly or overtly suppressed by powerful voices in favour only of Western knowledge. Contrary to the claim of the modernists—who perceive knowledge as global; dominant discourse of the master and University; Truth; absolute postulates; deductive logic; closure-depicted, "stored passively as in a banking education" (Milovanovic, 1997)—the post-modernists see the same as local, partial and fragmented.

In research administration, powerful cabals decide what is appropriate to research, where to do the research and when to do it. In this way, they have helped the West to advance its cause. In the agricultural sector, for instance, policy makers and researchers have brazenly clamoured for support from the corporate giants, Monsanto and Syngentia. These policy makers and researchers argue that what could help Africa out of its current food and industrial crises would be acceptance of Western innovations verbatim; thus inorganic fertilisation of soils and genetically modified crops are seen as possibly the only solutions for SSA food insecurity (Kolawole, 2008). At the international and national policy levels, resource allocation is mostly devoted to studies deemed "appropriate". The situation has become dismal, to the extent that the Council for the Development of Social Science

Research in Africa (CODESRIA), the "premier pan-African institution of knowledge production", now solicits endowment funds from its members in order to ensure intellectual autonomy! The organisation observes that: "in the last decade, the research funding environment has become increasingly volatile, with many donors supporting only specific, earmarked projects and programmes that coincide with their priorities or the priorities set for them by their governments or founders" (CODESRIA, 2009). Research agenda settings are a matter of personal interest. Even, for example, the University Research Council in some universities, a body in charge of regulating and awarding research grants at University level, may have compromised objectivity in the selection of priority research. Thus the political economy of knowledge production in Africa has been lop-sided and replete with misplaced priorities. Whether on-farm agricultural research (OFAR) in SSA has been successful is also a matter for debate. How else can the current African food crisis be explained if substantial progress has been made in our current research efforts?

Of utmost concern are cultural and environmental dimensions of knowledge production. Observational evidence has shown that certain technologies imported into the African economies do not work in consonance with Africa's peculiar bio-physical environment. Western technologies developed (by the so-called Western trained scientists) within Africa without integrating local content have failed to yield a desirable result. As such, these Western technologies and initiatives have become moribund in particular contexts. Observational evidence has also shown that the environment determines the exigencies of a given community of people. There is a direct relationship between the type of innovations generated within a particular locality and the peculiarity and totality of the environment. Somehow, the environment influences culture, which in turn influences people's interests in terms of their livelihoods, strategies and other social activities. Thus ecology determines, to a large extent, the kind of knowledge and innovations that are developed in a given context. Problems arise where there is a dissonance between the environment, and the innovations generated for use within the environment. As observed earlier, this is not an uncommon occurrence in Africa where Western/foreign technologies are introduced and adopted indiscriminately. Such policies have led to various problems of discontinuance among farmers (Kolawole, Farinde & Alao, 2003).

The cultural dimension of knowledge has been extensively discussed in the literature (Pickering, 1992). Some authors perceive science as relative to culture or interests. This idea is closely linked to cultural relativism (see Eriksen, 1995, p. 11). In other words, what is considered an acceptable form of knowledge in a particular locality may actually be taboo elsewhere. Again, the totality of the environment in terms of topography, vegetation, soil type, rainfall pattern, and so on, all influence the way of life of a people, including their occupations and invariably the kind of knowledge that they are bound to produce. Disruptions arise in the process where vulnerable and poor people are deprived of their right and access to natural resources by powerful elites through unwholesome state legislation and political bickering. Nonetheless, traditional peoples cannot compromise their philosophies and knowledge.

Towards Developing a "Preference Theory" of Local Knowledge

Time and again, we have found in our research that local people continue to use certain local initiatives and innovations developed by them over many years of observation and experimentation (Kolawole, 2002, 2005a, 2005b; 2009). This hypothesis has always remained valid in our series of investigations. Burdened by modernity and modernisation, grassroots people have had to contend with the demands associated with societal trends and transformation. Given that they cannot totally relinquish their traditional ways of life, socio-political, economic and environmental upheavals induced by modernity are a constant challenge, so that they have come to see modernisation as "anti-development". Empirical evidence from the field has shown that grassroots people in southern Nigeria have argued, rhetorically, that "modernisation is the spoiler of man's universe" (Kolawole, 2006, p. 25). Although, not totally against modernity and modernisation, rural people believe that the negative effects of technological advancement and industrialisation on mankind and the environment far outweigh their advantages. Aware of these perceived failings, local farmers, philosophers and artisans believe that inappropriate approaches to developmental issues have always been an impediment to human emancipation and progress, and thus they would rather stick to certain norms and procedures

laid down by their ancestors. In no way would there be a compromise between local priorities and Western agricultural technologies even if the latter are, at least superficially, economically advantageous (Millar, 2007).

Local people are not unwilling to engage in improving the mode of production (they have continued to adopt improved technologies perceived as beneficial to them), but research has shown that they continue to stick to certain endogenous knowledge infrastructure, which they consider relevant to their needs within a particular locale and time frame (Kolawole, 2001). Arising from these observations is the need to develop a preference theory of indigenous knowledge. Essentially, this proposition posits that local people would continue to use certain knowledge systems belonging to them, which they perceive as beneficial, to achieve their aims as the situation demands within a given social and cultural context, regardless of the present state of modernity and modernisation. Invariably, exigencies, perceptions and convictions, such as how society should be ordered and how things should be done, formal training/education, socio-political and economic pressures, and environmental demands are some of the crucial factors influencing the desire to stick to one's own (Kolawole, 2002). This of course has some implications for development. What then does a development agent or agency do in a situation where the clientele system has a different perception or opinion about what the former intends to push? How can trade-offs and convergence be achieved within the operating space?

Western and Local Knowledge: What Commonalities?

Defining knowledge is far from straightforward. Sumner and Tribe (2008) highlight the key concepts and questions underlining the philosophy of knowledge. These are *ontology* (which addresses what actually exists and the nature of "reality"); *epistemology* (which is about how to understand "reality"); *theory* (focusing on the subject-matter for research, including the basic assumptions about the inter-relationships between phenomena); *methodology* (addressing the strategy informing the choice of methods); and *methods* (the techniques used to elicit and analyse data). Thus, every body of knowledge has its own way(s) of knowing—its methodologies, theory and what constitutes knowledge (Scoones & Thompson, 1994). Rather than see knowledge as global and dominant as claimed by the modernists (Milovanovic, 1997), the postmodernists view knowledge as: "local; fragmented; partial; contingent and provisional truths; discourse of hysteric and analyst; meta-narratives; heard within repressed voices; article for sale, produced in multiple sites; relational and positional; intricately connected and hierarchically arranged with power; etc." Although contested by Agrawal (1995), Western and indigenous knowledge are said to be dissimilar on three grounds: substantive; methodological and epistemological; and contextual (Banuri and Marglin, 1993; Chambers, 1980; Dei, 1993; Warren, 1991).

Regardless of these views, however, both Western and local knowledge have some commonalities in their procedures. Although different in terms of regulations and systematisation, these two bodies of knowledge are produced over a given period of time through a process of careful observation, experimentation and validation. Given that grassroots people do not operate within the space of some professional regimentation, as practised in the academic world, they observe the phenomena around them and by so doing devise means, by trying out available options, to meet their challenges. This is the experimentation phase. It is a process in which farmers, local artisans and philosophers are able to match their efforts with identified goals and aspirations. The intention is to close the gaps between their present undesirable conditions and their expectations. Unlike what obtains in academia, local knowledge development undergoes experimentation processes through natural instincts, without any regimentation, written or purposefully designed framework or research design, which are perceived to be sanctimonious by some researchers and academics.

Although faulted by Agrawal (1995), local or indigenous knowledge, unlike Western science, is seen as closed, holistic and non-systematic and without a general conceptual framework (Banuri & Marglin, 1993; Howes & Chambers, 1980). If the claim were true, this in itself may have partly revealed the procedural weaknesses embedded in indigenous knowledge systems. Local knowledge does have its strong points, however. That this knowledge system is easily adaptable to local issues

and problems may be one of its strengths. And the evidence showing that local resources are wielded in the production and application of indigenous knowledge and technologies proves the extent to which it could enhance sustainable development. Although scientific or Western knowledge observes some rigorous, systematic and formal procedures, with attention and premium given to documentation, this still does not and cannot dwarf the importance of local technologies, which are naturally adaptable to specific socio-cultural and ecological milieu. Nevertheless, there is a need to integrate both kinds of knowledge wherever applicable and practicable.

Intersecting Western and Local Knowledge: A Suggested Model
Advocates seeking the valorisation of indigenous technologies are unequivocal about the need to mainstream the local knowledge of grassroots communities within the formal structures of society and in education systems (Kolawole, 2005a, 2005b; von Liebenstein, 2001; Hountondji, 1997). Reprimanding African States for their age-long, extrovert (Eurocentric) and frivolous disposition towards outsiders or Western knowledge and the total dependence of these economies on the same, Hountondji (1997) makes a strong case for the democratisation of knowledge:

> To break that logic at last, to recover individual and collective initiative, to become ourselves again is one of the major tasks prescribed by History. The task, within the specific field of knowledge, amounts to taking an informed enough view of current practices in order to work out other possible modalities of producing knowledge, other possible forms of technological and scientific production relationships, first between the South and the North, but also in the South itself and inside each and every country. (p. 12)

Clearly, the thrust of this paper finds relevance in the above viewpoints. The need to come up with a model for engaging both Western and African indigenous knowledge and technologies in a meaningfully profitable and sustainable manner is thus central to the arguments in this discourse. Given that local and Western knowledge are not mutually exclusive (Chambers, 1983), the preoccupation of the paper is to promote constructive debate, in order to integrate Western and indigenous knowledge. The first attempt should be in the ability to identify the meeting point or overlap between these two bodies of knowledge, and thus use common elements to formulate policies and devise strategic procedures for their integration.

In other words, the entry point will be to address indigenous knowledge and technological development in sectoral policy agenda and implementations. Policy alternatives would need to incorporate local knowledge and appropriate technologies to enhance growth and development in SSA. There are examples of how Western trained scientists have benefitted from farmers' knowledge (Richards, 1985; Kolawole, 2005b), thus fostering the legitimisation of traditional knowledge.
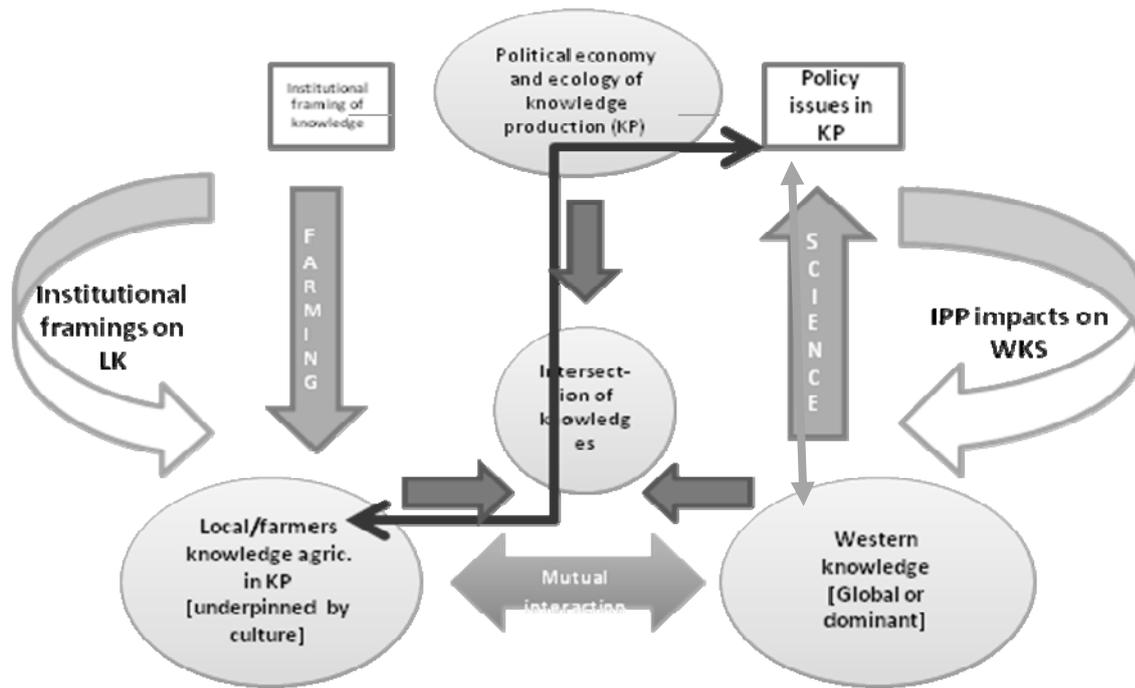
Figure 1. An adapted tripod model showing some interactions between institutional/governance factors, and local (LK) and Western knowledge systems (WKS) and their overall impact on knowledge production (KP) (Kolawole, 2008).
IPP stands for Institutional framings, Political economy and ecology, and Policy issues in knowledge production.

Agricultural and cognate research institutions need to go a step further in their use of current participatory methodologies by actually involving recognisable (but not politicised) smallholder farmers and local artisans in their strategies and policy frameworks, including research agenda, policy objectives and research designs, from the outset. Genuine democratisation of knowledge production can enable farmers and other grassroots stakeholders to provide enough views on what they feel is appropriate for them in a local context. For instance, involving farmers in soil fertility management research could begin with farmers' knowledge and soil management procedures. Recognising how and why farmers use certain local resources to enrich the soil at a given location is a genuine entry point.

By and large, the road map as laid down in this paper is that sectoral policy agenda, conceptualisation, planning and implementation of development initiatives would require that grassroots societies and individuals are thoroughly and pro-actively involved (see Figure 1). By refining the framework in Figure 1, clear-cut stakeholder links are provided in Figure 2. In other words, policy makers, researchers and academics, and native philosophers/local farmers/artisans must work together in an agreeable operational space and in conjunction with a consensus on institutional or sectoral policy agenda on knowledge production (see Figure 2). The main objective is to integrate both scientific and local knowledge, with the ultimate aim of achieving economic progress and sustainable development. It is noteworthy that the Nganyi clan in Western Kenya (noted for their ability in weather reading and rain-making) are already working with a British-Canadian initiative on climate change with a view to finding common ground with Western trained meteorologists and local weathermen.
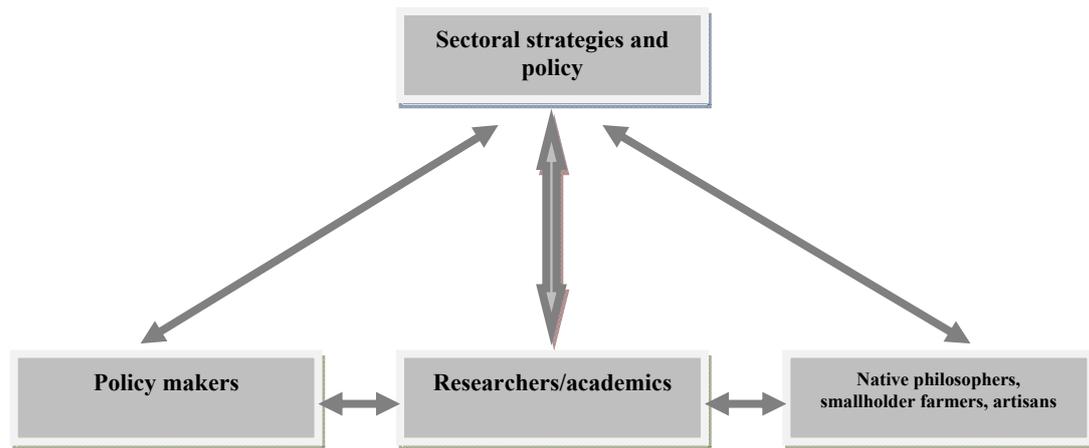
Figure 2. A framework for institutional and grassroots relationships in knowledge production.

Endogenous initiatives and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Programme, the New Partnership for Africa's Development, the Forum for Agricultural Research in Africa, and the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa, have a vital role to play in this proposition. Besides, the Association of African Universities and other allied national bodies will take a leading role in the implementation of a new curriculum, which emphasises the teaching of local knowledge (using indigenous languages where appropriate) in African colleges and universities.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have taken a critical look at the politicisation of knowledge in Africa and the implications of political economy and ecology on knowledge production. Some environmental and cultural dimensions of knowledge production have been highlighted. I have then proposed the development of a "preference theory" of local knowledge to further buttress its natural perpetuation. Next, the commonalities in local and Western knowledge were identified, and these formed the basis for proposing the intersection of the two bodies of knowledge with a view to putting in place the framework to integrate them.

Indeed, if Africa must find its socio-economic and cultural relevance in a globalised world, a radical approach and an entirely new model are needed to enable it to promote its own technologies and resources effectively to other economies. If "making it possible for virtually anyone to be an entrepreneur" in SSA through low-capital-base small and medium scale enterprises (as claimed by the African Academy of Sciences) is to occur, scientific approach and technological development needs to be refocused. Most African countries are purely agrarian. Hence agriculture and agro-allied businesses would invariably be advantageous, compared with most other ventures. Thus developing relevant home-made technologies and innovations in this sector is *sine qua non*. As much as a multi-disciplinary approach is needed in knowledge production and technological development, civil society, grassroots organisations and communities' viewpoints should be paramount in building the African knowledge infrastructure, in order to enhance economic growth and development. More importantly, both *defensive* and *positive* protection (Visser, 2004) of grassroots' intellectual property rights also needs proper re-examination.

Acknowledgements

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The Brown Palace:
Recruitment, Retention and Graduation of Indigenous Students in Specific University Programmes

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Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Whakatōhea

Abstract

The absence of indigenous peoples at university level has been well documented. However, not well documented are the strategies and initiatives that have been developed by indigenous peoples within tertiary institutions to increase indigenous participation and contribute to indigenous capacity and capability building through teaching, research, engagement and knowledge transfer. Such initiatives include culturally appropriate academic programmes and learning support systems, as well as specific learning and academic mentoring support. Connectivity with indigenous communities is also an important feature of these strategies and initiatives.

This paper will discuss some of the initiatives that have been developed at the University of Hawai'i and Massey University, New Zealand, and their impact on students, staff and indigenous communities.

Keywords

higher education, indigenous education, student recruitment, student retention, student support

Introduction

The dearth of indigenous faculty and students at institutions of higher learning is ironic considering that these institutions have quite literally been built on our land (Justice, 2004). The hostility of the academy has not gone undocumented. All we have to do is look at student enrolment numbers and the percentage of our people who are tenure-track faculty to understand that the academy has worked extremely hard to keep us out. Justice (2004, p. 102) argues further, that:

> Many of us have been educated to believe that we don't belong in this place of meaning-making, that we don't have anything worthwhile to contribute as Native peoples, that the intellectual traditions of our families and communities aren't powerful understandings of the world and her ways.

But the hostile nature of this environment does not stop there. We struggle for more than mere existence; we are engaged in a battle to legitimise our ways of being. Alfred (2004) asserts that the conflict between the academy and indigenous cultures centres not only around difference, but that the universities themselves aim to snuff out indigenous existence.

Smith (1992, p. 5) highlights the challenges indigenous academics face in an academy that often denies indigenous existence, and argues that indigenous academics serve a larger purpose:

> We must be engaged in making space through struggles over power, over what counts as knowledge and intellectual pursuit, over what is taught and how it is taught, over what is researched and how it is researched and how research is disseminated. We must also struggle to

make space for students, space for them to be different, space to make choices, and space to develop their own ideas and academic work. All of this is a struggle for our future.

The battle for being indigenous within the academy is not just about creating spaces for ourselves and our students; it involves our own internal struggles about how to maintain and develop our self-belief and fulfil our responsibilities to future generations within the university environment. Operating in the university environment—which values individualism above the collective; academic writing above the stories of our ancestors; and the ivory tower above being present in our community (Alfred, 2004; Justice, 2004; Kaomea, 2001; Smith, 2000)—forces us to take extraordinary measures to recruit, retain and graduate our indigenous students.

What is necessary is documentation of the strategies and initiatives developed by indigenous peoples in tertiary institutions to increase indigenous participation, and which contribute to indigenous capacity and capability-building through teaching, research, engagement and knowledge transfer. Such initiatives include culturally appropriate academic programmes and learning support systems, as well as specific learning and academic mentoring. Connectivity with indigenous communities is also an important feature of these strategies and initiatives.

The rest of this paper is dedicated to documenting initiatives to recruit, retain and graduate indigenous students at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and Massey University, New Zealand. In particular, we look at programmes in the discipline areas of education, science and engineering, and business studies.

He i'a Loa'a Wale nō Ho'i ka Po'opa'a!: College of Education, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

There's an old adage: "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime." If that fish is a po'opa'a (stocky hawkfish), then it is a fish easily caught, and perhaps the man does not need much teaching.

I'll never forget my first visit to Wailuanui, Maui. Papa Ed had taken us to a particularly beautiful place, a cliff that overlooked the ocean, where he would often come to pole fish. This was a family vacation—we were all in a recreational frame of mind. But it was a serious matter for Papa Ed; this was not a matter to be taken lightly.

I am a reasonably self-assured person. I've worked hard and have gained some accomplishment in my profession. I work at the university. I assumed that traditional Hawaiian practices should come naturally to me; I'm Hawaiian, after all. These were my thoughts as I tried to do what Papa Ed had told me.

After a very long day, with continuous encouragement from Papa Ed, I was able to lure what I was sure was an impressive fish, perhaps a big ahi (tuna), onto my hook. What I pulled out of the water, however, was a small orange and white fish, a po'opa'a. Although it was not what I expected, I rejoiced in this modest triumph as I had caught this fish without too much fuss. Papa Ed just smiled as he took the fish off the hook and put it in our cooler. It was not until later, when I read the saying of our kūpuna (elders), "He i'a loa'a wale nō ho'i ka po'opa'a", that I understood that our kūpuna consider fishing for po'opa'a to be one of the easiest of tasks. It might have been easy for our kūpuna, easy for everyone, but as my fishing tale illustrates, it was not easy for me.

I would be reminded of this saying later at my employment when I was charged with recruiting students into our fledgling teacher-preparation programme. I couldn't understand why some of my students had such a hard time with the application process. I had clearly spelled out each detail; all they had to do was follow the steps. Then the po'opa'a swam back into my life. As I had struggled to catch a fish the kūpuna said was easy, I now had to empathise with the students struggling to lure their own po'opa'a.

The absence of indigenous peoples, both as students and as faculty, at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and other universities has been well documented. For example, in Hawai'i, where 23% of the general population is Hawaiian, only 4% of all faculty positions and less than 1% of permanently-tenured positions at the University of Hawai'i are held by Hawaiians (Osorio, 2006). In 2000 only 13.9% of undergraduate students and 7% of graduates were Hawaiian. Even more telling is the fact that Hawaiians have the lowest graduation and retention rate at the university, at 41.3% (Kana'iaupuni, Malone & Ishibashi, 2005).

The absurdity of working in an institution seeking to create a Hawaiian sense of place is that often it is attempted without Hawaiians at the table. At the university's College of Education in particular, non-Hawaiians have, for over a century, had the incongruous role of preparing teachers of the Hawaiian language and for Hawaiian communities, although times are changing.

The foregoing situation has understandably resulted, historically, in grave miscommunications or, at worst, a hostile work environment. Institutional change is slow, bad practices continue and it is often difficult to discern precisely how indigenous students and faculty are undermined daily. The difficult part about working in a hostile environment is that often the hostility is not overt, but insidious.

In my first year at the university I was charged with recruiting Hawaiian students into the new Masters-level teaching programme. This task was so important, yet in a sense it was set up for failure because, although my colleagues and I were given permission to use the Masters teaching programme model, we were denied any other support that would contribute to our programme's success. We had total responsibility for student recruitment and the securing of funds to support our students in their paid internship. We found that our programme was not viewed as a positive step for a college facing serious teacher shortages, but was seen as depleting the student pool and increasing competition for scarce resources.

While the lack of support for the programme was discouraging, we were nevertheless able to attract a modest group of students that first year. However, in the final semester it was discovered that, although our students were enrolled in a programme that included a paid teaching internship, the Chair of the department excluded them from this financial aid. Even though the majority of our students were considered non-traditional[1] and therefore entitled to payment, they would receive none for their work in the schools.

Several years have passed and yet our role in the college remains tenuous. But after years of being hedged out, we are finally able to take a stand for ourselves and our students. In fact, despite years of exclusion of Hawaiians in Hawaiian education, our programme has been able to secure sizeable extramural funding to support our students and the growth of the programme by hiring new faculty members, a fact that we have learned is viewed as unfair in this time of economic downturn. Could it really be unfair? I believe it is the proper attention being paid to our education after years of hostility and neglect.

In the last 5 years the Ho'okulāiwi Master of Education in Teaching programme has graduated 65 highly qualified teachers, 56 of whom are native Hawaiians. They are prepared specifically to work in schools with high concentrations of Hawaiian students, including Hawaiian-language immersion schools, Hawaiian charter schools, and Hawaiian community-based schools. In these 5 years there has also been an exponential increase in new faculty members with Hawaiian ancestry who have made the education of Hawaiian people a priority. Innovation in student recruitment, course offerings and fiscal support has grown the programme, targeted to combat the turnover cycle that has plagued many of our Hawaiian and diverse communities.

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[1] Non-traditional students include persons who are past high school age and who are entering college or trade schools and/or the workforce for the first time, work 35 hours or more per week while enrolled, have dependants other than a spouse, or are single parents.

So while anyone can catch a po'opa'a, we know that the changes we seek can only occur, and teaching and learning can only succeed, with the proper tools, encouragement and support.

Native Hawaiian Science and Engineering Mentoring Programme (NHSEMP), University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Hawaiian scientists have intimate knowledge of Hawai'i's waters, winds, soils and forests. Traditionally, native Hawaiians had complex understanding of water engineering, resource management, ocean science, astronomy and navigation. However, today native Hawaiians are conspicuously under-represented in post-secondary education, particularly in the fields of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM).

Although we are 23% of the state population, native Hawaiians make up only 14.3% of the student body at the University of Hawai'i. At the flagship campus, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, native Hawaiians make up only 3.8% of faculty. Under-representation of native Hawaiians is more acute in STEM disciplines. Of 1,578 members of the STEM faculty, only two are native Hawaiians. Hawai'i's natural laboratory and geographic advantages have made it one of the world's leading locations for the study of ocean sciences, astronomy and geology, but as of Fall, 2006, there were only four native Hawaiian students in the entire School of Ocean, Earth Sciences & Technology.

Table 1. NHSEMP Goals, Activities and Outcomes

Program Map

Goal	Program Activities	Outcomes
Deliver a clear, and powerful vision of STEM education and career opportunities for Native Hawaiians.	1. Outreach activities 2. Student research and internship opportunities	1. Awareness, comfort level, and participation level in basic STEM material will increase amongst large numbers of of Hawaiian students, families, and individuals serving communities with high concentrations of Hawaiians.
Increase the number of Hawaiian students on a career path to leadership in the STEM fields.	1. Academic support - learning communities, counseling, student services, and advising 2. Summer and Transfer Bridge Programs 3. Academic scholarships	1. Native Hawaiian students will gain the skills, confidence, abilities, and support to succeed in their critical first year of studies as evidence by a strong 1-year persistence rate. 2. Native Hawaiian undergraduate and graduate students will build skills, relationships, and understanding of the STEM professions.
Bring the Native Hawaiian and STEM communities together to foster understanding, appreciation, and progress.	1. Community service projects linking science and engineering to Hawaiian communities 2. Speaker Series	1. Native Hawaiian students will self-identify positively as STEM students. 2. Work of Native Hawaiian students will engage STEM and Native Hawaiian communities, as evidence by student evaluation and number, scale, and scope of service projects. 3. STEM faculty, staff, teachers, and community members are better prepared to address the needs of Hawaiian students.

The university's Native Hawaiian Science and Engineering Mentorship (NHSEMP)/STEM Scholars' Programme strives to change this trend. Multifaceted and collaborative, the STEM Scholars' Programme works with several college campuses and professional and private sectors throughout the Pacific and the United States to give students the opportunity to excel academically and professionally. Established in 2001 with only 12 Hawaiian engineering students, the programme has grown exponentially to include over 100 Hawaiian and Pacific Islands students working in the fields of engineering, bio-engineering, natural resource sciences, biological sciences, ocean and marine

sciences, and many more. With a strong foundation of mentoring, the programme continues to evolve and expand according to students' needs. Table 1 outlines three of the foundational goals of NHSEMP, along with a few programme activities and expected outcomes.

We have seen a lot of innovation, successes, and shortcomings in native Hawaiian education programmes over the years. The NHSEMP project is not a scholarship programme that gives away money from a large, detached pool to "elite" applicants. All students who are willing to put in the extra time, effort and energy into meeting their academic goals can participate in the programme in some way. There is a suite of activities designed to ensure our students maintain successful academic progress towards their STEM degree, such as peer mentor-led help sessions. Weekly help sessions are offered in all STEM "gateway/gatekeeper" courses, and attendance is mandatory for all freshmen in Chemistry I/II, Trigonometry, Calculus I–IV and Physics I–III, and new students.

At the core of our University Retention Programme is an academic community. The programme is built around a network of native Hawaiian youth, entrance-level college students, upperclassmen, professionals, faculty, researchers, staff, families, counsellors, and mentors who care about the well-being of our students and our people. We know we are doing our job when 80% of programme graduates enter graduate school or employment in the fields of science, technology, engineering, mathematics or STEM education within 1 year of earning their Bachelor's degree.

Increased Māori Professional Capacity and Capability in Accountancy, Finance and Banking in the College of Business, Massey University

Building Māori professional capability is one of the key investment goals initiated through KIA MAIA, the Māori Academic Investment Agenda at Massey University. The aims of the agenda are to align Massey University capabilities with full Māori participation in te ao Māori (Māori society) and knowledge-based society, and contribute to Māori capacity and capability building through teaching, research, engagement and knowledge transfer. In 2008 the Tertiary Education Commission funded Massey University through the office of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor, Professor Sir Mason Durie, to implement the investment goals. Funding was dispersed among five colleges and three campuses. Five Māori-sector liaison positions and three regional Māori community liaison positions were established. Māori staff in each of the colleges identified areas within their sector where workforce development for Maori was needed, and this was implemented. They also developed strategies to increase Māori participation in a range of professions and careers through higher education and professional experience. In line with the *Tertiary Education Strategy 2007–2012* (Ministry of Education, 2006) the focus has been on supporting school leavers, mature students (those changing career or new to tertiary education), undergraduates who wish to move into postgraduate study and professionals who want postgraduate study options.

In the College of Business, Māori staff highlighted accountancy, finance and banking as areas requiring accelerated workforce development, as it was identified that these professions had low Māori participation. When the programme first began in 2008, Māori staff at the College of Business focused on engaging with a broad range of stakeholders, building relationships, and gathering information. There was engagement with iwi (tribal) groups, Māori organisations and local authorities, with the aim of identifying prospective students for specific degree programmes and supporting existing students in their studies and career paths. Meetings were held with professionals, academics, researchers and leaders in the areas of accountancy and banking, at local and national levels. In particular, a relationship was developed with the Chair of the Manawatū branch of the New Zealand Institute of Chartered Accountants (NZICA), as well as with the network of Māori accountants, Ngā Kaitatau Māori o Aotearoa.

Four key outcomes for 2009 were identified during the planning process of the KIA MAIA College of Business programme. The first involved increased capacity and capability for Māori in accountancy, finance and banking, with initiatives including a careers expo for accountancy students, meetings with Māori accountancy students, and the development of an internship paper, with academic credit, aimed at Māori students. Two Māori students participated in the paper, and were

supervised through the internship to its completion. Furthermore, a joint scholarship venture was established with the Māori Education Trust, and criteria and processes were developed for the undergraduate and postgraduate Te Au Rangahau scholarships created specifically for Māori students completing their degrees.

The second outcome involved an alignment between professional needs and academic programmes in accountancy. This involved hui (meetings) and promotion of our KIA MAIA College of Business initiatives through the School of Accountancy and the Manawatū branch of the NZICA.

The third outcome called for the development of strategies in the area of Māori professional workforce development. Māori accountancy students and staff attended the Ngā Kaitatau Māori o Aotearoa conference, which presented opportunities for personal development and professional advancement. All students attending the hui became members of Ngā Kaitatau Māori o Aotearoa, and one was elected to the Executive. Two Māori academic staff of the College of Business became registered members of the NZICA.

The fourth outcome focused on programmes which aligned with future needs in accountancy. Iwi representatives held hui and produced profiles of Māori students and graduates. Some students and graduates were seconded by their iwi for summer internship programmes, and others were offered iwi-funded grants and scholarships.

Based on past experiences and successes, the following key outcomes for 2010 will provide the foundation for further KIA MAIA College of Business activities:

Continue the facilitation and guidance of Māori students into the professions of accounting, finance and banking.
Provide access for Māori students to local businesses and relevant professions through focused internships and work experience.
Work with industry and Māori professionals to develop strategies for professional development and the identification of mentors for Māori students of accountancy, finance and banking.
Review our relationships and engagement/collaboration protocols, and our progress with iwi, hapū (kinship groups), Māori groups and the community.

KIA MAIA College of Business had a presence at the 2010 KIA MAIA Rangatahi careers expo, held in the Tararua, Horowhenua and Manawatū regions for primary- and secondary-school students and their whānau (families). Over 200 students completed a five-question business quiz, where it was found that some were concerned that apart from learning mathematics, they were not adequately provided for in the areas of accounting, finance or banking at secondary school. A number of one-on-one sessions with students were held, involving assistance with enrolment, course advice and mentoring. To increase application numbers, Te Au Rangahau Scholarships will again be offered, with emails being sent to qualifying candidates in June 2010. This should increase the number of applications received.

Following its success in 2009, the business internship programme has continued in 2010. Two out of 12 students undertaking the internship are of Māori descent. One has been given a consultancy role, and the other is managing accounts for businesses in Palmerston North. Promoting the 2011 internship among Māori business students will begin in the second semester.

The Ngā Kaitatau Māori o Aotearoa Hui-ā-Tau (annual conference) will be hosted at Massey University on 27–28 August 2010. Attendees will include accountants, students and iwi leaders from around New Zealand, providing Māori students with opportunities for networking and finding mentors. The KIA MAIA College of Business programme intends to assist and encourage Māori students to attend and to become members of this network. The Executive of Ngā Kaitatau Māori o Aotearoa has agreed that KIA MAIA College of Business will publish the conference proceedings, which will strengthen Massey University's involvement in the conference, and assist the development of

literature on Māori and accounting. Currently, the extent of academic literature on Māori and accountancy is severely limited.

There has been progress reviewing the relationships developed for the KIA MAIA College of Business programme, with the aim of identifying prospective Māori students from specific iwi, and supporting them through their first year of study. Ideally, during and at the conclusion of their study, these Māori will return to their iwi or hapū communities to work.

Table 2 compares 2010 Māori student numbers with those of 2009. It shows that although there was a decline in the total number of Māori students at Massey University and in the College of Business, numbers in accountancy and finance programmes have increased. It should be noted that the NZICA requires those pursuing a career in accountancy (as a chartered accountant) to complete 4 years of tertiary study in an NZICA approved programme; postgraduate study is not a requirement and so there is little incentive to undertake it.

Table 2. Numbers of Māori Students Enrolled in Massey University Business Courses (2009, 2010)

Course description	Number of Māori students, 2009	Number of Māori students, 2010 (at 8 June 2010)
Massey University (all colleges)	3,325	3,124
College of Business	1,005	983
Accounting undergraduate	177	191
Finance undergraduate	32	35
Accounting postgraduate	0	1
Finance postgraduate	0	0
Banking postgraduate	3	2

Glossary

hapū	kinship group
hui	meeting, gathering
iwi	tribe
po'opa'a	stocky hawkfish
te ao Māori	Māori society, the Māori world
whānau	family, including extended family

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The Role of Customary Law in the Protection of Traditional Knowledge: An International Perspective and Lessons from the Maasai

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Abstract

The value of traditional knowledge and associated genetic resources has increased tremendously in the past few years due to, among other reasons, the advancement in biotechnology. This increase in value has also catalysed misappropriation of such knowledge by third parties including transnational corporations. Mindful of this, the international community and indigenous peoples around the world are working on possible modalities for protecting traditional knowledge. Premised on the complexity of traditional knowledge and inability of a single system to protect it adequately from misappropriation, this paper underscores the role and relevance of customary law. Taking the Maasai peoples as a case study, the paper shows how customary law of indigenous peoples can be used to reverse the "top down" approach to decision making in the protection of traditional knowledge.

Introduction

Indigenous and traditional communities worldwide depend on the natural environment for their livelihood. Traditional knowledge related to medicine, agriculture, fisheries and food preservation, among others, is an important tool for their survival. Falling under the larger fabric of protecting the rights of indigenous peoples, many international organisations have commenced specific programmes aimed at protecting, promoting and preserving traditional knowledge. Such organisations include, but are not limited to, the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), The Secretariat to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the World Bank. In different capacities such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and tribal forums, indigenous peoples have also been taking steps to protect their traditional knowledge and associated genetic resources particularly from misappropriation by third parties. Two main lessons can be learnt from these three decades-long attempts to protect traditional knowledge: that there is no specific or stand-alone mode of protection that can adequately cover all aspects of traditional knowledge, and that customary laws and protocols of local and indigenous communities are vital for a just, community-based system of traditional knowledge governance. This paper aims at elucidating lesson number two. Before going to the crux of the matter, namely customary law, a brief introduction of contested issues in traditional knowledge and associated genetic resources, particularly biopiracy, may shed light to the importance of customary law in this area.

Traditional Knowledge and Associated Genetic Resources

According to WIPO, traditional knowledge refers to

> the content or substance of knowledge that is the result of intellectual activity and insights in a traditional context, and includes the know-how, skills, innovations, practices and learning that form part of the traditional knowledge systems, and knowledge that is embodied in the traditional lifestyle of a community or people, or is contained in codified knowledge systems passed between generations. It is not limited to any specific technical field, and may include agricultural, environmental, and medicinal knowledge associated with genetic resources. (WIPO, 2008, p. 5)

This knowledge is traditional, not because it is old but because it is created, preserved and disseminated in the cultural traditions of particular communities (Singhal, 2008). Traditional knowledge is time tested, as it has enabled local and indigenous communities to interact with nature for centuries. Genetic resources or materials are "any material of plant origin, including reproductive and vegetative propagating material, containing functional units of heredity" (CBD, 1992 Article 2). The CBD puts genetic resources in a larger box of "biological resources", which includes "genetic resources, organisms or parts thereof, populations or any other biotic component of ecosystems with actual or potential use or value for humanity" (CBD, 1992, Article 1). The phrase "actual or potential" presupposes that economic value of certain genetic resources may not have become familiar to the public at the time of collection.

Regulating the use of genetic resources has become an important subject internationally and has therefore attracted the attention of scientists, politicians and the public at large (Dutfield, 2000). Such popularity and importance attached to the subject is due not only to the importance of genetic resources in animal and plant breeding but also to the fact that their existence is endangered (Straus, 2000). Genetic resources have also attracted considerable significance in international law, often crossing different legal realms. Professor Joseph Straus observes that genetic resources have a double legal nature due to the fact that "as *phenotypes,* i.e. individual plants and animals, they traditionally constitute private (tangible) goods; as *genotypes*, i.e. information embodied in the genetic constitution of micro-organism, plant or plant species, they *apriori* conform to the definition of public good" (Straus, 2000, p. 144).

Genetic resources have also been described as "building blocks" and "God's blueprint for life" (Moore & Tymowski, 2005). They play a significant role in agriculture, bio-industries and medicine, as well as in the global economy, notably modern biotechnology industry (Dutfield, 2000).

Biopiracy
According to Dutfield (2004, p. 1), "biopiracy has emerged as a term to describe the ways that corporations from the developed world claim ownership of, free ride on, or otherwise take unfair advantage of, the genetic resources and traditional knowledge and technologies of developing countries." Biopiracy can be described as illegal and unethical "bioprospecting". In the context used here, bioprospecting is the "search for useful biological materials in micro-organisms, plants, fungi, animals and humans" (Polski, 2005, p. 543).

An act can pass the test of biopiracy if it involves any or a combination of the following: unauthorised acquisition of biological resources; unauthorised use of traditional knowledge associated with genetic resources for profit; and obtaining intellectual property rights especially patent for an "invention" based on traditional knowledge.

The Role of Customary Law
What is Customary Law?
There is no single agreed definition of customary law. Many, if not most of the frequently cited definitions end up contrasting customary law with "formal law", only to make the former somewhat inferior (Laymon, 2001). Customary law presupposes established rules, customs, traditions, taboos and protocols with normative force, practiced and enforced among members of a particular community. It can be viewed as an aggregate of culture, history and spirituality of local and indigenous communities.

Customary law is not static; it can be adapted to changing circumstances, thanks to the existence of both specific norms and wide principles or prohibitions. Taking African customary law as an example Gluckman, Allott and Epstein (1969), some of the earliest researchers in the subject, say that,

> It has been established that African customary law, like any system of law, consists of a variety of different types of principles, norms and rules. Some of them state wide and general principles of morality and public policy to constitute an apparently enduring ideological framework for

justice. Such principles of wide connotation stated in multivocal terms covering many referents or wide ranges of action, are flexible and can be adapted to changing conditions and standards. (p. 10)

Factors for variation of customary law of one given community compared to the next include "language, proximity, origin, history, social structure and economy" (Kuruk, 2002, p. 6). Notwithstanding such variation, a number of common paradigms or themes (or customs, narrowly defined) can be identified that apply among indigenous and local communities in different parts of the world. These include, but are not limited to: communal trusteeship ("ownership") of tangible and intangible property; a holistic approach to life; supremacy and reverence to Mother Earth; the role of elders and ancestors; and the tenet, "thou shall not lie".

Many other common themes can be identified. According to a recent study by the United Nations University (UNU) and WIPO, "identification of underlying principles of customary law offers the possibility of establishing a body of guiding principles which can assist in building bridges with positive law regimes" (UNU/WIPO, 2008, p. 74). This, however, needs careful tending to avoid generalisation, prejudices and even stereotyping, which characterises most Eurocentric approaches to the study of indigenous customary law.

It is also noteworthy that not only is it difficult to define customary law and identify common themes but also to find these in the system of laws in "modern" jurisdictions. Leading researchers in the field put the question critically as follows.

> If we are to investigate the customary law of an African people, when and where do we find it? Is it in the traditional or ancient law or the modern (traditionalists might say "perverted") law, infected as it is by non-African ideas, administered by non-customary courts, studied by jurists, challenged by the younger generation of those allegedly subject to it and recorded in a form which may fundamentally alter its whole character and style (whether the form be the technical language of the lawyer or the technical language of the anthropologist)? (Gluckman et al., 1969, p. 10)

This pitfall and the subsequent inferior position accorded to customary law (in Africa) have historical roots to colonialism. In Tanzania, for example, the British (who took over the colony from the Germans following the Versailles Peace treaty signed after the Second World War) introduced their laws and put strict conditions for application of African customary law. According to Allott (1957), the application of native customary law was subject to the following conditions:

> It must be applicable i.e. the transaction must be one known to customary law, and there must be rules of the particular customary law available for the decision of the dispute. […]

> It must not be repugnant to natural justice, equity, or good conscience. […]

> It must not be incompatible with any legislation for the time being in force in the colony. (p. 245)

Some judges even went as far as regarding customary law as "foreign law" that had to be proved valid, like any other foreign law. Customary law, which has existed in a self-regulatory framework for millennia, was immediately incorporated into the bureaucratic technicalities of English law. For example, the West African Court of Appeal reasoned as follows in the case of *Bonsi v Adjena* (1940), 6 WACA 241.

> In all cases in which a party pleading relies upon a native law or custom, the native law or custom relied upon shall be *stated in the pleading* with sufficient particulars to show the nature

and effect of the native law or custom in question and the geographical area and the *tribe to which it relates*. [emphasis added]

Nothing much has changed after independence. Customary law still maintains the lowest (if any) position in the legal systems frequently dubbed as outdated. A silver lining in the cloud can be seen in recent attempts by the international community to research on and incorporate customary law into the natural and cultural property governance. Before examining these attempts, the next subsection shows why customary law matters in traditional knowledge governance.

Why Customary Law?
Both traditional knowledge and customary law are culture or society specific, meaning a particular community that is the custodian or author of such knowledge or custom can be identified.

Human Rights
Indigenous and local communities as have the right to control their intellectual property using their own laws. The United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples (2007, Article 31) acknowledges indigenous peoples' "right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions." Using customary law to protect traditional knowledge/traditional cultural expressions will not only fulfil this human rights obligation but will also enhance such protection. The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) for example, recognises this potential and calls on members to respect and protect traditional knowledge relevant to conservation.

Legality Versus Legitimacy
In many countries customary law occupies a marginal if any position in the hierarchy of laws. However, it is undeniable that it is the *legitimate* law of local and indigenous communities. Received laws are regarded as foreign and unfriendly. For a sensitive area such as traditional knowledge/traditional cultural expressions, which also touches aspects of spirituality of local and indigenous communities, it is only prudent to avoid imposing doctrines of foreign laws and instead try as carefully as possible to promote customary rules and protocols.

Law Without Cultural Attachment is Empty
There have been complaints among traditional communities in East Africa that the law "does not speak their language". This refers particularly to legal jargon, technicalities and bureaucracy inherited from Western legal systems. To local communities, law is more than rules written on a piece of paper, debated on by legislative authorities, such as parliament or even an international organisation. Using aspects of customary law to protect traditional knowledge/traditional cultural expressions will make such laws more meaningful to indigenous and local communities. Customary law is an aggregate of culture, history and spirituality of local and indigenous communities. Without such connection, it is doubtful if current initiatives to protect traditional knowledge/traditional cultural expressions will be successful.

Life as a Cycle
In most indigenous cultures, life forms a continuum, a connected whole, and not compartmentalised divisions, such as environment, culture and intellectual property. Current attempts to protect traditional knowledge/traditional cultural expressions can borrow a thing or two from this holistic approach to life. Among the Maasai, for example, protecting folklore cannot be complete without protecting not only songs and music instruments but also sacred sites such as Oldoinyo Lengai (the Mountain of God) or Endoinyoormorwak (Elders' Hill). It is important to research customary rules used to protect all these life essentials in one box.

An International Perspective
In the past few decades UN agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and WIPO have shown particular interest in customary law. According to Professor Manfred Hinz of the Faculty of Law at the University of Namibia (2007):

> [i]n many instances, field officers of the mentioned international organisations were informed by their working environments that … informal systems of justice very often offered helpful alternatives, in many cases, [and] indeed, more suitable to the needs of the people as well as to developmental concerns. (p. 2)

In 1981 WIPO and UNESCO adopted a model law on folklore. WIPO's Intergovernmental Committee (IGC) on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore has so far generated a number of useful documents by way of state-of-the-art research and conference reports on various aspects of traditional knowledge. WIPO's long-term vision is to encourage member states, especially those in developing countries, to enact *sui generis* laws for protecting traditional knowledge/traditional cultural expressions. The CBD calls upon states to "respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity" (1992, Article 8).

In short, the United Nations and its agencies are willing, and have been in the forefront, to promote customary law and recognition of the rights of marginalised communities.

Lessons From the Maasai

The Maasai are a part of the Nilo-Hamitic group, living in Kenya and northern Tanzania. The culture of the Maasai, like other indigenous people, is closely tied to land. The very first impression that many outsiders get of the Maasai is that they are passionate about their cattle. This is, of course, not only a truism but also a necessary "entry point" for explaining the Maasai tradition in a wider perspective. The community also bears a rich traditional knowledge system. According to Ole Lengisugi (2009, p. 2), "through years of association with physical natural resources of the environment [the Maasai] have become self-made experts in ethno-pharmacology, ethno-therapeutics, ethno-prophylaxis and ethno-toxicology". Such knowledge is manifested in the use of plants for treating various animal diseases. Ole Lengisugi gives the following examples (the Maasai traditional name is followed by the scientific names in italics):

> Oloponi (*Abrus precatorius)*, *(L)* bark extract used to treat babesiosi (Olodokulak).
> Eluai *Acacia (drepanolobium)*, stem bark extract to expel stomach worms and intestinal discomfort.
> Oloiyapasei (*Aspilia mossambicensis)*, fresh leaves paste to treat wounds.
> Olokildia (*Coleus dafurensis)*, bark, root and leaf extracts to treat eye infections and blindness in cattle.
> Oltemwai (*Commiphora swynnertonii)*, extracts to treat various livestock diseases sensitive to acaracidal chemicals.

Customary laws and protocols of the Maasai go deeper than "formal laws" in the management of traditional knowledge. For example, while formal laws contain substantive rules and procedures, customary law distinguishes between sacred and non-sacred knowledge. Elias Nagol, a research consultant based in Arusha, Tanzania, defining traditional knowledge in its broad sense to include traditional cultural and expressions of folklore, provided that certain cultural objects in the Maasai community are sacred because they are connected to divine powers, and that such sacredness can be due to association with a higher being or cultural limitations for its use as enforced by taboos (2009).

According to Nagol (2009), sacred items, which are vehicles for transmitting traditional knowledge, include:

dressing objects such as emonyorit, an object hung by women on the left ear to indicate that either the woman is expecting marriage or is a widow (this depends on the length of the emonyorit);

the traditional leaders' club, orkuma laa laigwanak (a black club held by traditional leaders among the Maasai)—sacred because it is blessed by elders and given to one particular individual;

songs such as Naomoni aiy, sung by women to praise God, and Engai Meari Osotwa, sung during danger such as a natural calamity;

trees such as oreteti, used for worship;

places such as Endoinyoormorwak (Elders' Hill) near Arusha and Oldoinyo Lengai (the Mountain of God)—both used for rituals.

It goes without saying that neither an international convention nor a municipal law enacted by parliament can be considered adequate unless it recognises, respects and promotes the use of customary laws of local and indigenous communities. In reality, however, no one expects the details of customary laws of thousands of communities to be given by an international or even a national law for multi-ethnic countries like Tanzania with more than 120 different ethnic groups. How then can the customary laws of these communities be recognised? One approach has been to promote the concept of free prior informed consent (FPIC), with the assumption that all third parties seeking to utilise traditional knowledge will seek and obtain prior informed consent, and that such consent shall be given solely in accordance with the customary laws and protocols of a given community. To this end, it is expected that national and international laws will contain provisions which unequivocally confer ownership of traditional knowledge to communities and avoid the mistake of concentrating power or building the bureaucracy of "national competent authorities" and similar institutions to the detriment of communities who are creators and custodians of their own knowledge.

Biocultural Protocols

A new and innovative way used by communities to affirm their customary law in traditional knowledge governance is the declaration of biocultural protocols. Bioculture is a relatively new term that presupposes the link between biological or living resources, culture and knowledge of the people. Biocultural protocols are community based, bottom-up collections of traditional norms related to biocultural resources (Mathias, 2009). Although these community affirmations do not have the force of law, in the strict sense, outside the community concerned, they play an important persuasive role and add meaning to the concept of FPIC. Community biocultural protocols are an innovative idea and can co-exist with all national and international laws. In nature conservation circles, such affirmations can be seen as a renewed spirit of community-based, natural resource management initiatives.

An example of a biocultural protocol initiative that can be emulated by the Maasai is that of the Raika pastoralists. The Raika are an indigenous pastoral community living in Rajasthan, India. They have a history of over 700 years of livestock keeping. A biocultural protocol developed by the community in June 2009 provides that:

Our animal genetic resources and our associated traditional knowledge about breeding and ethno-veterinary practices are collectively owned by the Raika.

We have customary laws that regulate decision making in our communities. For issues that relate to all community members, we form a samaj (community) panchayat that is constituted by our elders who stretch from one to twenty-four villages depending on the gravity and applicability of the decision. Our elders who constitute the community panchayat follow our customary laws and norms of decision making that have been followed for generations. (UNEP, 2009, p. 7)

Conclusion

Protection of traditional knowledge of indigenous people poses an array of legal and policy challenges, the most critical of which is the inability of the current legal system grounded in Western philosophies, to recognise "communitarian rights". One way of affirming community rights of traditional and

indigenous peoples is to respect and integrate their customary law in the international and national legal system.

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Aboriginal–University Research Partnership in Action:
The Experience of the ODENA Research Alliance

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Abstract

Increasing attention is given to innovative ways to enhance the social relevance of research concerning Aboriginal peoples. Very much in line with participatory action research, the co-development and co-management of research projects have become avenues for doing research differently by recognising and building on Aboriginal peoples' worldviews, research needs and approaches. Four years ago the Regroupement des Centres d'Amitié Autochtones du Québec (Association of Québec Native Friendship Centres) and academics began the process of setting up such a research partnership. The project was named ODENA, which means "the city" in the Anishnabe (Algonquin) language. This paper provides an overview of the context in which ODENA has emerged, as well as a portrait of the research partnership's development thus far. To understand how such a partnership can lead to change, this paper explains the conditions of its emergence, describes its objectives and discusses some of its achievements a year after its inception.

Introduction

The ODENA research alliance, *Aboriginal* People in Québec Cities, is the result of years of collaboration between the Association of Québec Native Friendship Centres (RCAAQ) and DIALOG, the research and knowledge network relating to Aboriginal peoples. RCAAQ has been one of DIALOG's partners since 2005, and through this partnership's activities a collective reflection on the need to design a research programme aimed at supporting the interventions and practices of native friendship centres has emerged. We begin by portraying the situation of the urban Aboriginal population of Québec within the historical, legal and political context of Canada. This overview will situate the main purpose of this paper, which is to present the research partnership approach co-developed by DIALOG and the RCAAQ in the context of ODENA.

Aboriginal People in Québec: Demographic and Historical Context

In this section, we present a brief overview of the major historical milestones that have marked relations between the Canadian state and Aboriginal peoples since the beginning of colonisation, and outline a socio-demographic profile of Aboriginal people in Québec and more specifically those dealing with the urban reality.

Historical Background

Since the beginning of colonisation in North America it is possible to identify three historical periods that have greatly influenced relations between Aboriginal people and settlers: The founding of New France (1534) and the French regime; the conquest of New France by the British (1760) and the instauration of the British regime; and the constitution of the Canadian state (1867) and the establishment of a legislative framework to manage Aboriginal affairs.

In the history of relations between European settlers and Aboriginal peoples in Canada, it is unquestionably in the context of New France that First Nations were able to better assert their rights to their territory. Even if in 1534 Jacques Cartier took possession in the name of the King of France of a vast territory of North America and founded New France, the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the French Crown remained, by and large, of equal status up until the British conquest in 1760. During this period intercultural interaction was based mainly on the fur trade and military alliances, and although conflicts existed Aboriginal peoples were considered allies and the sovereignty of their territory recognised (Lepage, 2009).

The British conquest of New France in 1760 unsettled the established order between French settlers and Aboriginal peoples. Nevertheless, the British remained allied with them for trade and military purposes until the early 1840s when Aboriginal peoples, no longer commercially or militarily useful, became a real problem in the eyes of the British Crown who wanted to accelerate colonisation. In order to facilitate this process, that is, to dispossess Indians of their territory, the British Crown's civil servants were given in 1850 the necessary powers to administrate these lands.

In 1867 Queen Victoria approved the constitution of the Dominion of Canada by enacting the British North America Act. Alliances that had previously allowed a form of nation-to-nation relationship between the First Nations and the French Crown were entirely reorganised. Rather than treating Aboriginal peoples as sovereign, the new Canadian state representatives enacted in 1876 a comprehensive legal framework which enabled them to regulate all aspects of the individual and collective lives of Aboriginal peoples—the Indian Act, formerly known as the Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Province (Lepage, 2009). Henceforth, Aboriginal people were minors under the guardianship of the federal government who held all powers over them. To this day, the Indian Act is the legal framework governing relations between the Canadian Government and First Nations.

This law was originally intended as a temporary measure, or until the main objective of assimilating all First Nations was achieved, hence resolving once and for all the "Indian problem". This goal was far from hidden, as evidenced by this quote from a representative of the House of Commons of Canada in 1920: "Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian that has not been absorbed into the body politic of Canada and there is no more Indian question. That is the whole purpose of our legislation" (Office of the Treaty Commissioner, 1998, p. 29).

To achieve this goal, three measures were put forward. First, the Canadian government established Indian reserves, namely small territories "reserved" to each band. At that time, most of these groups were nomadic or semi-nomadic and the establishment of the reserve system led to a forced settlement, with all the turmoil it will bring. On the map below (Figure 1), the dots represent the lands reserved for First Nations in Canada.

The second measure set up to expedite the assimilation of Aboriginal people was the introduction in 1892 of the residential school system. As a result of agreements between the Government of Canada and various Christian churches, more than 80 residential schools were opened across the country. This system, which was maintained until the 1970s, was to evangelise and assimilate Aboriginal children. To do this, children were taken away from their families for much of the year, thus cutting their links to the language and their native culture. Physical and sexual abuse was common in these schools, and not until 2008 did the Canadian Government apologise to the victims (Lepage, 2009).

The third method used to accelerate the assimilation of Aboriginal people—emancipation—has had particularly important consequences for Aboriginal women. The Indian Act had, in effect, various legal means by which an Aboriginal person could lose their "Indian status" and become a "true" citizen. This was the case particularly for Aboriginal women who, by marrying a non-native, automatically lost their legal right to be Aboriginal and were forced to leave their community (Lepage,
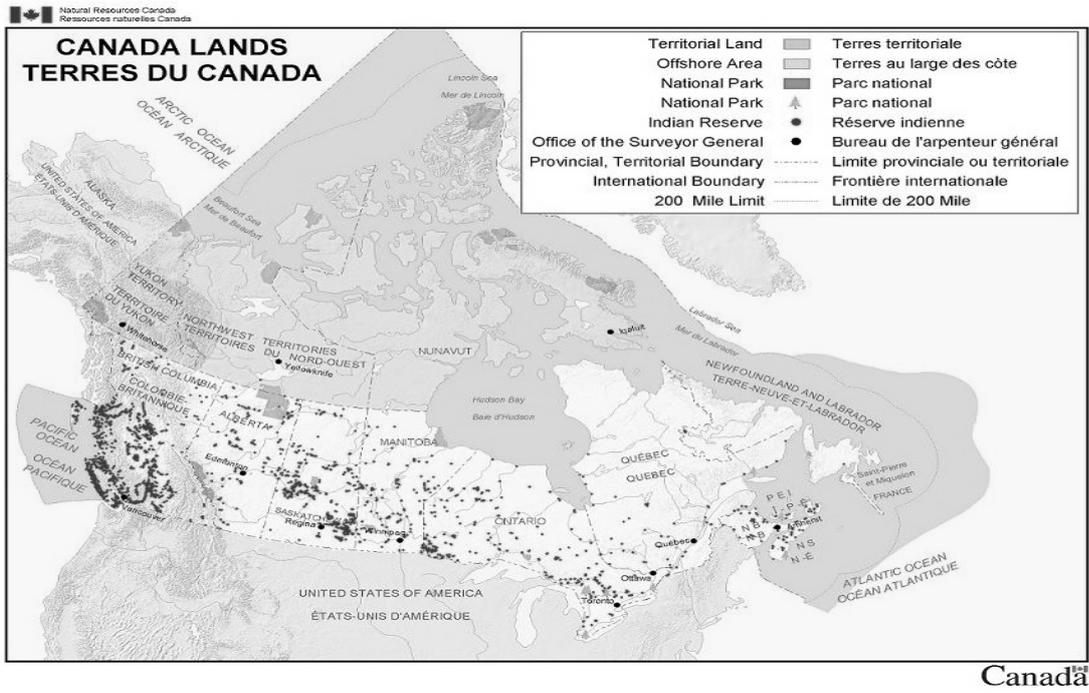
Figure 1. Map of Canada showing lands reserved for First Nations peoples.
Source: Natural Resource Canada, 2009.
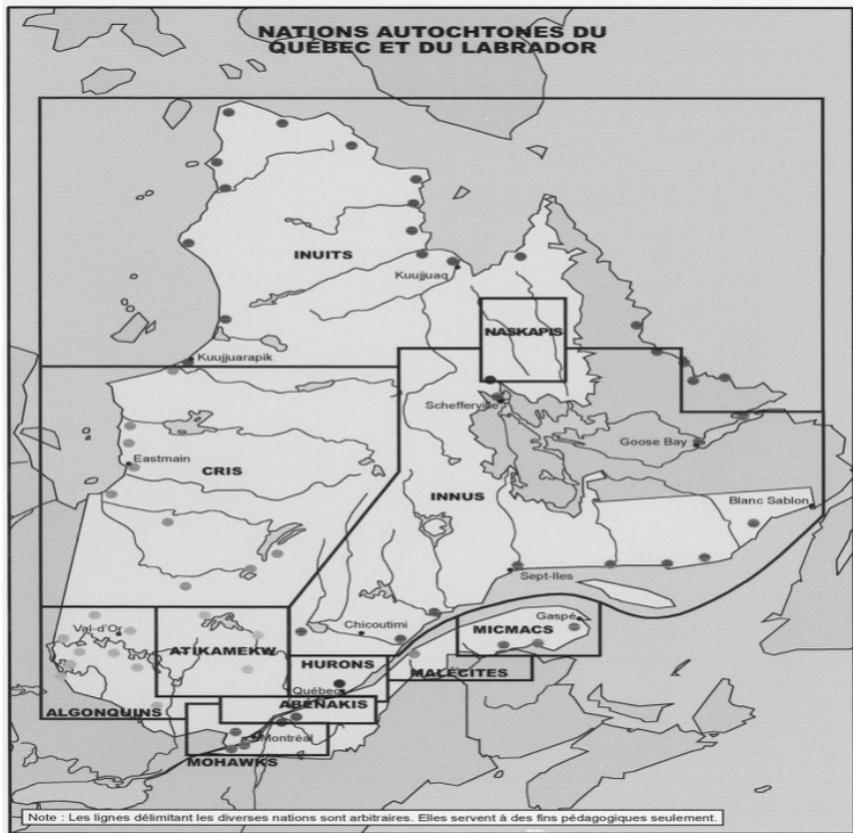
Figure 2. Map showing distribution of Aboriginal "reserves" in Québec.
Source: Lepage, 2009.

2009). This discriminatory measure was amended in 1985, when thousands of women (and children) regained their indigenous status but were not necessarily returned to their home communities. This explains in part the greater presence of indigenous women in cities.

Demographic Profile of Urban Aboriginal Peoples in Québec

In Canada, the Aboriginal population is estimated at 1.3 million people (4%) out of a total 30 million inhabitants. For this indigenous population, the most recent statistics support that more than 42% live in cities (RCAAQ, 2010, p. 5). According to Statistics Canada (2001), the urbanisation of Aboriginal peoples, which began in the 1960s, would continue to increase. Younger, less educated, often disadvantaged in socioeconomic terms, the urban Aboriginal population today faces significant integration challenges, due particularly to racism and discrimination (RCAAQ, 2006, p. 19).

In Québec the situation of the urban Aboriginal population is quite different. Of the 7 million people in the province, there are an estimated 150,000 Aboriginal people, 2% of the total population. Here their move to the cities is more recent than elsewhere in Canada. A sharp rise of the Aboriginal presence in certain cities in Québec has been observed from the 1980s onwards, especially in cities such as Val d'Or, Sept-Iles and Montréal, and it is estimated that the presence of Aboriginal people in Québec's urban centres is now 16 times higher than in 1980. According to the latest statistics, 40% of Aboriginal people live in towns, a proportion that remains significantly lower than in the rest of the country (Lévesque, 2003, p. 35). It is also interesting to note that, unlike the rest of Canada where the Aboriginal urban population is concentrated mainly in large cities, in Québec they are scattered throughout towns and villages. They are still more likely to have chosen to settle in Montréal, where there are, according to official figures, about 11,500 Aboriginal people (other estimates show three times as many).The following map (Figure 3) shows the distribution of Aboriginal people in Québec's cities.

Figure 3. Map showing the distribution of Aboriginal people in Québec's cities.
Source: NAFC, 2006.

A recent study by the RCAAQ argues that the increase in the Aboriginal presence has drastically changed the face of certain previously homogeneous small towns, causing "discomfort,

unease and even rejection within the population" (RCAAQ, 2006, p. 19). Given that this rise is relatively new, it is a reality that remains very poorly documented.

The Socioeconomic Status of First Nations Living in Urban Areas in Québec

Across Canada, we are compelled to note that the socioeconomic profile of First Nations is dire:

> The Aboriginal populations are among the groups with the highest poverty rates in the country. This situation is due to numerous causes: problems in accessing education or training, low rate of participation in the labour market and unemployment. (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1996, pp. 7–8)

Even if the socioeconomic lives of Aboriginal people in town are a little better than those in the reserves, they are still far from resembling those of non-Aboriginal people. The Aboriginal population living in cities in Québec face many challenges: 69% are younger than 29 years of age; 56% are women, most of whom are single mothers; only 9% have a university degree (compared to 23% for the non-Aboriginal population); and the unemployment rate is 14% among Aboriginal people of working age, compared to 8% for the rest of the population (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Aboriginal peoples living in urban areas in Québec must also deal with some identity questions: How to affirm an Aboriginal identity and claim rights in a non-native environment? How to ensure the survival of the Aboriginal language and culture? (RCAAQ, 2009). Finally, the issue of urban Aboriginals poses challenges for research. We must deal with unreliable data, which makes it very difficult to reach a comprehensive picture of Aboriginal peoples in cities. It is also difficult to conduct thematic studies (for example, homelessness or the health of Aboriginal peoples in town), when the characteristics of the study population are unknown. In the following sections we present how the research partnership between DIALOG and RCAAQ seeks to provide an alternative to overcome these challenges in innovative ways and improve the state of knowledge about Aboriginal peoples in urban areas.

ODENA: An Innovative Research Partnership Under Way

ODENA has received funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC-CURA) for 2009–2014, and its aim is to support the social, economic, political and cultural development of urban Aboriginal people in Québec. Although ODENA research alliance funding started in 2009, the partnership between the RCAAQ and the DIALOG network has a much longer history. This section shows how the partnership began as well as the partners themselves.

Background

DIALOG and RCAAQ have been partners since 2005. DIALOG was created in 2001 as a result of a consultation between First Nations and Inuit representatives from Québec and various academics. During this consultation a consensus on the need to establish a mediating structure in Québec between Aboriginal institutions and researchers emerged. In particular, there was clear agreement on the need to: transform Aboriginal–academic relations; support and conduct research that is meaningful and useful to Aboriginal peoples; and ensure the latter's worldviews are integrated into the development of research methodologies and analytical frameworks. Right from the start DIALOG researchers and Aboriginal partners considered, negotiated and experienced the different challenges arising with interdisciplinary and community–university teamwork. Together they found innovative ways to conceptualise and frame issues relating to Aboriginal peoples by systematically including literature produced by Aboriginal peoples and by looking at the various ethical and epistemological challenges of community-based research through Aboriginal eyes.

Founded in 1976, the RCAAQ is one of nine provincial associations and the acknowledged political voice of Aboriginal peoples living in Québec's urban areas. Its actions are consistent with those of the National Association of Friendship Centres, which represents more than 120 friendship centres across Canada, with the difference that RCAAQ's strategies are adapted to the specificities of the Québec context. Their mission is to "Promote the rights and interests of Aboriginal peoples in the

urban setting by supporting the Native Friendship Centres in their actions to improve the quality of life of Aboriginal peoples, promote culture, and build bridges between peoples" (RCAAQ, 2008b, p. 7). Since First Nations, Inuit and Métis are among the most economically deprived peoples in Canada, the RCAAQ makes the fight against poverty and social exclusion a priority (RCAAQ, 2008b, p. 8). The Aboriginal population living in urban centres is young and, to take into account this reality, youths are at the heart of the Native Friendship Centres movement. The RCAAQ has welcomed two new friendship centres in 2010 and altogether represents 10 friendship centres in Québec: Montréal, Val d'Or, Sept-Îles, Chibougamau, La Tuque, Senneterre, Québec, Lanaudière, Saguenay and Trois-Rivières.

In sum, it was through the joint efforts of DIALOG and RCAAQ to mobilise knowledge relevant in Aboriginal milieus that the idea arose to design a community–university research alliance meeting the particular aspirations and needs of Aboriginal peoples in Québec cities.

ODENA's Objectives

Today, 16 academics from nine disciplines and more than 20 representatives of nine native friendship centres and the RCAAQ belong to ODENA. To date, ODENA partners have jointly agreed upon the following objectives: to produce a comprehensive profile of Aboriginal peoples in Québec cities in order to develop culturally pertinent indicators of well-being and corresponding tools for the development of adequate capacity-building approaches, models, programmes and practices; collectively design and implement a sustainable research, training and knowledge mobilisation agenda; understand the current and future challenges impeding the improvement and development of public policies and interventions relevant to Aboriginal peoples; and identify the foundations and practices of a new "citizenship" recognising and building on Aboriginal collective action in Québec cities and beyond. A longitudinal study portraying the realities of urban Aboriginals, statistical and qualitative profiles, and cartographies of this population, as well as thematic and strategic contextualised case studies, comprise some of the research activities projected. Themes of investigation will include health, poverty, housing, educational attainment, social economy, territoriality, identity and security.

The Approach

Thus far, the ODENA general assembly has met twice and the steering committee has worked regularly on the development of the alliance's terms of reference and governance structure, and on the research, training and knowledge mobilisation agenda. The alliance is built on the values of respect, equity, sharing, commitment and trust. It is democratic in the sense that all decisions taken and measures adopted by the steering committee are submitted to the general assembly for discussion and approval. It is also equitable in the sense that it ensures that every committee is represented equally by both university and community members and that everyone's views are given equal value. ODENA is democratic, non-hierarchical and respectful of Aboriginal values, and these principles are enacted through a commitment to exchanging and deliberating on every aspect of the alliance, from the governance structure or networking activities to research design.

Despite its seemingly slow pace, the time reserved to interaction and exchange is essential to establish the foundations of a partnership that is sustainable and capable of reaching its long-term objectives. ODENA's approach gives equal, if not more importance to the collaborative process than to the final results because we believe it is most conducive to the co-creation of knowledge. By constantly seeking to create the conditions fostering the exchange of ideas and by exploring the transformative possibilities flowing from these exchanges, members become more competent in hybridizing their own approaches, methods and practices and, through iteration, it becomes possible to circumscribe a new body of knowledge, methods and practices that is truly unique to our collaborative process. We also invite guests renowned for their expertise and capacities that challenge our working groups to constantly innovate and spark critical breakthroughs. Thus, while documenting the activities of ODENA and the co-creation of knowledge that occurs, it is crucially important to construct the ethnography of the individuals' and the group's evolution. Paying attention to the process does not mean every member has to be aware at all times of the co-construction of knowledge that is at play. Reflexivity is encouraged but in a non-coercive fashion. Being in social sciences research and aware

of challenges from positivist and fundamental science, ODENA members acknowledge they have a unique opportunity to contribute to the construction of knowledge mobilisation and collective learning theories from empirical observations, and they are determined not to miss it.

Results and Innovative Aspects

One year has passed and the benefits of our partnership are already visible. An enhanced sense of belonging and trust between both milieus is slowly but surely building up. Along with the many workshops and seminars set up, we observe a growing feeling of empowerment as a result of the exchange of knowledge between native centres and RCAAQ practitioners, and researchers. Since we aim at a broader impact within the realm of research with Aboriginal peoples through an eventual epistemological and theoretical contribution, we have already begun constructing a body of literature tracing the steps of every working committee within ODENA. This literature will readily be available to all interested in our experience, which we believe also leads to wider acknowledgement by researchers, policymakers and graduate students of the need to work collaboratively and ethically at all stages of research.

We also observe impacts outside the partnership: new para-governmental partners have requested to be part of ODENA's health dossier, as they see necessary changes in programmes and policymaking along the lines developed by ODENA. There is increased awareness and social mobilisation of the general public around Aboriginal issues and perspectives; for example, during and in the aftermath of a day of reflection on racism and discrimination faced by First Nations and Inuit in Val-d'Or (Québec) or in the framework of a recent seminar on the topic of urban aboriginal community justice. ODENA, financed by the Community–University Research Alliance Program (CURA), also has a training mandate. This mandate is being fulfilled through the inclusion of graduate students at every stage of ODENA's development: this gives them the invaluable opportunity to broaden their methodological and collaborative competences through hands-on experience. At reflection days, workshops or seminars, which are either spontaneously organised as needs arise on behalf of friendship centres or planned in conjunction with the RCAAQ's strategic planning, students are part of the reflection and take home with them the variety of standpoints they would not have access to by attending regular classes only.

Conclusion

ODENA's experience enables us to deepen our reflection on the connection between theory, practice and policymaking in urban aboriginal issues. To implement ODENA's research, training and knowledge mobilisation agenda, the partners have decided to create mechanisms ensuring accountable and ethical decision making. The necessity to pay attention to the process and document it quickly appeared to be critically important for the longevity and sustainability of an alliance seeking to have cross-cutting impacts within research, policymaking and the society at large. To support this endeavour, it is necessary to encourage academics, community workers and civil servants to build complementary areas of expertise, and to remind everybody about the importance of developing locally relevant and conceptually groundbreaking understandings of social issues.

In summary, the CURA Aboriginal Peoples in Québec Cities reflects the desire of the partners and individuals who are part of it to simultaneously promote partnership-oriented, collaborative and field-sensitive research practices with action, intervention and empowerment. In other words, if we look at the situation from a community perspective rather than focusing on solving problems, ODENA's efforts have one ultimate goal: fostering an improved quality of life for urban Aboriginal citizens, in all of its aspects.

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Ethical Space as an Engagement Strategy

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Abstract

Lack of understanding of decolonised education has impacted Indigenous elementary and secondary students by creating conflicts in their motivation to succeed. The tensions of this unresolved conflict are revealed demographically in their academic achievements and in social and economic data. The search for solutions is stymied when scientific approaches stress critical race theory as one investigative method and when Indigenous inquiries are guided by the telling of stories disrupted by colonisation (Brayboy, 2005).

Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples need to speak of their discomforts and their frustrations, each with their own realities and vocabularies, at the local public school level for the benefit of their students. The strategy must engage Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in discussions to understand their differences at the cultural divide in the educational setting. Cross-cultural understanding can enable participants to address the question of difference.

My intention is to tell a story that began in one public secondary school attended by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, which involved understanding ethical space. The story is extended by another study of two school boards along the upper shores of Lake Superior and Lake Huron in northern Ontario, Canada. The story is about cross-cultural methods of research, including cultural tools and cultural vehicles to guide cultural conversations. It indicates a potential design for a generalised model for future development of activities and programmes, increased Aboriginal student success, and teacher pedagogy design across cultures. In the effort to reach deeper understanding of the evolving story, words in the Ojibwa language indicate the changes necessary for a successful, integrated, educational system for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students.

Keywords

ethical space, cultural divide, Aboriginal, public school, case study, mixed methods

Introduction

Brayboy (2005) initiated the concept of story as the critical theoretical lens of Indigenous peoples. Concepts of respect, boundaries, encounters, intention and peace are found in the story of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Two Row Wampum Belt. Aboriginal scholars such as Battiste and Youngblood-Henderson (2000), Chrisjohn and Young (2006), Miller (1996), and Smith (1999) confirm the Aboriginal story of how the colonisers sought to eliminate Aboriginal stories through language shifts, removal of children, institutional control over the schooling of children, and control of the resources of the land, water, minerals, et cetera. This control is manifested in government activities, legislation and policies. The Aboriginal critical lens questions the structural/institutional elements that have hindered Aboriginal student success, and questions why such a design appears invisible to those delivering its curriculum.

The Story of the Two Row Wampum Belt and Ethical Space

The Two Row Wampum Belt tells a story of how Aboriginal peoples drew up an agreement for co-existence with the newcomers. It is symbolic of ethical space. Ermine (2000, p. 5) says, "According to Poole (1972), 'there are two sorts of space because there are two sorts of intentions. The intentions structure the space in two different ways. When the two sets of intentions … confront each other … then ethical space is set up instantaneously.'"

I identify the space between the two purple rows of the belt as the ethical space (Figure 1), that is, the two sorts of space at the point of encounter or the two sets of intentions.
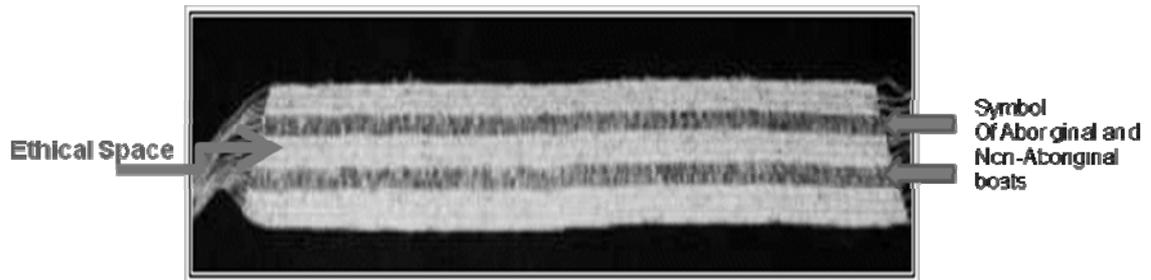
Figure 1. Two Row Wampum Belt.

Three rows of white beads in the centre of the belt symbolise peace, purity and friendship. One purple row represents the heavy bulky ships that brought the newcomers to Turtle Island (North America); the other represents the light-weight birch-bark canoe. Both ships are travelling in the same direction, but perhaps with different intentions. The Two Row Wampum Belt advises that the coloniser and the Aboriginal must co-exist in friendship and respect, otherwise both will travel separately in their own cultural vehicles, the coloniser in a big, awkward ship and the Aboriginal in a canoe that is easily transported over any terrain whether land or water. What struck me most about the big ships is that they represent the structures of colonising society. A captain at the helm organises large groups of people, and those carried are at the mercy of the captain and his crew who might be loyal or prone to mutiny. The Aboriginal canoe is manoeuvred by the cooperative efforts of its occupants. How each culture addresses its educational prerogatives is a reflection of how they have designed their boats.
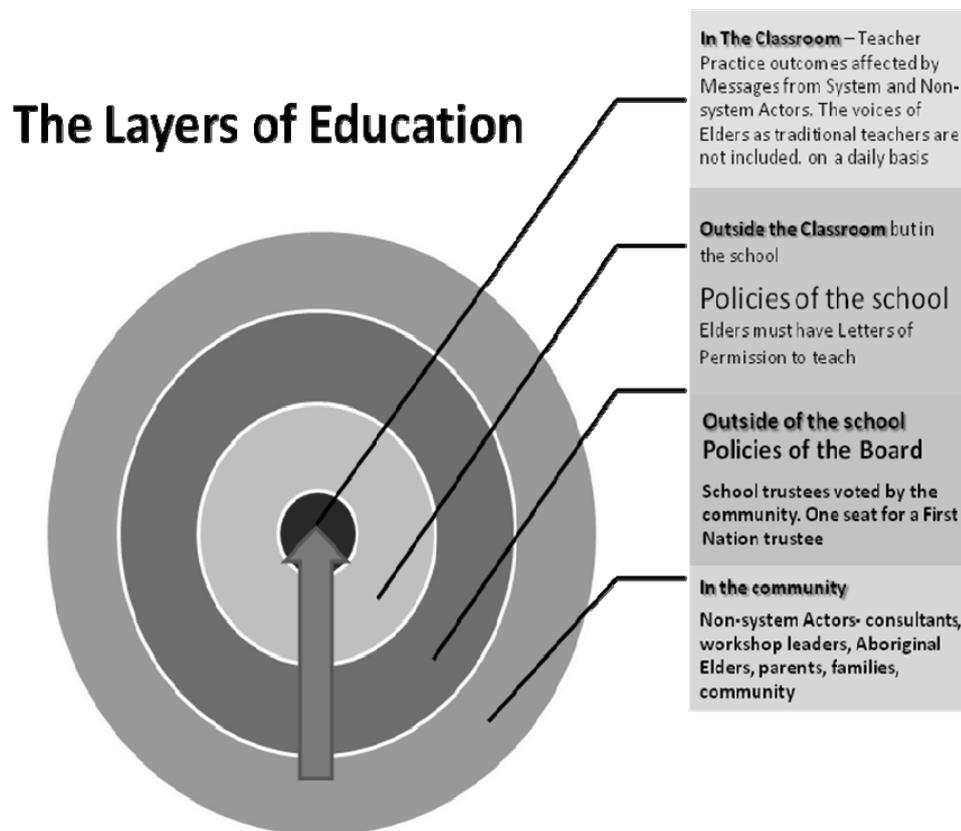
Figure 2. Layers of education.

Aboriginal people have historically existed at the outermost circle of their education (Figure 2). Although they desire an education, they have historically had education done for them rather than by and with them. The residential school experience is the epitome of this understanding (Chrisjohn & Young, 2006; Miller, 1996). The public school system was designed to suit individual prerogatives through a hierarchy meant to protect the privileges of the colonised (Dei, 1999; Levine-Rasky, 2000; North, 2008).

The Ontario Ministry of Education (2007) designed a First Nation, Métis and Inuit Education Policy Framework with the intention of cooperation between local school and local school boards, and the Aboriginal community. Several borders must be confronted in such efforts, however. For instance:

Teacher unions and seniority issues are in advance of Ministry support of Aboriginal teacher training.
The provincial education system has not supported the cultural sustainability needs of Aboriginal peoples.
Aboriginal students must have their needs met, while feeling they belong in their own country and therefore have a voice in their education.

The attraction of stakeholders to the cultural divide to discuss their intentions is a step towards building ethical space.

Research Methodology
This story takes place in Northern Ontario, Canada. It highlights the state of ethical space within a local secondary school and two school boards as a result of two studies: (1) an exploratory, qualitative case study and (2) a mixed qualitative and quantitative study. Both studies add to a developing story without creating uneasy and unnecessary conflict between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.

The Secondary School and Case Study Research
Through a series of negotiations and understandings of what is involved in partnerships, the secondary school developed a Native Resource Room that is today identified as Kino Maagi Aki (Teachings of the Earth). It is staffed by a traditional mentor worker of Aboriginal descent. At the end of 2 years of its operation, a research study explored the state of ethical space.

Secondary School in Northern Ontario: Exploratory, Qualitative, Case Study

Focus Groups/Talking Circles	Each Group received Invitation to participate in an Ojibwa Ceremony with explanations
• 3 hours for each group	Smudge
• 26 volunteer stakeholder participants approved transcripts based on 5 cultural sub-groups	Prayer
- Aboriginal students - 6	Gift Giving
- Aboriginal parents - 4	Meal
- Aboriginal leaders - 6	Talking Circle
- Non-Aboriginal Teachers - 6	
- Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Administration, Decision makers, Resource peoples (ADR) - 5	

Audio Recording
Group Transcripts from recordings
Member script approval
Analytical Tool: Medicine Wheel
First Draft and Second Draft offered to all group members for approval
Community Presentations

Figure 3. Case Study Method for Secondary School in Northern Ontario.

The secondary school data set included 6 individual sub-groups of Aboriginal students (6), Aboriginal parents (4), Aboriginal leaders (6), the teachers—all of whom were non-native (6), and a mixed group of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal administrators and decision makers (6) (Figure 3). The study was Aboriginal designed and delivered. All Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal participants were invited to participate in the Aboriginal Talking Circle in their respective sub-groups. All participants were taught the Ojibwa protocols and processes for meeting in a co-existent manner. Each participant was given a gift of a leather bag with an explanation of its symbolic references, invited to participate in the opening and share a meal before settling into a circle of chairs to participate in an Ojibwa Talking Circle. Each individual was allowed to speak without interruption as they took turns responding to a series of five guided questions. The process was repeated before advancing to the next question. The speaker's words were recorded, and then captured in group transcripts with member checks. The first and second draft of the study was offered to all participants for their review. Finally, a series of short presentations were made to lead teachers and principals of several school boards.

Mixed Study Method
The second study involved voluntary participation of elementary teachers and principals of two school boards, one public and one Catholic. Data for this presentation were taken from the larger search to address sustainability issues (Figure 4). The study was a mixed methods survey type questionnaire, which gathered quantitative and qualitative data collected through the mail. The final report was recently submitted to both school boards.

A Mixed Methods Study: Honouring the Voices of Educators

The data for this presentation is taken from an elaborate discussion of overall findings to describe sustainability issues in the school

Two coterminous school boards in Northern Ontario
Responses
63 elementary school educators
-26 principals (41% of total sample
13 intermediate teachers (grades 7-8)
12 junior teachers (grades 4-6)
12 primary division teachers (grades 1-3)
9 Likert−type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5)
3 qualitative questions

Ethical space
Quantitative Data Results
Questions
•The term "ethical space " is used in my school with regards to working with Aboriginal students
•There are unaddressed "cultural boundaries" in the school where I work
•The concept of "ethical space" is a strategy for Aboriginal student success in some schools in the [name of schoolboards]. Ethical space consists of complex interactions across cultures. To enable us to understand the context of learning environments, check off those statements that describe your school.

•**Qualitative Question**
Explain the nature of the programs and supports available in your school for helping Aboriginal students acquire positive self and cultural identification

Figure 4. Mixed Method of Study for educators in two school boards in Northern Ontario.

Findings
The following testimonies from the secondary school study and the elementary schools offer insight into the state of ethical space within two school boards.

Secondary School

The Aboriginal Leaders addressed the interruptions from Euro-colonial education of their students in their discussion of the Ojibwa word "Bisahnyah".

> "*Bisahnyah*!" That meant be quiet, listen. So time went on and when those older people seen that you were listening, then, you were allowed to do things. You were given that instruction to start doing things, and given that responsibility to do things. So … that's what we learned as Aboriginal people … we had teachers back then. We had our parents, we had grandparents, we had aunties, we had Elders that taught us … How do we teach *Bisahnyah*? …To listen? How do we teach our young people to listen and to be able to speak at the right time instead of all the time just blurt out things without thinking? So I think we are at a stage in our life in our communities, maybe in this whole setting [which] maybe includes awareness so I reflect back on those times where I can remember being told, "*Bisahnyah*." (Aboriginal tribal leader)

This story as told by a First Nation's chief speaks of change in the relationship between the older members of a community and their students. Studies by Brant (1990) revealed that learning in an Aboriginal community was based on modelling behaviours; when the teacher felt the student had learned a certain behaviour well enough, the student was given permission to demonstrate what was learned and only then would the lesson proceed to the next level. This model of learning ensured that the student learned the social, cultural and relational attributes for cooperative and collaborative community living which is demonstrated by their ability to "speak at the right time". The education system stresses individual thinking and the group of Aboriginal leaders agreed that it seemed the school system promoted behaviours where their students will "just blurt out things without thinking". The story expresses similar concerns by the students, teachers and parents in their separate groups.

The students felt there were many positive changes since the creation of the Native Resource Program and the development of their own space in which they could be themselves, speak their own language, share Aboriginal knowledge and ask questions about their particular concerns, and make mistakes while knowing how to collaborate and form strategies under the guidance of an Aboriginal resource person, whom they had determined was a knowledgeable Elder.

> Elders are willing to teach the old way; they know what to teach … they know how to teach what they're teaching … the teachers learn how to teach but the Elders know how to teach; they [Elders] know what they're teaching. (Aboriginal student group)

When they were asked if the teachers might be able to learn how to teach and learn from the Elders, doubts were expressed, such as "Like … these teachers?" and the understanding that "They [teachers] would only communicate, like, on a professional level. Whereas … students they could connect with, like, the Elders on a personal level". The secondary school students also suggested that Elders would be useful to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students in small discussion groups to discuss maturity and obstacles in learning, personal hobbies, and priorities. These students expressed strong desires to re-connect with their Elders.

Other stories related the underlying intentions of the education system, such as the one told by these two individuals:

> And I think: Are they [Aboriginal students *sic*] getting the education they require to be a whole person—to be really, really, really, who they are … They don't have all the components. They just have what an old structure says is important.

The non-Aboriginal principal of the school recognised the need for new knowledge:

> The Native student will do this part but he's not going to do this other part. Well, my back goes up right away with that. Yeah, because if it's a sense of defiance? That's one thing. But if it's not defiance, maybe it's this culture. We don't recognise the difference.

All participants examined their own personal beliefs and assumptions, to revisit their cultural intentions in ethical space as well as to celebrate progress. The invisibility of Aboriginal student needs was lifted. The concerns of various stakeholders about the successful education of Aboriginal students were revealed through the narratives of the Talking Circle. The physical and metaphysical space in the school as mediated by a cultural mediator was recognised as crucial for Aboriginal student academic success.

In the next section, a study to gauge the overall progress of the intention to initiate ethical space in the elementary schools of two school boards provides insights on designing ethical space without a cross-cultural mediator.

Educators in the Elementary Schools

Superintendents, lead teachers, and principals of both school boards meet regularly to share their designs for ethical space in the elementary and secondary schools. The pie chart shown (Figure 5) demonstrates a greater need to educate the elementary school teachers about ethical space: more than half of all the interviewed teachers (61%) disagreed (22) or strongly disagreed (19) that the term was used in their school. Another one-quarter (17) of the teachers were "indifferent" to the term "ethical space".
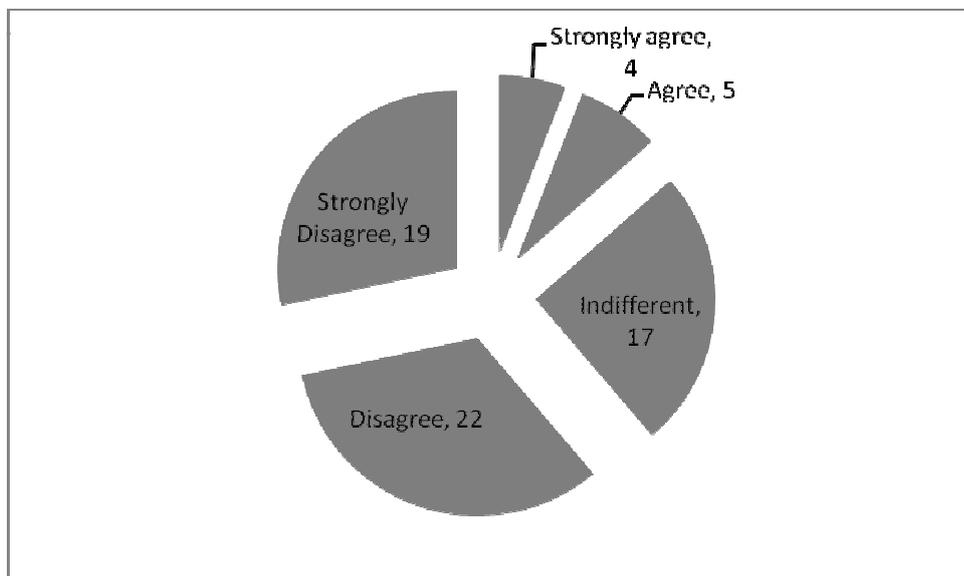
Figure 5. Indicators of ethical space by elementary school educators (n = 67).
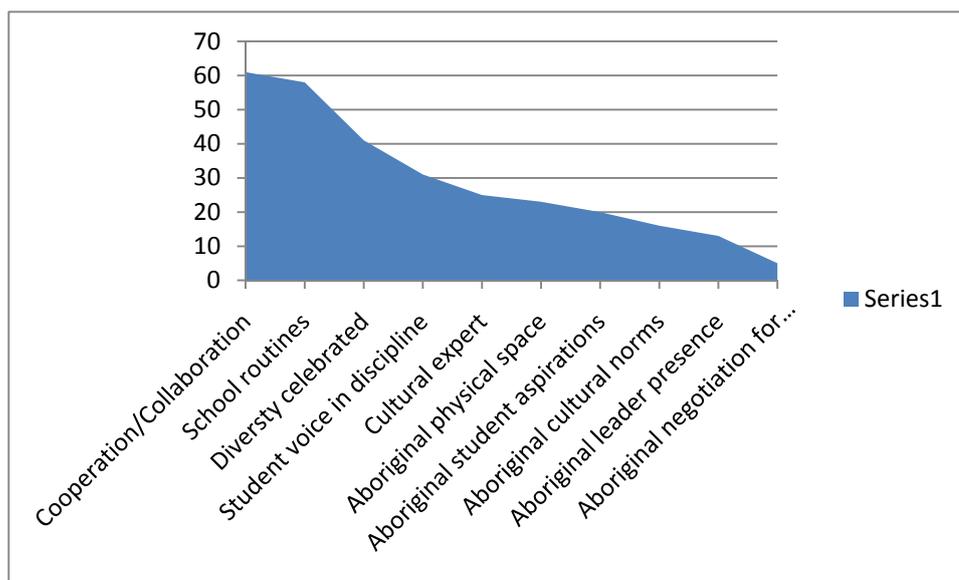
Figure 6. Landscape of ethical space of the elementary schools.

Figure 6 reveals a landscape of data that indicates Educator lack of information on how to respond to Aboriginal student needs. It shows how the teachers see schools that are inclusive of Aboriginal students. The outward appearance of the school's landscape appears to be fairly stable but begins to fall away to precipices and rolling foothills, and the terrain appears to be difficult to manage. Although this figure strongly suggests that certain cultural aspects need to be managed, perhaps knowledge is lacking on how to address specific cultural concepts related to Aboriginal peoples.

There is evidence that the schools are using Aboriginal Elders and resources of the various Aborginal communities as the means to transcend the cultural divide, which may become the trend, in order to establish ethical space in elementary schools. Various activities include bringing in Aboriginal Elders and resource people to teach songs, art, stories, drumming and dancing, arranging visits to the surrounding Aboriginal communities, and participation in local activities and ceremonies. These activities are also subject to the will of the teachers and availability through various funds.

Conclusions
Results of both studies indicate the existence of wider opportunities to address Aboriginal student needs, if "ethical space" is understood by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal stakeholders. Aboriginal ownership of academic problems can provide Aboriginal designed and delivered solutions. The secondary school defined and sought both physical and metaphysical ethical space with a cultural mediator staff member. Overall, the elementary schools have not yet achieved the same level of physical ethical space as the local secondary school but there is evidence that individual elementary schools are reaching out to the Aboriginal communities for answers on how to meet at the cultural divide and create metaphysical ethical space without a cultural mediator staff member.

Acknowledgements

Glossary
Aboriginal   all Indigenous peoples living in Canada, including First Nations (on and off reserve), Métis and Inuit

bishahnya	request to "be quiet" (Ojibwa language); used to indicate the importance of "listening"
ethical space	a theoretical term used to describe both physical and abstract space where reciprocal and mutually satisfying negotiations take place involving two cultures with differing epistemologies
Indigenous	a word to describe first peoples of the land from a global view; a 1948 United Nations document uses Aboriginal and Indigenous interchangeably, but tends to use Aboriginal to refer to Indigenous peoples in Canada
Iroquois	a word to identify the Six Nations peoples by the French people; Six Nations peoples prefer to call themselves Haudenosaunee (People of the Longhouse)
Ojibwa	tribe in North America who call themselves Anishnabe and might also be referred to as Chippewa, depending on the location of the group
Six Nations	through an agreement known as a confederacy, six tribes of people established a covenant amongst themselves to live in peace and harmony; the first five nations under this agreement are Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca, Cayuga and Oneida; the Tuscarora people were the last to join
Two Row Wampum Belt= Kastwentha (Iroquois)	
	a treaty metaphor symbolised by a belt made of wampum beads to depict the understanding that the newcomers and the Aboriginal peoples would not interfere in each other's affairs; the belt's principles formed the basis of all treaties with other nations including the Dutch, French, British and Americans
Turtle Island	English translation of the traditional name for North America, which reflects its approximate great turtle shape and aspects of Aboriginal creation stories

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Rural Return: Local Innovations Used by Whānau on Papakāinga in Isolated Communities

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Abstract

Our parents are going home to their papakāinga (ancestral lands), returning to places and faces they left almost half a century ago. This return is not without struggle, as some leave their assets in the city for their tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren) and return to their papakāinga in isolated communities with limited resources to start again. As their papakāinga are typically in isolated communities, access to essential amenities—such as clean reliable water supplies, energy or power sources, and appropriate waste management systems—is limited or unavailable, which can compromise the health and safety of whānau (families). This paper shares selected findings of a pilot study, conducted in 2008–09, that interviewed 10 whānau in Te Ika a Māui (North Island of New Zealand) and the Big Island of Hawai'i, living on their papakāinga in isolated communities. The rationale for conducting this research was our insider knowledge of the challenges associated with the return home. We knew that innovative solutions to infrastructure issues have been developed and are in use by some whānau living on papakāinga in isolated communities. Our aim was to document and share those practical ideas for the many other whānau living or returning to similar conditions, and ultimately support whānau towards the goal of self-reliance.

Keywords

Māori, papakāinga, innovation, isolated communities, self-reliance

The Motivation for This Research: The Manuel Experience

In the mid-1990s my parents left Mangere (Auckland) and went home to my great grandmother's tūrangawaewae (place where one has rights of residence through kinship) in the Far North. Both parents had been freezing workers for decades before the closing of the freezing works, *Westfield Hellaby/AFFCO* (Auckland Farmers' Freezing Co-Operative Limited), left them unemployed and, in their mid-50s, almost unemployable. My father worked for a few years as a bartender at the local tavern while my mother managed to gain employment cleaning at the local school and Auckland Airport. Eventually these work options also ended and the opportunity to move home became a reality.

My mother and her three brothers are the fortunate shareholders of 18 acres of undeveloped gorse- and manuka-covered coastal land on the east coast of the Far North, Aotearoa/New Zealand. Fewer than 100 permanent residents live there although it is not unusual for the population to swell 30-fold during the summer. With the approval of her brothers, my mother and father began the long and expensive process of building a one-bedroom whare (house) at Karikari for their retirement. Over 2 years a track was cut, gorse was cleared from the building site and a Skyline garage installed and altered to resemble a one-bedroom home. Covered decking around three sides of the whare gave the illusion of space. During the building phase, my parents and my two brothers travelled from Auckland to Karikari, a 10-hour return trip, every weekend. They slept in their cars, erected a cookhouse and a long-drop latrine and carried water from the nearby camping grounds.

This development was done, out of necessity, with a minimal cash outlay. We were "asset rich" and "cash poor". Our major assets were a share in the land at Karikari and the whānau home sitting on a quarter-acre section in Mangere. The easiest way to fund the building of the new whare in Karikari was to sell the house in Mangere. My parents chose not to finance their retirement with the sale of the whānau home, however, as it continued to house some of their children and, most importantly, some of their mokopuna. Thus the Karikari home was basic in design and without essential services when my parents moved in. Over time, a large water tank (the largest on offer to meet the needs of visiting whānau) was installed and a small diesel generator purchased. These met their most basic needs of (irregular) power and access to water for drinking, cooking and washing. It would take almost 10 years before an inside flush toilet was installed and working, though this was dependent on the diesel generator running. The luxury of a flush toilet required a septic tank for waste collection and treatment. The cost associated with this essential service was beyond their means so an innovative solution was required. Together, my father and my brother designed and installed their own onsite wastewater management system.

In time my mother was diagnosed with a chronic illness. We worried terribly for her due to the isolation and distance. Phone communication was poor as no landline could be installed, and cell phone signal was and still is intermittent. We felt local health care services were too far away and community health nurses, especially non-Māori nurses, could not be relied on to visit the whare regularly due to their perceptions of the poor roading. At that time the Karikari whare did not have a continuous power supply or running water (without the generator on) and we felt, as my mother's health diminished, that these were unacceptable conditions for living and healing.

At this point this research project was conceptualised. We wanted our parents and all other Māori moving back to their papakāinga to do so with access to services and innovative solutions for essential infrastructure technologies, despite our reality of a limited cash base. We believe, and observed, that without these essential services the health and safety of whānau, in particular the most vulnerable (the sick, elderly and babies), are at risk.

The Project

The pilot project, funded by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, had three objectives. These were to:

1. Conduct a review of the infrastructure options (water, energy and waste management) available for isolated communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand.
2. Conduct a pilot survey of whānau living in isolated communities to document their infrastructure priorities and local infrastructure innovations.
3. Analyse the survey responses and evaluate the local infrastructure innovations.

This paper focuses on the innovations gathered from our participants and the evaluation of these innovations for uptake and use by other whānau in similar situations.

Methodology

Our first task was to assemble a team of researchers who met the following criteria: they identified as Māori and practitioners of tikanga Māori (Māori customs, customary practices); they maintained a strong connection to their papakāinga, and preferably were living there; and they had the ability to understand and converse in te reo Māori.

Once we had our research team, we selected our research sites based on our team's whakapapa (genealogical connections) to the areas of interest. Our papakāinga study sites were thus, in New Zealand: Karikari, (Far North, east coast), Pawarenga (Far North, west coast), Awahou (Rotorua), Ruatāhuna (Tūhoe Nation); and, in Hawai'i, Opihikao (Big Island).

Together the researchers compiled a comprehensive survey questionnaire that was subjected to several iterations to ensure the objectives of the pilot project would be met and to maintain sensitivity so the questions would not offend our whānau participants.

The researchers then conducted interviews with 10 whānau in the five selected sites. All were living on papakāinga in isolated communities without the normal trappings of city life; that is, they did not generally have access to reticulated water or wastewater nor connections to the national electricity grid. The few whānau who were on the national electricity grid did not have guaranteed electricity supply, hence their inclusion in our study. All interviews were undertaken on the participants' papakāinga, kanohi ki ngā kanohi (face-to-face), with participants appropriately reimbursed for their time and hosting of our researchers.

The local innovations gathered from our participants were then evaluated by our chartered professional engineer using a number of assessment criteria (Tables 1 and 2).

Selected Results

The survey covered many areas. However, the focus of this paper is to present the local innovations used by our whānau participants. These innovations are specifically to do with water, waste management and energy.

Most of our participants use roof catchment (water captured from their roofs) to store in either concrete or plastic tanks for later use. The challenge is that power is required to move the water from the tank to their homes. This poses a problem for whānau dependent on intermittent power from a generator (half the participants), since water from the taps and to flush the toilet is only available when the generator is on. Two of the participants overcame this hōhā (obstacle, nuisance) by installing a water header tank. Electricity is still required but not every time that water is needed in the home. Instead, power is used to pump water from the collection tank, every few days depending on water consumption, to the header tank, which is raised several metres high on a platform. Water is then continuously available by gravitational feed to the household, irrespective of power supply.

There is no weekly rubbish collection for the whānau and taking rubbish to the landfill incurs cost. Thus, sorting the rubbish limited the volume that needed to be dumped. All food scraps are fed to animals (pigs, chickens, dogs and cats) or used for composting, providing nutrients for vegetable gardens and fruit trees. Recyclable materials are further sorted (paper, plastic, tin and aluminium) and only the remnant rubbish is dumped at the landfill. The local landfill is also a source of all manner of free goods. Participants regularly source spare parts for cars and whiteware from it in preference to travelling large distances to the nearest supply town for the same part, and paying much more for the effort. The landfills are well stocked especially when they also serve wealthy, predominantly holiday-home populations.

One participant converted a leaking water tank into a storage shed after several attempts to get the water tank suppliers to remove the damaged (new) water tank from the papakāinga failed. The participant installed a recycled door and several air vents for its new use as a waterproof storage shed.

Grey water from the kitchen, bathroom, shower and laundry was collected by several households for reuse on their māra (gardens). This reuse is important particularly during hot summer months in areas where rainfall is limited and the water supply subject to higher demand resulting from visiting whānau during the holiday period. The māra was a significant contributor to the pātaka (pantry) of these whānau as vegetables and fruit in their area are not considered affordable.

Conventional flush toilets require the concurrent installation of a septic tank and soakage treatment area. Two separate households with a relatively large land area built and installed their own septic tanks for blackwater collection and treatment. Both households also had additional (outdoor long-drop) toilets for use during the day and over holiday periods when whānau visit.

Whānau dependent on intermittent power from generators (3 out of the 10 participants) used spent car batteries for lighting, external and internal, and portable radios. This has several benefits, including savings in diesel or petrol by not having to run a generator, savings in batteries for the portable radio and the provision of household lighting without the noise of the generator. Solar garden lights and wind-up torches are also used during the night when access to power is not available.

In summary, we gathered the following innovations from our survey: the use of a header tank for water supply when the electricity supply is not continuous; the collection of greywater (from the kitchen, bathroom, shower and laundry) for reuse on the māra; DIY (do-it-yourself) septic tanks; spent car batteries used as a power source for lighting (outside and inside) and portable radios; solar garden lights and wind-up torches for mobile lights, including night lighting; LPG califont for water heating in the absence of a continuous power supply; and a ventilated improved latrine.

The assessment criteria used to evaluate the local innovations are: affordability, availability, maintenance, safety, serviceability, scalability, transferability and independence. These are given a rating of low, medium or high. An assessment of "high" for any of the criteria is a measure of the viability of the innovation for uptake by other whānau living in isolated communities. The more "high" assessments an innovation has, the more viable it is for uptake. A moderate rating is also an indicator of viability, so a high ratio of high/moderate to low ratings is also desirable.

Table 1
Definitions of Categories for Assessment Criteria

Criteria	Low	Moderate	High
Affordability	> $500	< $500	< $50
Availability	imported	Auckland	local
Durability (Low maintenance)	weekly	Monthly	annual
Safety	Requires protective equipment or specialist skills to set up, use or maintain	Requires physical confinement	No/low risk or danger imposed
Serviceability	Requires specialist technician	Requires training to use and maintain	No training required to use and maintain
Scaleability	Difficult to reproduce in any other context/area	Applicable only within certain areas	Can be used and mass produced in all areas
Transferability	Context specific and unable to be used elsewhere	Applicable only within certain areas	Universal solution
Independence	Dependent on other infrastructure	Applicable in specific contexts only	Universal solution

Table 2
Criteria Ratings for Each Innovative Solution Used by Participating Whānau

Innova-tion	Afford-ability	Avail-ability	Durability (Low Mainten-ance)	Safety	Service-ability	Scale-ability	Transfer-ability	Indepen-dence
Header tank	Low	**High**	**High**	Low	Moderate	**High**	**High**	Moderate
Grey-water reuse	**High**	**High**	Moderate	Moderate	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**
DIY septic	Moderate	**High**	**High**	Moderate	Moderate	**High**	**High**	**High**
VIP (water-less toilet)	Low	Moderate	**High**	Moderate	Moderate	**High**	**High**	**High**
Used car batteries	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**
Friction and solar lights	**High**	Moderate	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**	**High**
LPG califont	Low	**High**	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	**High**	**High**	Moderate

Discussion

Where we, as researchers on the project, are from has determined the settings and final location of the research sites. We have deliberately included papakāinga we have genealogical connections to and that are currently occupied by our whanaunga (relatives). In this way, we are forced to research with integrity and are easily held accountable to those whānau, our whānau, who reside on our papakāinga. Our whānau will not tolerate outsiders (researchers) taking information for their own benefit. As the researchers, we take information that is for the clear benefit of our whānau and the many others who will follow our parents' transitions from the cities back to our rural papakāinga.

All interviews were conducted kanohi ki ngā kanohi (face-to-face) in either English or Māori. We felt this was the preferred way to gather information from and for Māori as it allows the researchers and the researched the opportunity to establish mutually agreed rules of engagement.

As we hoped, all local innovations gathered in the survey are readily transferable for use on other papakāinga in isolated communities. Any limitations to their uptake could be considered minimal given their usefulness to residents. In the case of the LPG califont, the "low" ranking for affordability is a cost that most participants must endure in the absence of a power connection to the national electricity grid. Without the califont, hot water would not be readily available. The other low-scoring innovation, with respect to affordability and safety, is the water header tank. For participants who do not have a continuous power supply to run the water pump to taps and flush toilet, this is an excellent alternative to turning on the diesel or petrol generator every time water is needed in the home. The benefits for vulnerable whānau members (pregnant women, elders and children) to be able to use an inside (flush) toilet during the night, significantly reducing the risk of falls, are also greatly

appreciated. The low score for "safety" is due to the very real risk that a 1–5 tonne water tank can be if sited on a poorly supported platform. The whānau who installed these tanks (one for each household) were fortunate to have both a builder and a civil and environmental engineer in their immediate whānau.

We have presented selected findings from a pilot study interviewing 10 separate whānau from five different papakāinga. Though we are satisfied with the number, type, usefulness and transferability of local innovations used by our whānau participants, we are certain there are more in use on other papakāinga. A project with greater reach is required to capture those ideas.

Acknowledgements

Glossary

hōhā	nuisance
kanohi ki ngā kanohi	face-to-face
Māori	indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand
māra	gardens
mokopuna	grandchildren
papakāinga	ancestral lands
pātaka	pantry
tamariki	children
Te Ika a Māui	North Island of New Zealand
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	custom, customary practice
tūrangawaewae	place where one has rights of residence through whakapapa
whakapapa	genealogical connections
whānau	family, families, extended family
whanaunga	relatives
whare	house

Media Representations of Child Abuse: Who are Abusing Our Children?

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Abstract

How physical child abuse is represented in the newspaper media appears to have a powerful effect on public perceptions of child abuse. Through the comparison and discussion of newspaper articles and known statistical data on abuse, this research explored whether there is an in-built ethnic or social bias in the reporting of child abuse. A range of media commentators were also interviewed to hear their stories about their writing on the topic of child abuse. The findings of the study revealed a disproportionate reporting of child abuse, based on the ethnicity of the child or perpetrator, with an indication of significant over-reporting of Māori physical child abuse than would statistically be expected. This paper explores a path by which the public in Aotearoa may be able to inform and educate the media to allow a focus on the real issues of child abuse.

Keywords

child abuse, media, physical abuse, media commentators, Māori child abuse

Media Representations of Child Abuse: Who are Abusing Our Children?

> Mā te whakamamae i te tamaiti, ka hemo te wairua. He ora te whakapiri, he mate te whakatakariri.
> When you hit a child, you kill their spirit. Well-being comes with the loving touch, distress comes with anger.

For most New Zealanders, physical child abuse is a few articles in the newspaper, some short mentions on national television, a flurry of letters to the editor about "how could anyone do this to a child?" and, perhaps, a photo of a cute child. For other New Zealanders, however, physical child abuse is closer to home—it may concern a family member, a child in hospital, a child homicide, or a partner in police custody.

As a long-time social worker in both statutory and non-government agencies, I have become increasingly aware over the past decade that physical child abuse and neglect is perceived by many New Zealanders as being an issue that belongs primarily to a specific sector of society: those who are brown and poor.

My recent research has been a study of the reporting of physical child abuse by the media in New Zealand. One question that I explored was: "Is there an inbuilt ethnic or social bias in the reporting of physical child abuse in New Zealand?" I examined a range of New Zealand newspapers over an 8-year period, to identify the dominant messages conveyed in the media about physical child abuse. An analysis of existing statistical data on child abuse enabled comparison and discussion from the two sources of information.

The final part of the research was the interviewing of eleven media commentators and journalists who had all written news reports, opinion pieces or feature articles specifically about physical child abuse. These interviews were an opportunity for the media commentators to tell their own story. The writers spoke about the primary influence on their writing, what had informed their writing, why they had written as they had done, and the audience for whom they wrote. Writers were also asked what they thought the reader would understand from their perceptions of child abusers.

From the newspaper analysis, it became apparent that the media seems prepared to reinforce and justify negative Māori stereotypes. According to the newspaper database, many of the most sensational child abuse cases in New Zealand history have been perpetrated by Māori. There is little apparent understanding of how Māori as a people have attempted to show resilience and positivity despite environmental and social adversities.

Social racism and bigotry are fuelled by many of the articles, which portray families, such as the Kahui family, whose 3-month-old twins were killed, as being "typical" Māori families. Families are often portrayed in the style of the family in Alan Duff's 1990 novel and then movie, *Once Were Warriors*, which graphically depicted Māori males as excessively violent and abusive people. Other articles refer to Māori having a "warrior gene", which is thought to make Māori inherently violent and aggressive.

When reading these articles, it appears they are written in such a way as to make the reader conclude "what more can you expect from Māori?" It is not so much what is written but the allusions made, which reinforce stereotypes that already exist in New Zealand society.

What then is being written in the newspapers on physical child abuse? Firstly there are the headlines. Those we see in the newspapers tell the story that most people are exposed to. Headlines "hook" the reader. They create a picture that makes the reader want to read more. Because the headlines, and the first paragraph of an article, are sometimes all that is read, it is important for the newspaper that the main message is in the headlines. And it is through this medium, that perceptions about who are abusing our children are reinforced for the reader. Some examples of headlines are:

Time for a clear Maori message
Getting to the very heart of Maori angst
Maori told to take abuse responsibility
Majority of shaken babies Māori
Maori tackle abuse secrecy

The newspapers also present to the reader a view on the most likely perpetrators of child abuse. Each of those interviewed had their own views and beliefs. And it became apparent that some of the writers demonstrate a personal racial or social bias in their writing. One writer, for example, told me that he writes "for the converted, the non-abusers ... because perpetrators of child abuse are likely to be uneducable, live in South Auckland, and don't or can't read the paper" (AB, Media commentator, 2009).

Two quotations from media commentators also indicate views on the likely identity of child abusers:

Is child abuse happening in nice, white, middle class neighbourhoods? I don't know, I can only go from what I've seen firsthand, and that is low socio-economic, sometimes Pacific Islanders ... but more Māori, predominantly Māori. And the statistics back that up. (DE, Media commentator, 2009)

Everyone makes assumptions, it's our perceptions. And journalists are the same. You look around, and you think, if a kid is white, and well-dressed, and the parents have money for food, and they may take the kids to the doctor, and the kids go to soccer every Saturday, you assume that everything's fine.

The message for domestic violence has got through—that it's people from all classes. But that for child abuse, people just assume poor and brown. (PM, Media commentator, 2009)

My next point concerns which victims of child abuse are noted in the media. A few children in New Zealand have become "household" names—which people quote whenever the topic of child

abuse is raised. There is Lillybing or Hine Karaitiana-Matiaha, an almost 2-year-old killed in July 2000 following serious physical abuse over 3 days at the hands of two aunties. Chris and Cru Kahui were 3-month-old twins who suffered fatal head injuries in June 2006 while in the care of their parents and other family members. Nia Glassie, a 3-year-old Rotorua child, was killed in August 2007 following serious and ongoing physical abuse at the hands of family members. Nia was spun in a clothes drier, battered against a wall and swung on a clothes line.

Only a few names of abused children are well known. This indicates a disproportionate reporting of physical child abuse, with only a handful of children receiving the bulk of the media attention. These children are more likely to have been killed than injured, they are likely to be Māori, and they are likely to have been the victim of a crime that stands out as being "different", possibly more gruesome or horrific, than other incidents of physical abuse. While the writers are aware of their power to affect the worldview of child abuse, there appears to be a tendency for media articles and stories to reflect and reinforce common views and perceptions.

Much other child abuse receives no media coverage, however. The public is exposed to only the "tip of the iceberg" in terms of being able to gain an accurate impression of the extent and nature of child abuse in New Zealand. These statistics from the 8-year study give a more accurate picture:

8914 children were physically abused.
918 children were hospitalised as a result of physical abuse.
62 children were killed. (Merchant, 2010)

These figures represent the abuse that was substantiated by the statutory child protection agency in New Zealand: Child, Youth and Family Services. These figures on child abuse are known to the professionals. However, only 21 children were named and discussed in the newspapers (more than four times during this same 8 years).

The source of this disparity between media coverage and statistical data is not clear. On one hand it may be that the professionals do not inform the public about the extent of child abuse, possibly because of limited resources or privacy concerns. On the other hand, the question must be raised: are those in the media aware of what is happening in the community but choose to ignore the information? Another possibility is that the media chooses to focus on issues that are more sensational or newsworthy, rather than providing factual information about all the child victims. Whatever the answer, the reality is that the public is exposed to only a small proportion of the available information. Thus the social construction of media reporting is essentially skewed.

When comparing what is written in the media with known statistical data, there appears to be differences in several key demographic areas, including age, gender and ethnicity. The most significant demographic is ethnicity, where Māori children are notably over-represented in the newspaper data compared with what would be expected statistically.

One apparent explanation is that the ethnicity of a child is unlikely to be brought to the attention of the public unless that child is Māori or of Pacific Island descent. Sometimes the reference is blatant, as seen in the headlines above. Other times it may be a subtle reference to the ethnicity of the child or family, for example, a paragraph about taking the child to the marae (Māori community complex), or family members being referred to in terms of their iwi (tribal) connections.

Non-Māori children are simply not mentioned. The abuse is mentioned, but not the ethnicity of children or perpetrators. And for some Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) children, such as 7-year-old Amber Lundy who was axed seven times by her father, the media response was to completely ignore the idea that such actions could be considered child abuse. These words were not mentioned in any newspaper articles.

The increase of child abuse is a national problem, not simply one affecting Māori or Pacific Island families. Child abuse in our community continues to be a life and death issue. I am not saying that child abuse is not a problem for Māori. Too many Māori children are being abused and killed each year in our communities. But factors other than ethnicity alone affect child abuse in Aotearoa New Zealand. One media commentator said:

> You know that there is a whole raft of issues underlying the [child abuse] ... there's poverty, there's crappy housing ... there's low standards of education ... there's cultural acceptance that child abuse is all right ... there's many, many factors involved. (SR, Media commentator, 2009)

A family may be under extreme pressure simply to survive—problems may include unemployment, poor housing, social disadvantage and the extreme youth of parents. Increasing abuse of drugs and alcohol in society may mean that there is often no protective adult in the home to take responsibility for the safety of a child. Family or whānau (family, extended family) dislocation may mean that a child is exposed to family members who have minimal support networks, or who may have experienced intergenerational abuse. The long-term effects of colonisation may have resulted in a family being disconnected from their roots, from their marae and extended whānau.

There does appear to be an ethnic and social bias in the reporting of child abuse. And this bias may mean that our responses to this problem are being seriously compromised. Yes, child abuse is happening in our community, in both Pākehā and Māori families. And it is only going to be through a collective response from all New Zealanders, at all levels of society, that child abuse is going to be addressed.

There are no easy solutions. Child abuse is described by one media commentator as being:

> a challenge for both Pākehā and Māori—one denies colonisation as a cause, the other [denies] the fuller impact of colonisation on its humanity. Pre-European Māori didn't bash kids. Māori now hit children too often and too hard. (Taonui, 2007, p. A11)

This study suggests that a symbiotic relationship exists between the media and the public. Each depends on the other for survival and growth. Ideally, the media can shape public views and beliefs of child abuse, and provide ethical and balanced facts and realities to the public. The public can then critique and provide feedback to the media, thus informing it about what the public wants and expects. This symbiotic process enables both the media and the public to focus on the real issues of child abuse, without being distracted by racial or racist overtones, fear or ignorance.

Nāku te rourou nāu te rourou, ka ora ai ngā tamariki.
With my basket and yours, the children will live.

Glossary
iwi	tribe, tribal
marae	Māori communal complex
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
whānau	family, extended family

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The Mauri Model Decision-Making Framework: Robust Decision-Making for Community Cultural Mosaics

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Abstract

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, a consistent theme of indigenous opposition reported by the Waitangi Tribunal was a spiritual and cultural perspective of the environment that hitherto had not been considered in resource management decision-making in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Earlier claims made to the Waitangi Tribunal—Motunui, Kaituna, Manukau, Ōrākei—concerned themselves with engineering projects that were denigrating the environment. Indigenous concepts raised in Tribunal hearings for these cases included the retention of intrinsic values: mauri (life force or principle), "Māori" spiritual and cultural values, kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and manaakitanga (care, protection), and consideration of ngā whakatipuranga (the future generations).

These early claims accumulated as a series of abandoned engineering projects that represented a significant waste of engineering effort, expended with an inadequate understanding of the full social and cultural context within which these projects were being proposed. There were also significant costs for the hapū (clans, descent groups) and iwi (tribes) forced to delay other commitments to challenge poorly thought through projects. Settlements for these successful Treaty claims made necessary the introduction of legislation that incorporated the lessons being provided from mātauranga Māori (indigenous knowledge).

The Mauri Model acknowledges the valuable insights embodied in mātauranga Māori, and asks how diametrically opposed cultural perspectives can be better recognised and engaged, even synthesised, to facilitate better resource management decision-making. This paper shows how future resource management can not only benefit from the combination of both western science and indigenous knowledge, but must do so to produce decisions that are robust and defendable from a multitude of perspectives.

Keywords

resource management, mauri, kaitiakitanga, decision-making, indigenous knowledge

Introduction

The conference theme, "Kei Muri i te Awe Kāpara, He Tangata Kē", suggests a stranger stands behind the tattooed face. The wording encourages the recognition, acknowledgement, understanding of and engagement with different cultures in order to overcome the adverse effects of one culture's poorly informed decisions on another culture. This aspiration for enhanced understanding is reflected in the expression "community cultural mosaic", which describes a group of diverse cultures co-existing in harmony, retaining their unique understanding and wisdom, but benefiting from the collective wisdom and knowledge of all contributors. The concept of a community cultural mosaic in Aotearoa/New Zealand requires as a minimum the recognition and respect of the potential of mātauranga Māori (indigenous knowledge) alongside Western science.

Ontology is the frame of mind determining what is real and what is not. A particular person's ontology or reality determines what is possible and what is taken into account in decision-making. Many engineering disciplines now rely heavily on computational analysis to manage complicated problems. Contemporary engineering solutions seeking to address complex challenges often proceed from an in-depth understanding of the scientific analysis that provides the preliminary data to computational analysis. However, scientific complexity can encourage an overly narrow analysis of

problems, and relevant but non-technical knowledge can be discarded because it is not readily quantifiable within the engineering paradigm.

At times, the engineering solutions generated are deficient and incomplete because, physical complexity aside, other challenges pertinent to the practitioner such as political, social and cultural considerations are not taken into account. This meta-physical context can be at least as complex as the applied science; however, few if any frameworks exist that allow the effective integration of all available knowledge sources into the solution. A significant challenge for engineers is the effective incorporation of indigenous knowledge such as mātauranga Māori into solution development.

Historically, there are many examples of ecosystem mismanagement resulting from engineering decisions based on interpretations of a challenge solely in terms of scientific information and monetary cost and benefit (Morgan, 2008). Including alternative concepts in sustainability assessment could engender the community cultural mosaic described above. In fact, future management of the ecosystem can not only benefit from the combination of Western science and indigenous knowledge, but must now do so in many projects in order to gain political acceptance.

Two indigenous concepts regularly raised in evidence given at Waitangi Tribunal hearings are mauri and kaitiakitanga. In the context of kaitiakitanga, Barlow (1991) defines mauri as a special power of the gods. Mauri makes existence possible. Mauri is the force created by the mana (prestige, authority) of the atua (gods) that binds the body and the spirit. This definition is reiterated by Durie (1998), who describes mauri as the binding force between the physical and the spiritual.

Resource Management in Aotearoa/New Zealand
In the management of natural and physical resources in Aotearoa/New Zealand, full and balanced account is taken of:

the intrinsic values of ecosystems;
all values which are placed by individuals and groups on the quality of the environment;
the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi;
the sustainability of natural and physical resources; and
the needs of future generations (Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, 2002).

The relationship between Māori and the environment is specifically provided for in parts of the Resource Management Act 1991. Section 6 sets out matters of national importance and refers to the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, wāhi tapu (sacred sites) and other taonga (treasures). Roberts asserts the importance of recognising intangible aspects of Māori relationships, such as the spiritual dimension and that everything in the natural world possesses mauri (Roberts, 2002). Section 7 identifies the importance of the concept of kaitiakitanga, but stops short of also including the concept of mauri, instead alluding to this as the "intrinsic values" of ecosystems.

A Community Cultural Mosaic Approach
The indigenous concepts of mauri and kaitiakitanga (acting to enhance mauri) are suggested here as the basis for a new decision-making framework that takes a holistic perspective, integrating economic, environmental, social and cultural considerations. These considerations are collectively identified in resource management legislation (Ministry for the Environment, 2003), which requires us to take account of the social, economic, environmental and cultural effects of our decisions. It is noted that an integration of cultural effects into engineering analysis cannot be performed in isolation from economic, environmental and social considerations. The requirement to assess this broad scope introduces the high level of complexity referred to earlier.

A common theme between indigenous and non-indigenous societies is the differing prioritisation of economic and ecosystem well-being. Earlier comparative assessments of worldviews illustrate these differences, which primarily come down to placing higher importance on enhancing

monetary wealth or enhancing mauri (Morgan, 2009). To address this divergence in thinking, mauri is adopted in the place of money as the quantifying metric for decision-making. Mauri is a measure of potential and is defined as the binding force between the spiritual and physical, or the capacity to support life. Mauri is also an intuitive concept. Like gravity it cannot be seen, touched, smelt or tasted, but can be sensed on a metaphysical level. A two-stage framework has been created which combines the Analytic Hierarchy Process (Saaty, 1980) with the conceptual metric of mauri, creating an assessment that allows different cultural perspectives to be quantified to accommodate and acknowledge all worldviews within the decision outcome.

A parallel assessment goes beyond scientific understanding of a problem. It assesses the impact on the mauri of different well-being indicators in a way that produces a quantifiable result. The sensitivity of the assessment to different worldviews is then investigated by applying the quantification of worldviews as a percentage weighting of the well-being indicator scores. A consideration of the implications for a diverse range of worldviews enhances understanding and ultimately strengthens the community cultural mosaic.

The Mauri Model Decision-Making Framework is thus made up of the two assessments depicted in Figures 1 and 2, which can be combined in a computer spreadsheet and presented as shown in Table 1 and Figure 3.
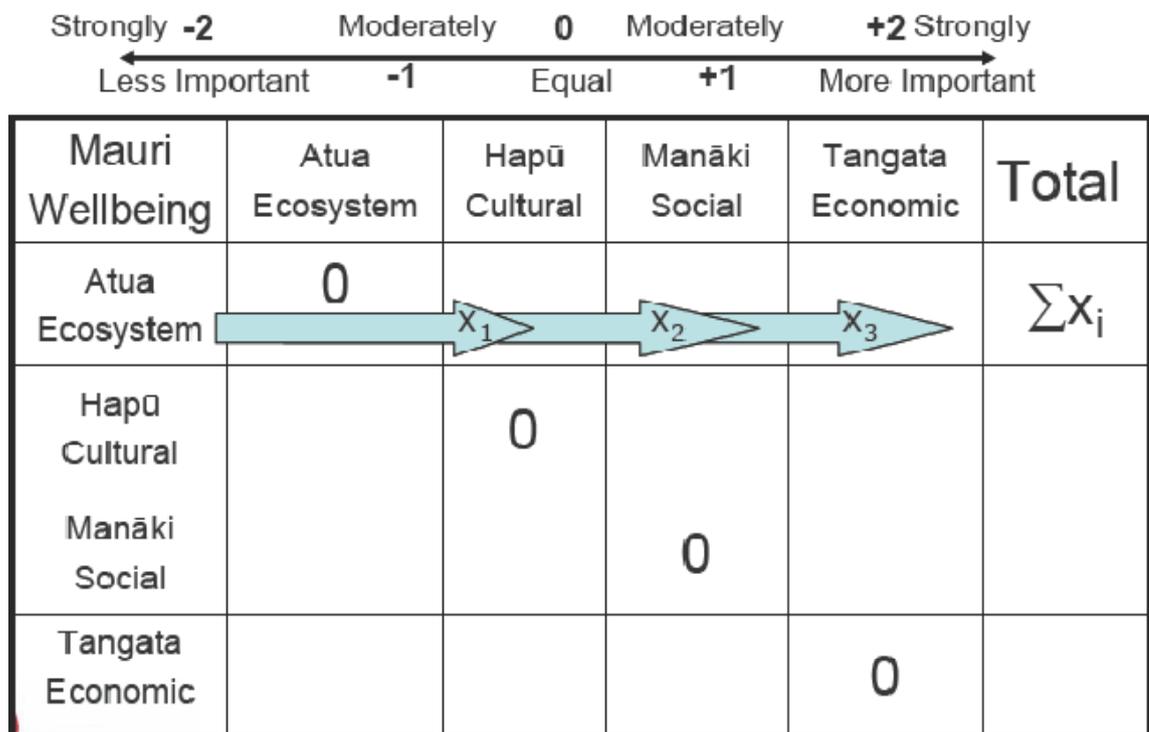
Figure 1. Worldview prioritisation of well-being indicators.
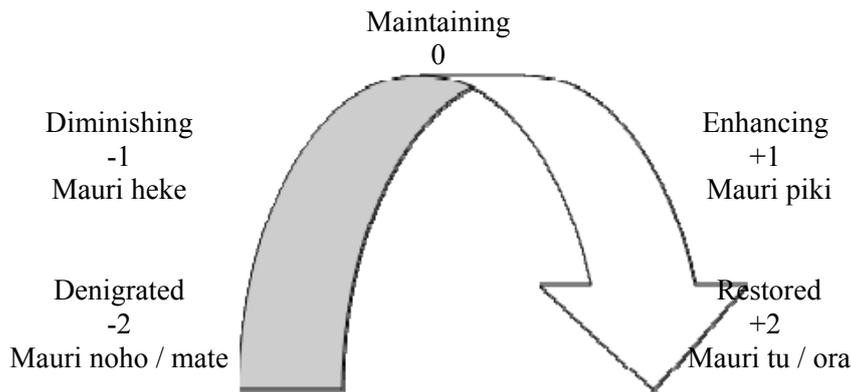
Figure 2. Absolute sustainability assessment using the Mauri-ometer.

Table 1
Typical option analysis using the Mauri Model Decision-Making Framework

Metric	Waikato River Indicators	1860	2010 Power	2010 Farms	2010 Wastewater
E1	Water quality – Nutrients (N & P)	+2	0	-1	-1
E2	Endocryne disruptors /heavy metals /oil	0	-1	0	-1
E3	Sedimentation	+2	-1	-1	0
H1	Identity – Mauri of Taniwha	+2	-2	-1	-1
H2	Spiritual relevance – Wāhi Tapu	+2	-1	-1	-2
H3	Tikanga – seasonal food harvest	+2	-2	-1	-2
C1	Transportation - people and goods	+2	+1	0	-1
C2	Public ammenity – sport activities	0	+2	0	0
C3	Recreational fishing	0	+1	0	-1
W1	Regional Economy	+2	+2	+2	+1
W2	Regional Employment	+2	+1	+2	+1
W3	Infrastructure Operation	0	+1	-1	-1
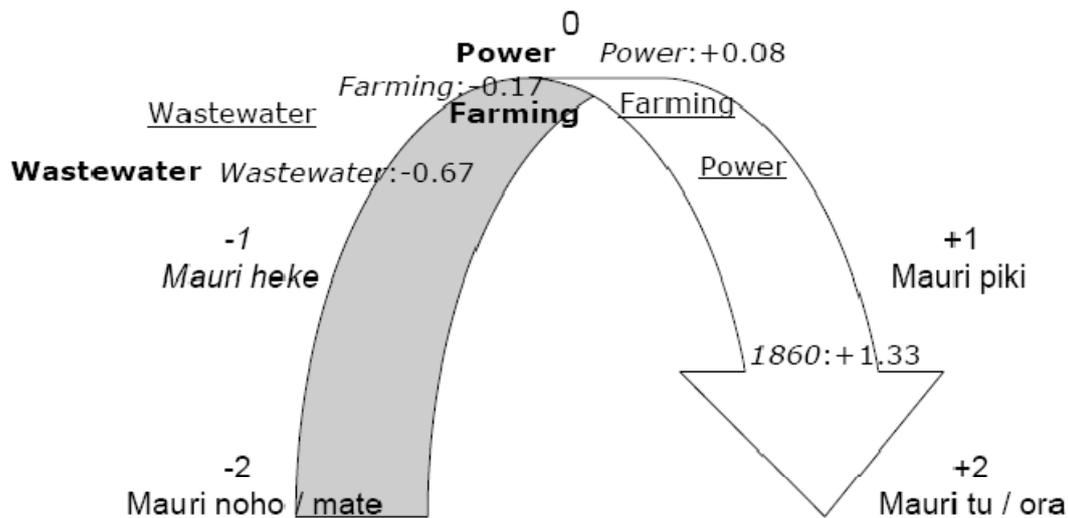
Figure 3. Assessment results adjusted for worldviews depicted on the Mauri-ometer.

The results depicted in Figure 3 show that mauri raw score averages for the impact of activities (such as farming and treatment of waste water) are modified by the prioritisations of different worldviews. These show an apparent improvement in average mauri from a worldview that prioritises economic returns (shaded area with negative numbers), and an apparent denigration of average mauri from a worldview that prioritises the intrinsic values of ecosystems (unshaded area with positive numbers). These are the western generalised scientific worldview and the indigenous worldview respectively.

The central proposition underpinning the Mauri Model Decision-Making Framework is that mauri is the binding force that makes existence possible by bringing the physical and spiritual attributes of a being or thing together in unison. When actions impact negatively on the mauri of something, this essential bond is weakened, potentially resulting in the separation of the physical and spiritual, and leading to the death of a living thing or the loss of a thing's capacity to support other life. Traditionally, the mauri of ecosystems has been actively managed by Māori to ensure its resilience and vitality for current and future generations. Exploitation, depletion and denigration of a resource was avoided.

Mauri is thus the central concept through which the Mauri Model Decision-Making Framework seeks to empower a diverse range of perspectives, thus enhancing understanding and creating a stronger community cultural mosaic. The Mauri Model is also aligned to New Zealand legislation, and this enables the integration of the disparate ontologies of scientific- and indigenous knowledge-based worldviews evident in many Waitangi Tribunal claims. The aim of this paper has been to introduce the basis for the Mauri Model, a decision-making framework that can empower indigenous perspectives of sustainable resource management and create stronger community cultural mosaics.

Conclusion

It is important to protect the mauri of ecosystems from denigration. Resource management carried out from an engineering paradigm based solely on scientific knowledge struggles to do this, as the goal is often exploitation of resources and the accommodation of economic imperatives at the theoretical maximum tolerance of the ecosystem. Indigenous concepts of resource management include a precautionary approach that can temper engineering decision-making. The Mauri Model Decision-Making Framework adopts mauri as the basis for assessment within a framework that readily aligns to contemporary legislation. The Mauri Model is also able to account for the different priorities inherent in indigenous and scientific worldviews. These characteristics make the Mauri Model Decision

Making Framework well-suited to the challenge of incorporating the different world views prevalent in today's society and in the community cultural mosaic of tomorrow.

> Mauri tū, mauri ora tātou katoa.
> (Happiness and good health to us all.)

Glossary

atua	gods
hapū	clan, descent group
iwi	tribe
kaitiakitanga	guardianship; actions to enhance mauri
mana	prestige, authority
manaaki/manāki	to take care of, to protect
manaakitanga	care, protection
mātauranga Māori	indigenous knowledge
mauri	life force or principle
mauri heke	decline in mauri
mauri noho/mate	mauri afflicted
mauri piki	mauri in the ascent
mauri tū/ora	mauri alive
tangata	person, people
taonga	treasures
wāhi tapu	sacred sites
whakatipuranga	future generations

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Māori, Tongan and Chinese Households: Medications and Elder Care

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Abstract
Research reveals that medicines are frequently not taken as intended, stockpiled for future use, discontinued when symptoms fade or passed to others. Medications are material objects with therapeutic uses that enter into and take on meaning within people's lives. In this way they are culturally embedded phenomena that carry meanings and shape social relationships and practices. The symbolic meanings given to medications and cultural relations are important for understanding variations in medication practices. Households with elders often contain more medications and have more complex age-related medical conditions. In households where members are engaged in the reciprocation of care among two or three generations, medications within and between these relationships take on a range of dynamic meanings. In this paper, we explore how interactions between household members affect medicines-taking practices of elders and their families from three cultural groups: Māori, Tongan and Chinese. This research was funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand and the Marsden Fund of the Royal Society of New Zealand.

Keywords
medications, home, traditional medicine, cultural relationships, flow, eldercare

Introduction
New Zealand society is awash with biotechnologies. Medications take a variety of forms; through prescription, pharmacist-only, pharmacy-only and over the counter, and extending to alternative or complementary products such as homeopathic and "natural remedies", and dietary supplements. Their use is complex and often problematic; many substances are wasted, used for other purposes or given to other people without prescription or medical advice. Overall adherence to recommended medication regimes is only around 50 per cent (Haynes, McKibbon & Kanani, 1996; PHARMAC, 2006), and varies according to factors such as type of illness, number of medicines taken, socio-economic status and the meanings people attach to these objects (van der Geest, 2006).

The New Zealand Medical Council guidelines advise doctors to be "mindful of their patients' cultural beliefs, mores, and behaviours. Awareness of the traditional medicines patients may be taking alongside their prescribed treatment may play an important role in providing quality care and avoiding adverse interactions" (Poynton, Dowell, Dew & Egan, 2006, p. 8). When medications are taken home, or prepared in the home, they enter into the social space of the home, into social relationships and take on social meanings, and can reshape relations, identities, moralities and routines (Lefebvre & Nicholson-Smith, 2007; Sointu, 2006; Yanchar, Gantt & Clay, 2005). The symbolic meaning of medications exceeds their materiality as things in a physical world. Medications are invested with history and tradition, and often crystallise connections with people, places and events. The places people dwell in and the things they collect become part of them, and crystallise aspects of who they are, want to be and show to others (Noble, 2004).

Tongan, Māori and Chinese, the three groups of interest in this paper, all have ways of understanding and addressing ill health that vary from European medical models. These indigenous systems tend to be more holistic, have their own associated knowledge bases and experts and healing substances (Bloomfield, 2002; Kaptchuk, 1983; Kayne, 2010; Ulluwishewa, Roskruge, Harmsworth & Antaran, 2008). People from these cultural groups know who to seek help from, know their cultural

models of health care and continue to source, prepare, store and consume traditional substances for positive health outcomes (Jones, 2000; North, 2008; Toafa, Moata ane & Guthrie, 2001).

All cultural groups have culturally defined social relationships that can be understood through significant values important in those cultures. For example, the Chinese hold to the value of xiao or filial piety—a value orientation that "prescribes the child's obligations to defer to parental wishes, attend to parental needs, and provide care and support to aged parents"(Li, Hodgetts, Ho & Stolte, 2010, p. 2). For Māori, the cultural values of manaakitanga (care) and whanaungatanga (relationality) define kinship obligations to care. In the case of the elderly, their roles as advisors, spiritual guides and family leaders give rise to the value of rangatiratanga (authority and leadership). When taken together, these values bring about an obligation on the part of children to reciprocate earlier care provided by their parents and grandparents, in turn enabling the aged to discharge their cultural responsibilities as elders (Ritchie, 1992). Similar values are found in Tongan culture; for example, faka'apa'apa (respect), talangofua (obedience), fakaongoongo (waiting for and listening to instructions) and 'ofa (love) (Lee, 1996).

Present Study

Between April 2009 and March 2010 we conducted group discussions, mapping exercises to locate medications, photo elicitation interviews and medicine-related diaries with 11 households in New Zealand. Four Tongan households were situated in Auckland and four Māori and three Chinese households in Hamilton. Of the eleven households, four households had elders who were being cared for by their adult children. Of the four households with elders, three were multigenerational with grandparents, parents and grandchildren. This paper draws on information collected from these three households to describe patterns of medication use and to illustrate how medications contribute to cultural roles and identities, and cultural connectedness and continuities.

Located in Hamilton, the Puriri household is home to Tui (78 years), his son Tane (47) and wife Erin (44), and their two teenage children. Tui, Tane and Erin all have chronic conditions, have been hospitalised regularly and take medication for heart-related conditions. Tane and Erin both have sleep apnoea and use ventilation machines at night. Tui recently moved from Rotorua to the Puriri house after experiencing a critical health event. He still lives a very busy life and is engaged in tribal politics that necessitate frequent trips to the Bay of Plenty where he is from. Tui's wife, Miriama, had earlier moved to Hamilton after suffering a series of strokes and became too dependent for Tui to care for her. Miriama lives with her daughter, also in Hamilton.

The Yangliu household is also in Hamilton. Joanne is a computer technician in her late 30s and Tony (also in his late 30s) is self-employed in China. Joanne's elderly parents, Tom and Anna, who are in their early 70s, live in the household too, along with Tony's and Joanne's son, John. Tony and Joanne arrived as permanent residents to New Zealand from China in the late 1990s, and were followed 2 years later by Joanne's parents who came to help care for and enjoy their only grandson. All household members enjoy good health and take vitamins regularly, although Joanne's parents both take medication for high blood pressure. They all have lived experiences of Chinese medicine, a paradigm that guides the household's well-being practices. For this reason, the household stockpiles substances procured about twice yearly when members of the family visit China.

The Loumaile household comprises four generations of the related Nonu and Pua Tonga families. They occupy a three-storey home in Auckland. The Pua Tonga family live mostly on the second level, and the Nonu family on the first. Both families are Tongan speaking. The oldest is 74-year-old Katalina, who speaks little English, is mobile and independent. She has high blood pressure and takes "blister packed" medication. Katalina has seven children; five in Auckland and two in Tonga. She has been visiting her children in New Zealand since the mid-1980s and moved here permanently in 2008. Katalina resides mostly with other members of the Pua Tonga family, who include Katalina's daughter 'Olivia (53 years), 'Olivia's 55-year-old husband 'Osai (who was in Tonga at the time of interviewing), and three of their six children, Tevita (20), Terry (16) and 'Elisi (14)—all madly keen on sports. 'Olivia is diabetic and also has high blood pressure for which she takes daily medication.

The other family in the Loumaile household is the Nonu family, comprised of Katalina's son Peni (29 years), his Samoan wife Tori (32) and their 1-year-old daughter, Vienna. Both Peni and Tori work for the New Zealand Police and enjoy good health, although Tori has a mild form of eczema which she regularly treats with cream. Recently, Vienna has shown signs of having eczema too.

Types of Substances

The Yangliu household subscribe to both Chinese and biomedical practices, as do the Loumaile household, which was reflected in the substances household participants showed us. The Puriri household did not reveal to us any traditional medicines, but clearly know about traditional substances and healing systems. All three households contained prescription, pharmacy and over-the-counter products, and alternative or complementary products such as homeopathic and "natural remedies" and dietary supplements, reflecting a comprehensive engagement with dominant health practices and substances in New Zealand. In contrast to the others, the Yangliu household more explicitly operated within and between two health paradigms, but emphasised Chinese medicine. The following is an example:

Interviewer:	Ok. Are there any other medicines that you buy in China and bring back to the household?
Joanne:	There are some like for common cold. We just buy it for protect[ion] purposes, when you [we] feel probably not all right we just take them. They are all many made of traditional medicine.
Tony:	Herbs, Chinese herbs.
Joanne:	Yeah, herbs, like some herb tea if you call it medicine. Yeah, that's it.

Storage of Medications

Households tended to store substances in places related to their use and to people's daily routines. Medications to be "consumed" were typically stored in kitchen cupboards, on bench or fridge tops or in dining areas. Medications to be "applied" tended to be stored in bedrooms or bathrooms, as were substances to be taken, applied, injected or inserted at night. Substances requiring special conditions, like refrigeration, dry conditions or away from light tended to be stored as directed by the labelling or by a pharmacist. Contrary to the advised storage of substances in medicine cabinets in bathrooms, Chinese participants emphasised the damp and humid environment of bathrooms which, for these reasons, would never be considered a storage site.

Joanne:	Oh, we never, I never put any medicine there [bathrooms].
Interviewer:	Yeah.
Joanne:	We leave it in the drawers in the handy place, like, in the kitchen or in the bedroom.
Interviewer:	Yeah. Ok.
Joanne:	Yeah. Keep it dry, cool places.
Interviewer:	Dry, cool place, dark place.
Joanne:	Yeah.

Interestingly, cabinets in bathrooms are still referred to as "medicine cabinets" even though they are more often used to store mostly hygiene substances.

In all the households, medications to be remembered occupied a specific space through which everyday routines flowed. The kitchen bench was implicated in processes of remembering to consume medications and compliance. Such placement constitutes a discursive act linked to social expectations and responsibilities and the physical realities of illness and treatment. For example, people were less likely to forget important substances if they were located in such prominent places, and would cue householders to remember to take their own medications or remind, and at times hassle, another person to take their medications. Such exchanges reflect the spatially ingrained and relational nature of medication consumption. These prominently located medications are also transformed into social objects with their own biographies of care. When participants talked about them, they invoked the

routine of consumption, the nature of an ailment, relationships between householders in ensuring compliance and specific events involved in the consumption of these substances such as lapses in use (van der Geest & Whyte, 1989). These instances also invoke links to health professionals and networks of relationships surrounding the procurement, use, storage and construction of medications in the therapeutic space of the home.

Arising Patterns
Medications within Relationships of Culture and Care—Puriri Household
All households were engaged in culturally-based care relationships. An illustration of this is the relationship Tane has with his father Tui. Tui is the eldest in his family and, while he did not have to care intensively for his parents, he was responsible for ensuring they were well housed and supported. Tane, as the eldest male in Tui's family, feels a similar obligation. In the following extract, Tane discusses his father's medication routine, commenting on how he monitors, sources, presents and pursues his father's compliance and other care needs and his own frustrations. He softens his comments by ending with the need for Tui to be close to his family.

Interviewer 1:	And then you take care of your Dad? ... as in getting the medication, checking when he's going to need the next blister pack ...
Tane:	Run him to the doctor. All those sorts of things.
Interviewer 1:	How do you find that?
Tui:	Just as well I've got somebody or I'd never keep up!
Tane:	It's a bit of a headache, actually … to get you [Tane addressing Tui] to go to the doctor, get the medication, get the blister packs, make sure you take the meds in the morning when we just leave it in the egg cup. Yeah, all those sort of things. And then we've got to top it off with having to put you in the shower, take the bandage off when you have the bandage on, aye? Cream your leg and make sure you're ready for the district nurse when she was coming. She came three times a week and every time she came he had to be bathed and washed, bandages off and ...
Interviewer 2:	You had a full time job with that.
Tane:	One of the reasons we moved Dad over was that we were really worried about his health and so that's why we moved him from Rotorua to here. But also because it was time to have you [Tane addressing Tui] with the family, aye? Because no more family were left there, just [Miria]. All of us had moved—all of us had moved [unintelligible]. So, yeah. That's the half of it living here—make sure he gets meds and all that sort of stuff, gets some care going on.

What is interesting here is how Tane tells his care story. The story begins as an exchange between the interviewer and Tane, but switches to a narrative of a father–son relationship, told by a son to a father. The interviewers become incidental even though they are the cause of the exchange. The narrative is a telling of their care relationship, focused on the substances and behaviours that present ways of being together, of bringing care into their relationship, and of offering care from son to father. While disruptions to daily routines are apparent, sub-routines which respond to disruptions demonstrate an enabling resilience. The story is told in a loving and compassionate way and, at the same time, invites Tui into a safe space to contradict or elaborate. Tane's switching the focus to telling the story of their relationship to his father suggests a respect in directness and honesty. To do otherwise is to reveal the intimacies and struggles of their relationship to some other person without seeking permission to do so, an act tantamount to diminishing the status of his father in public. Through medications, Tane navigates his cultural obligations to care for Tui's physical and medical needs and cultural status as a father, grandfather, elder and family head. Reading beyond the medications, illness and frustrations of growing old and becoming dependent, we find a son motivated by the cultural obligation of manaakitanga, of giving due regard to the mana (dignity, status) of his father.

Traditional Medications as Facilitators of Culture—Yangliu Household

All cultures have their systems of health, healing and care. "Traditional medicine is the sum total of knowledge, skills and practices based on the theories, beliefs and experiences indigenous to different cultures that are used to maintain health, as well as to prevent, diagnose, improve or treat physical and mental illnesses" (World Health Organisation, 2008, para. 3). In households living away from traditional communities, elders are often the knowledge holders of traditional care practices and therefore a valuable health resource for households. They may also be the household "link" to traditional health substances, experts and systems that are at a distance. Providing care to elders may mean sourcing, preparing and administering substances according to their directions. For the family members this may mean submitting to a learning relationship and being a recipient of knowledge and, at the same time, enabling the elder to pass traditional knowledge on to the household and manifest agency over their health care practices.

The Yangliu household is interesting in that all members, with the exception of a grandchild, have lived experiences of Chinese medicine before coming to New Zealand. For Joanne's parents, Tom and Anna, trying to make the transition from Chinese medicines for high blood pressure, to biomedical was problematic.

Joanne:	They both have high blood pressure so they use some medicine from China because they have been using it for a long time, and we did consult the family doctor here and he suggested them to try some medicine in New Zealand but they tried it but they found it's very different. So, their bodies reacted to it and then they went back to the older [Chinese medicine].
Interviewer:	Yeah. Ok. And how did they access the Chinese medicine?
Joanne:	Because they were basically the Chinese traditional medicine. Although they are pills so we can just buy from the pharmacy in China and bring it over.
Interviewer:	Oh, so you bring it over or you just do it over the internet and they ...
Joanne:	No, we just, so, when we go back to China we just bring some medicine for them.
Interviewer:	Ok, yeah. And how long have they been taking them for? Quite a while?
Joanne:	I think my Mum's been taking it for 5 years and my father is much longer—maybe 10 or 15 years.

The above narrative can be read at three levels. First, it operates at a material level. Chinese medication represents a remedy for two Chinese grandparents with high blood pressure. It is a Chinese solution for Chinese "bodies" accustomed to Chinese ways. Ingesting a biomedical solution their bodies consider foreign and poisonous is rejected in favour of the familiar and physically acceptable Chinese medication, bringing about a sense of well-being and assurance for the whole Yangliu household. The narrative also operates at a relational level. While their Chinese medication may look just like any biomedical pill prescribed in New Zealand, the object carries with it different meanings, beyond that of care within household relationships between parent and child. The meaning is extended beyond an object in a drawer to be taken daily and beyond the confines of the household, and reaches back across seas and borders to the mother country. In this sense it represents an attachment to China, lives lived there, people and places remembered, and establishes ongoing continuities. Lastly, the narrative can be read at a cultural level. The medication narrates the participants' lives and, at the same time, the lives of their medications are narrated in journeys from China to bring about identity and cultural beliefs of health, well-being and balance. The medication hence has a "cultural biography" and is embedded in frameworks of time, memory and space. As a material object, Anna and Tom's Chinese medication signifies a sense of being between two identities, two cultures, two environments, two societies, two countries and two health paradigms. Within the Yangliu household this "between-ness" is resolved through increased choices, options, remedies and knowledge.

Medications and Worldviews—Tongan Household

While other Pacific nations have been subjected to colonial incursions by the Americans, British and French, Tonga has always been a sovereign nation, beholden to no other nation or people. Even so,

Tonga shares with its Pacific neighbours the "Good Word" spread by Christian missionaries of all denominations throughout the region since the 1800s. Contemporary expressions of anga fakatonga, Tongan customary practices and values, have become inextricably entwined with Christian values and beliefs to the extent that many Tongans simply take it for granted as part of their daily lives. They live both their Tongan and Christian values at the same time and in ways that are mutually compatible. The following excerpt describes 'Olivia's and Katalina's understanding of medications and faith.

Interviewer:	So we have a lot of Tongans who are religious right? Is there any correlation between medications and religion? According to your understanding is there a relationship there?
'Olivia:	Yes there is a relationship
Interviewer:	What is it?
Katalina:	There is a relationship there because we take the medication and have faith that God is helping us. We have unwavering faith that it is God who heals, because when we receive medication and take it, that is him working his healing through to our bodies, our pain, and our illnesses.

'Olivia and Katalina also subscribe to Tongan medicine, which they consume regularly for common complaints such as sore stomachs, and within the New Zealand-based Tongan community they know who the traditional healers are and the families who make and provide Tongan medications.

Katalina:	That bottle of Vai just helps for when I take my Panadol. I use the Vai to take with the Panadol.
Interviewer:	How did you know to do that?
Katalina:	It usually helps you feel better faster.
Interviewer:	Where did you get that information from?
Katalina:	Because it's a Vai that has been around for a very long time and it is commonly used by Tongan [people].
Interviewer:	Are the leaves used to make that medication found here in New Zealand?
'Olivia:	It's Vai that is already made. Aye Katalina, the Vai Kita?
Katalina:	It's made out of powder.
Interviewer:	Made in Tonga then brought over here to sell.
Katalina:	There is a family here [Auckland] who makes those kinds of things.

There are three systems of understanding at work in these accounts: the Tongan medical paradigm and medical substances; the biomedical system and its technologies, and a religious belief system and faith in God. Having faith in God or "higher" beings, be they ancestors, deities, or an entity that originated the universe, is not a foreign idea to the peoples of the Pacific. Appealing to these higher beings for help, healing, assistance and guidance is also consistent with traditional Tongan ways.

Prayer then, is a way of turning one's mind to healthy outcomes. It is part of the healing recipe. Without prayer and faith and divine intervention, positive health outcomes through simply popping a pill or drinking Vai—we suggest—become a gamble.

Conclusion

The three household examples hint at the complexities involved in the consumption of medications, and the dissolving of these pharmacological and social objects into cultural domestic contexts, bodies and relationships. The first example shows how culturally laden relationships between father and son are enacted through the use of medications. The second example speaks to issues of migration and transnational flows, as medications are tailored to meet the needs of cultural bodies. In the third example we see how confidence in the efficacy of medications is linked to issues of faith and belief. Dimensions explored in relation to one specific example are also applicable to the other two, although they may manifest in different ways depending on the specific group in question. What is clear is that

to understand the everyday lives of medications we need to engage more directly with the specific practices, beliefs and places of different ethnic groups.

This paper exemplifies that cultural diversity requires much greater consideration in the formulation of policies and social services that address diversity of experiences and of approaches to elder care in multicultural society. Such work is crucial at a time when New Zealand is becoming a more diverse society, and when the government must grapple with meeting the needs of ethnically diverse populations and with increasing pressure on social welfare and health care budgets. Such concerns appear to run counter to the tendency within the mainstream policy literature towards ever more predictable, rational and universally applicable models and approaches. Situating culture in the larger society, and focusing attention on interpreting social issues through the cultural lenses of those concerned, will expand the responsiveness of policymaking and elder care.

Glossary

anga fakatonga	Tongan customary practices and values (Tongan)
faka'apa'apa	respect (Tongan)
fakaongoongo	waiting for and listening to instructions (Tongan)
mana	dignity, status (Māori)
manaakitanga	care (Māori)
'ofa	love (Tongan)
rangatiratanga	authority and leadership (Māori)
talangofua	obedience (Tongan)
whanaungatanga	relationality (Māori)
xiao	filial piety (Chinese)

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The Process of Reviving Traditional Knowledge Through Traditional Methods

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Introduction

I would like to pay my respects to the Māori people of this land, Aotearoa, and their ancestors.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are warned that some knowledge in this paper comes from Aboriginal people who are now deceased and who have participated by passing on the knowledge of traditional lore.

We acknowledge their contribution and foresight in giving permission to teach the traditional knowledge of lore to the wider community to benefit the greater good of mankind and the request that we begin to live in harmony with each other.

Keywords

Abstract

This paper discusses how the process of reviving traditional knowledge through traditional methods (Aboriginal spirituality) has been revived by participating in a traditional ceremony, and challenges the commonly held anthropological theories and assumption that Aboriginal traditional knowledge is lost forever on the east coast of Australia.

I also investigate the process of indoctrination, Aboriginal spirituality and the principles of traditional lore and social kinship system and the maintenance of cultural identity.

Challenging the Theory That Aboriginal Traditional Knowledge is Lost Forever on the East Coast of Australia

The process of reviving traditional knowledge is as much a personal journey as it is a story of spiritual growth; a re-awaking of the soul tapping into a timeless source of spiritual energy; of its hidden secrets unknown to the world; its knowledge, wisdom and understanding kept intact in an ancient, timeless land; which tell us of an unbroken chain of stories passed down from generation to generation.

Our aim and the purpose of this paper is not to demonstrate that one set of knowledge—gained through a different system of education—is superior to others, but rather that it is applied and delivered in a different approach. Our approach is not that of numerous academic scholars who seem to demonstrate continually their intellectual superiority through criticising their colleagues' analyses on various topics, and who impose their expert opinion, mastery or superiority in their chosen field over people who hold traditional knowledge.

The challenge is to investigate the anthropological theories that state Aboriginal traditional knowledge is lost forever on the east coast of Australia and to prove that this is, in fact, not true. In terms of reviving traditional knowledge and the Aboriginal process, Western concepts and paradigms do not comprehend the spiritual component of traditional knowledge and lore.

A lot has been written about the destruction of Aboriginal traditional knowledge and society on the east coast of Australia through the process of colonisation, but little is known by the

anthropological community due to their lack of understanding of the process of reviving traditional knowledge, which allows for the re-emergence of traditional knowledge through traditional methods.

There are a number of steps in the process of reviving traditional knowledge, which anthropologists declare unattainable and intangible evidence, because they believe that indigenous traditional knowledge is inferior to Western intellectual concepts, and that these concepts are far superior to the traditional knowledge held by the traditional knowledge holders. Yet this same unattainable and intangible evidence, this "traditional knowledge", when researched by experts such as anthropologists, seems mysteriously to become attainable and tangible evidence once researched and written up by a non-indigenous person or experts. Why is it, when indigenous people and traditional knowledge holders are the source of traditional knowledge, that the status of these people is declared primitive, uncivilised and unintelligent by people in Western sciences and technical advancement?

The process of reviving traditional knowledge through traditional methods comes from a different paradigm. This paradigm of traditional knowledge is more commonly known and used within Aboriginal communities and is due to the traditional knowledge holders' insight into the spiritual world.

The anthropological community does not really accept or truly understand the spiritual world. It separates science and religion and understands the practical or physical term only. While the anthropological community accepts the notion of holistic concepts of the spiritual world, it denies concepts of the spiritual world being part of the physical world. Our traditional knowledge holders view the spiritual world as inseparable from the physical world.

The Wadja Traditional Knowledge Centre has tapped into the process of reviving traditional knowledge through traditional methods by unlocking the source of knowledge, wisdom and understanding of Aboriginal ancient traditional knowledge and lore. This has assisted us in surviving the numerous attempts to wipe Aboriginal people off the face of the country through violent acts of carnage, massacres and now legally-sanctioned discrimination (institutionalised racism).

The Process of Indoctrination

With the establishment of the various European empires in the early 1600s through to the 19th century, a new phase was heralded in, a process of indoctrinating indigenous people. Once the colonisers had colonised their country, they began a process of indoctrination—which took many forms—through the establishment of Aboriginal Protection Acts, implemented by both government legislation and churches with religious righteousness and the pretence that Aboriginal people were less than human, illiterate, savages and primitive. In this way they justified taking away Aboriginal people's basic human rights.

The following quote, from a letter written on behalf of Shoghi Effendi to the Comite Nacional de Ensenanza Bahá'í para los Indigenas de Sur America on September 21, 1951, sums up the mistrust Aboriginal people have of the European colonisers and its so-called civilised society.

It is a great mistake to believe that because people are illiterate or live primitive lives, they are lacking in either intelligence or sensibility. On the contrary, they may well look on us with the evils of our civilisation, with its moral corruption, its ruinous wars, its hypocrisy and conceit, as people who merit watching with both suspicion and contempt. (Bahai-library, *Compilations, Lights of Guidance*, p. 523)

The indoctrination process implemented by the government and churches led to the removal of Aboriginal people from their particular country with the rounding up all Aboriginal people and children. Those classified as half-cast (now considered part of the "stolen generation") were taken from their families and placed into white foster homes, government settlements and church missions, before being sent out to work as domestics and cattle hands and then labelled as lazy, drunk and worthless thieves.

It is hard to comprehend that sociologists today who are aware of the "labelling theory" still continue to allow these labels to be used, thus reinforcing the repetition of the process of indoctrination, rather than devising new innovative approaches to defend the basic human rights and equality of Aboriginal people.

The Process of Reviving Traditional Knowledge Through Traditional Methods

The source of all traditional knowledge is acquired through a spiritual process. Aboriginal people come from an oral culture where the method of maintaining traditional knowledge is by absorbing the spiritual flow within your soul or spirit, which for Aboriginal people is the main source of energy and life.

As stated in the introduction, the process of reviving traditional knowledge is as much a personal journey as it is a story of spiritual growth. It is a re-awaking of the soul tapping into a timeless source of spiritual energy, into its hidden secrets unknown to the world, and its knowledge, wisdom and understanding kept intact in an ancient, timeless land—telling us of an unbroken chain of stories passed down from generation to generation.

The Process of Decolonising Ourselves

For Aboriginal people to address the social ills and issues that affect our communities they need to go to the initial cause of the problems and assign responsibility to those who then need to rectify the issues and commence the process of spiritual healing in our communities.

It is unfortunate that many Aboriginal people have been through the process of indoctrination in their experience growing up on church missions and or government settlements, while under the various Aboriginal Protection Acts. The church told Aboriginal people that Aboriginal lore and culture was evil and that we had to stop practising traditional lore and culture. This systematic process of indoctrination is equal to that of the German process of genocide against the Jewish people in the Second World War; yet they continue to deny this by making statements such as "It was for their own good."

Aboriginal people need to understand the process of colonisation so we can understand the process of decolonising themselves from European indoctrination, to emerge into a new paradigm and begin to resolve the social diseases affecting our people. Aboriginal people have suffered huge traumatic events and upheaval in our lives, and we continue to suffer the repercussions of the colonisers breaking our spirits physical and psychologically, without any process to address these traumatic issues and heal the wounds that have become infected. Until these wounds are addressed through a process of spiritual healing, and the rebuilding of individual and community capacity through treatment to address these current social ills, nothing will be resolved.

The Process of Reviving the Principles of Traditional Knowledge and Lore

The Wadja Traditional Knowledge Centre has taken steps into the past to learn how to rebuild the foundations of Aboriginal society; this is the process of reviving the principles of traditional knowledge and lore. It is not a step-by-step process of acquiring traditional knowledge; it will not happen overnight, it is not gained by spending six years doing a degree or a doctorate, or the university of life. The steps of the Wadja Centre are as follows:

To gain access to Traditional Knowledge, the first stage is to consult with your senior lore man or woman and elders and then consult with your ancestors. Have an open mind and open heart before asking the right question in seeking assistance from the ancestors.

Be prepared on both a physical and a spiritual level for directions to materialise in different forms.

Follow all directions without question. You can ask as many questions you like about the principles of lore, but you cannot question the lore itself.

Aboriginal Spirituality: The Cycle of Lore
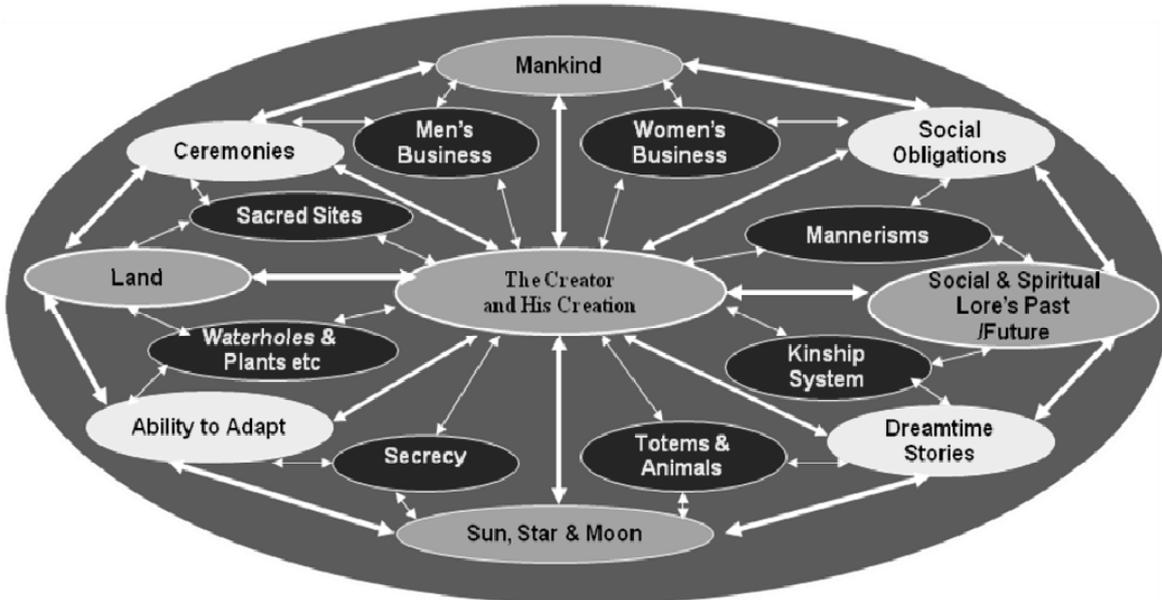
Figure 1. The cycle of lore.

The cycle of lore is the foundation of Aboriginal spirituality and society; it is part of the ancient cycle of lore given to Aboriginal people; it explains how each component is connected, interlinked and interacts with each other. To change any one of these components would affect the whole foundation and upset both the social and spiritual balance, within which each component works in tangent with each other for the wellbeing of society.

In the ancient cycle of lore, Aboriginal people view each component in a holistic way, with each component having its own spiritual qualities and where the spiritual and the physical world are inseparable. In this way nothing is seen as separate or distinct from anything else, rather they are integrated components, interacting and affecting each other in a spirit of reciprocity. This view of the world is completely opposite to the way Western society views its values and principles.

The Principles of Traditional Lore

The principles of traditional lore are that there are two Mundagattas (rainbow serpents); one is the Creator and the other the Law Giver. The Creator created and moulded the land and the Law Giver gave us the lore within which we must live and survive on the land. We were entrusted to care for both the people and the land. Our purpose is to keep and maintain the lore.

The Creator intervenes in our lives through our conscience, but it is up to the individual to listen and refrain from committing any act of injustice. If we do not listen to our conscience, then we have to face the consequences of our actions. Justice is about making the right decisions for the good of all people. Injustice comes when you put their worldly desires first, above the interests and good of others.

Once a person has been initiated under traditional lore he is responsible for keeping the lore. Each lore person is taught the lore (the covenant made between the Creator and the individual), and they are expected to know what is right, what is wrong and to avoid breaking the lore, for fear of both physical punishment and spiritual retribution.

The Maintenance of Cultural Identity

Many people have said, "How can we go back to live a primitive life, because we now live in a modern society?" "Is it lost?"—that which is unattainable.

The revival of traditional knowledge does not mean we continue to live as our forefathers did. We can live with the principles of lore, as did our forefathers, and progress in the modern era through education, training and improved socio-economic development.

The maintenance of cultural identity is the responsibility of all our community members in reviving traditional knowledge within our communities—by beginning the process of acquiring our ancient knowledge and relating traditional processes to today's world.

Conclusion

Scientists and various professionals are now using Aboriginal traditional knowledge to address the shortfalls in their understanding of the natural world, and translating that into a scientific comprehension, as are social welfare practitioners in organisations such as Beyond Blue, Red Cross and Australian Commonwealth Scientific and Research Organisation (CSIRO), and areas such as psychology, health departments, doctors and universities are conducting research on various Aboriginal topics.

With these reputable organisations and professionals now tapping into Aboriginal traditional knowledge, the question needs to be asked: "Isn't there enough evidence to justify our traditional knowledge holders as experts in their own discipline?" Academics should therefore be acknowledging where their source of knowledge was gained—from the traditional knowledge holders—rather than crediting themselves as the source of knowledge when they are simply writing a book.

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Understanding Early Relationships and the Transmission of Trauma

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Abstract

Understanding the origins of attachment theory begins in the early 1950s with John Bowlby who hypothesised that the infant's ability to cope with stress is directly related to maternal behaviour and leads to attachment outcomes (Belsky & Fearon, 2008; Schore, 2002). Infants' observable behaviours in attachment have four purposes; proximity maintenance, separation distress, safe haven and secure base (Zeifman & Hazan, 2008). The three categories of attachment Ainsworth defines are: "avoidant", where the behaviour of the infant is a minimal display of affection; "resistant/ambivalent", with behaviours of anger and distress on reunion with the returning caregiver; and "secure", where the infant seeks proximity with little or no avoidance, anger or resistant toward the caregiver (Lyons-Ruth & Jacobvitz, 2007). The securely attached infant demonstrates a balance between attachment and exploration. These original thoughts about attachment findings continue to be supported by a large body of experiential and clinical research. In addition to these three categories of attachment a fourth category identified as "disorganised attachment" has emerged in the literature and is linked to primary trauma. This paper considers the research on understanding early infant relationships and the transmission of trauma.

Keywords

attachment, early infant relationships, transmission of trauma

Introduction

Attachment begins much earlier than previously thought and involves maternal behaviour indirectly and directly related to a woman's exposure and response to stress during the pregnancy. Intergenerational transmission of trauma can lead to disorganised attachment and creates a social dilemma. The literature that identifies the origin of disorganised attachment first appeared from the studies of Hesse and Main (2000) who noticed that not all infant behaviour fitted into the three categories of attachment that Bowlby proposed. More recent research in prenatal and perinatal psychology reaches further back into the developmental lifespan and emphasises that maternal stress during pregnancy is a source of trauma for the prenatal infant and is linked to attachment outcome (Atkinson, et al., 2005; Emerson, 1996; Janov, 1981). The developing neural pathway of the foetus is at risk of being negatively impacted during this sensitive primary period, and has a lasting impact on the quality of attachment.

The effects of trauma carry imprints of relational negativity through generations and potentially lead to lives that lack joy and contentment. A prominent researcher in bio-behavioural science, Allan Schore (2002), points to a national study that Kessler, Bromet, Hughs, and Nelson published in 1995 that says 60% of men and 50% of women experience trauma at some point in their lives. During a lifetime, 5% of men and 10% of women develop post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Current research demonstrates that like other diseases, if untreated, PTSD doesn't heal.

Unresolved trauma such as PTSD in the primary caregiver co-relates to disorganised attachment in infants (Liottti, 2004; Lyons-Ruth & Jacobvitz, 2007; Schore, 2002). Disorganised attachment (type D), is an insecure attachment style that develops when the primary caregiver lacks consistent affection and sensitivity in meeting her infant's needs (Belsky & Fearon, 2008). Mothers who have unresolved trauma may be indicated on the adult attachment interview (AAI). The AAI is a non-structured questionnaire that asks about experiences to explore maternal state of mind relevant to experience (George, Kaplan & Main, 1985). Disturbing behaviours that cause fear and confusion for the infant

may be indicators of unresolved trauma or PTSD. These behaviours reflect an inability to cope with stress and the mother's emotional states that are self-consuming, which interfere with sensitive responses to her infant's cues. The incidence of type D disorganised/unclassified attachment in infants who have been maltreated is as high as 80% (Schore, 2002).

Trauma manifests in neurological dysregulation in the autonomic nervous system (ANS), and this has negative effects on the ability to be emotionally and functionally available (Schwerdtfeger & Nelson Goff, 2007). A mother suffering from unresolved trauma may react to her baby's cues negatively, misinterpreting the baby's communication attempts based on her own emotional arousal, triggering a stress response. She may mirror the infant's distress instead of providing a stable emotional state from which the infant can orient (Liotti, 2004; Lyons-Ruth & Jacobvitz, 2007; Schore, 2002). This emotional arousal transmits to her infant. The relational negativity affects the infant's developing brain, limbic and nervous systems, imprinting a dysregulated state that exhibits as hyper-arousal or dissociation. Repeated neurological imprinting results in the perpetuation of maladaptive patterns of attachment and can persist throughout life. The patterns of self-regulation and interpersonal relationships are robust but not impossible to change (Harper, 2005; Lyons-Ruth & Jacobvitz, 2007).

The "primary period of development" is the period of development from conception through the first year (Natural Family Living, 2008). This paper focuses on current literature that explains the neuroscience and neurobiological processes of trauma as it occurs within the primary period of development. It explores the origins of relational trauma leading to insecure and disorganised attachment. Understanding the process of trauma transmission is essential in finding the means of change.

Research on the Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma

The research regarding intergenerational transmission of trauma resulting from attachment is vast. Disciplines such as prenatal and perinatal psychology, neurobiology and infant mental health continually incorporate new information and contribute to improved understanding. However, agreeing on terms of reference can create challenges in interpretation of the outcomes of individual studies. Working definitions are frequently unique to that study and are based on the language that discipline prefers. For example, unresolved trauma can mean post-traumatic stress syndrome (Schwerdtfeger & Nelson Goff, 2007), depending on the study, and terms such as intergenerational transmission of trauma, disorganised attachment and traumatic attachment (Schore, 2002) have similar meaning.

The implications of attachment and transmission of trauma during the first year of life, beyond the womb, are well established. Less well known are the infant's experiences of the prenatal relationship with mother in utero. In order to better understand intergenerational transmission of attachment, contributing research from prenatal and perinatal psychology is necessary.

In his study, Allan Schore (2002) explores data from affective neuroscience, attachment theory, developmental stress research and infant psychiatry to understand the effects of early relationship trauma. Infants experiencing trauma in relationship have periods of hyper-arousal and dissociation, altering their developing central nervous system (CNS) and autonomic nervous systems (ANS). The dysregulation of the ANS and the inability to cope with relational stress leads to insecure and disorganised attachment. The physiological imprints in the right brain lead to inefficient coping with stress.

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is a broad-ranging diagnosis. It can occur due to repeated trauma over a prolonged period of time and can have a profound impact on personality (Herman, 1997). Empirical findings support the evidence that post-traumatic syndrome exists in infants and children exposed to traumatic events (Scheeringa, Zeanah, Drell & Larrieu, 1995). The consequences can be devastating and last for years if untreated. According to the American Psychiatric Association (APA) (2005) the definition of PTSD is:

A person who has been exposed to a traumatic event in which both of the following were present: 1). The person experienced, witnessed, or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others and 2). The person's response involved intense fear, helplessness or horror. Note: In children, this may be expressed instead by disorganized or agitated behavior. (pp. 427–428)

When a caregiver's behaviour is unpredictable, insensitive and frightening, which may be the case if the caregiver suffers from unresolved trauma, or PTSD, the child is at risk of being exposed to relational trauma. The symptoms of trauma expressed as hyper-arousal and dissociation are the early origins of psychiatric disorders (Schore, 2002).

Birth can be an extremely painful, confusing and frightening experience for infants and cause trauma (Emerson, 1997). The effects of drugs administered to control mother's pain during labour can cause trauma in some babies. Prolonged labour and oxygen deprivation, cesarean delivery and forceps intervention are life threatening to babies who are helpless during birth. After birth, it can be terrifying and confusing for the newborn to experience sudden coldness, brightness, rough handling, harsh sounds, or separation from the mother (Janov, 1981). Medical interventions such as electronic foetal monitoring, heel sticks, eye drops and circumcisions are also distressing to infants (Emerson, 1997). Birth trauma appears to be fairly common. Dr William Emerson, a physician and birth trauma trainer, found that 55% of a sample of 200 children showed signs of moderate-to-severe birth trauma. Neonatal, disorganised behaviour, an indicator of prenatal and birth trauma, has yet to be acknowledged by the American Association of Psychology. Prenatal traumatisation can have a lasting impact on the physiology and behaviour of the individual and lifelong detrimental effects (Emerson, 1996; Janov, 1981).

The process of PTSD operates unconsciously and determines the individual's strategies of emotional regulation for coping, and is experienced during stressful events, real or imagined (Schore, 2002). The person suffering PTSD re-experiences the physiological state of an unconscious traumatic memory and is flooded with stress hormones that engage the autonomic nervous system. Observable features include flushed skin and rapid breathing, and an increased heart rate is often reported. In addition to these reactions dissociation may occur. Dissociation is an expression of severe trauma in the infant and is frequently unacknowledged. Dissociation is defined by the APA (2005) as "a disruption in the usually integrated functions of consciousness, memory, identity, or perception of the environment" (p. 477). In his work, Tronick (2007) suggests that dissociated states may be more common than previously thought.

Unresolved Maternal Trauma

Sensitive mothers co-create emotion with their infants, attuning to the infants' cues and correcting mis-attuned interactions to bring the infants back to a coherent emotional state (Tronick, 2007). Early adaptive coping and personality are at the core of attachment theory (Schore, 2002). Intergenerational transmission of trauma hypothesises that the impact of trauma passes between generations and affects the ability of the parent to maintain relationships, and influences the mother's ability to be emotionally and functionally available for her infant (Schwerdtfeger & Nelson Goff, 2007). Mothers who suffer from unresolved trauma themselves have neurological imprints of dysregulation that, when in an overwhelmed state, is felt by her infant. The mother, who is an emotional container for her infant creates a stressful environment that perpetuates intergenerational transmission of trauma (Schore, 2002).

In a review of the literature, Atkinson et al. (2005) re-examine van IJzendoorn's (1995) meta-analysis of 23 studies that explore maternal sensitivity and internal state of mind to explain infant attachment. The research notes that PTSD may affect mothers who classify as "unresolved" on the AAI. The AAI uses a nine-point scale to assess and identify an individual as one of four classifications: autonomous; dismissing; preoccupied or unresolved. Unresolved adult attachment is not a good

measure of maternal sensitivity and so those who classify as "unresolved" are assigned to another most likely category.

Neuroscience and early brain development explain the influence of maternal stress tolerance from unresolved trauma and the effect on prenatal development. In their study, Schwerdtfeger and Nelson Goff (2007) conduct a literature review to determine if mothers with a history of trauma are predictive of attachment style to their unborn infants. This study puts into the context of the interrelatedness of maternal exposure to trauma and PTSD that leads to low levels of cortisol, a stress-induced hormone and structural changes in the developing brain.

Empirical research that examines maternal distress during the prenatal and perinatal period suggests this may adversely affect offspring development and have a lifelong influence on the infant (Anhalt, Telzrow & Brown, 2007; Tronick, 2007). In their study of maternal post-traumatic stress/unresolved trauma and the effects on the developing child, Schwerdtfeger & Nelson Goff (2007), look at trauma exposure, and the symptoms exhibited by the expectant mothers and the impact on the development of prenatal attachment. They found that a mother's past trauma history reflects over-protection and is a significant predictor of the mother's current trauma symptoms. The number of maternal trauma experiences co-relates to more over-protection. Participants with a history of interpersonal trauma reported significantly higher trauma symptoms and lower prenatal attachment than those who reported no interpersonal trauma.

An earlier study by Giovanni Liotti (2004), gives an overview of research regarding unresolved traumatic memories. It is also based on the AAI and the development of early disorganised attachments. Disorganised attachment influences vulnerability to trauma-related disorders. Liotti found that in non-clinical samples, dissociation occurred as traumatic memories of past relationship trauma were evoked. Maternal dissociative episodes have the potential to interfere (disrupt) with the attachment process a mother has with her infant. In his study Liotti also notes that in high risk populations, the percentage of "unresolved" and "cannot classify" on the AAIs rises from 15% in the non-clinical sample to over 70%. Further, there is a corresponding frequency in infant disorganisation attachment when the mother is deemed "unresolved" or "cannot classify" on the AAI.

Disorganised Attachment

Disorganised attachment as identified by Hesse and Main (2000) is an attachment type in the early relationship between caregiver and infant in which fear in the attachment relationship influences the infant's behaviour. A key transmission factor linking unresolved maternal trauma states with disorganisation attachment is atypical parenting behaviour, especially those that induce fear. Stress hormones released in the infant become entrenched in the physiological system (Lyons-Ruth & Jacobvitz, 2007; Schore, 2002). Traumatised infants may exhibit confusing patterns and contradictory behaviours, such as crying unexpectedly after being held or displaying an odd, dazed expression (Lyons-Ruth & Jacobvitz, 2007).

Maternal State of Mind and Maternal Sensitivity

Van IJzendoorn (1995) conducted a meta-analysis of studies on the relationship between maternal state of mind and infant attachment. These key studies are re-examined by Atkinson and his research team (Atkinson et al., 2005). The study by Atkinson and colleagues challenges the theorists that link maternal states of mind with infant security, because most studies have assumed that maternal sensitivity explains the relationship between maternal state of mind and infant security.

This study claims that there is inadequate evidence to support the causal effect and suggests that "sensitivity" influences the strength of the relationship between maternal state of mind and infant security. The researchers re-examine the data from van IJzendoorn's meta-analysis of 23 primary studies on maternal state of mind and infant attachment. Of these, 20 studies did not include data on the interrelationship among the three variables; maternal state of mind, sensitivity and infant attachment. Only three of the studies include relevant data that provide consistent evidence that the mediation model *does not explain* relations among maternal state of mind, maternal sensitivity and

infant attachment security. According to this study, sensitivity does not explain the relationship between maternal state of mind and infant attachment, but sensitivity does seem to influence the strength of the relationship between maternal state of mind and infant attachment.

Atkinson et al. (2005) then set up an independent study to try and explain sensitivity as the mediating variable to explain the relationship between maternal state of mind and infant attachment. Two Canadian sample groups were recruited—one from London, Ontario, and the other from Toronto, Ontario. The London group consisted of post-partum mother and infant dyad pairs from a hospital registry. The second group consisted of primiparous mothers from prenatal classes in Toronto. From the Toronto group, an adult attachment screening questionnaire was used and the participants who had scores with either dismissing or preoccupied attachment styles were chosen. Results from these two groups show there is no evidence of "sensitivity" as the mediator variable between maternal state of mind and infant attachment security.

The researchers repeated the analysis for the possibility that maternal sensitivity is a moderating variable that influences infant attachment style. Analysis comparing sensitivity across mother–infant pairs matched and mismatched on attachment classification were consistent with moderation (Atkinson et al., 2005). Autonomous or secure mothers with secure infants were significantly more sensitive than non-autonomous mothers with insecure infants. Non-autonomous mothers with secure infants were more sensitive than non-autonomous mothers with insecure infants. This suggests that sensitivity can block transmission of insecure and or disorganised maternal attachment.

The researchers go on to say that maternal sensitivity and mental representations have shared origins but some unique features, and have qualitatively distinct influences on parenting behaviour. Sensitivity is only moderately stable, influenced by current life stressors and daily hassles. Maternal state of mind and maternal sensitivity are parts of a bi-directional process, directly and indirectly influencing each other and consequently infant attachment. This research suggests a major void in attachment theory.

Other studies continue to support sensitivity as a mediating variable. In their study of maternal sensitivity using the AAI, Tarabulsy et al. (2005) assessed infant attachment security at 6 and 10 months old and at 15 and 18 months. Results indicate that sensitivity is a significant mediator, and state of mind no longer contributes to infant security. They found that sensitivity also mediated an association between maternal education and infant attachment, suggesting that attachment transmission is embedded in a more global process of infant attachment development.

Neurobiology of Intergenerational Transmission of Disorganised Infant Attachment

Early adaptive coping and personality are at the core of attachment theory. The infant's capacity to cope with stress is co-related with maternal responsive behaviour and sensitivity toward the infant's cues, from the prenatal period and beyond. The language of mother and infant consist of signals and cues produced by the ANS of both the mother and infant. These interactions create dyadic regulation of emotion (Schore, 2002; Tronick, 2007). The effect of maternal behaviour influences the expression of the infant's limbic-hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis, which is involved in stress reaction and the ability to return to homeostasis (Tronick, 2007). Data suggest that traumatic attachments are expressed in episodes of hyper-arousal and dissociation, and are imprinted into the developing limbic and ANS of the early maturing right brain (Schore, 2002). Dissociation is an unconscious survival strategy necessary to cope with overwhelming stress and can be a symptom of PTSD. With repeated exposure to trauma in relationship, such as spousal abuse and subsequent events between mother and infant, dissociation can become a trait in the infant.

Intergenerational continuity begins with the prenate—during the later term of in utero development—who shares the traumatic stresses as her mother experiences them. The interplay among genetic inheritance, temperament, cultural contexts and parental practices are known as means for intergenerational transmission of trauma and contribute to the risk of disorganised attachment (Harper, 2005). Intergenerational transmission of trauma from maternal experience and expression to her

offspring goes further back than the mother's influence on the infant. The gene expression (phenotype) is altered in the prenate and in subsequent generations. This alteration in phenotype is not necessarily permanent but it can persist for several generations, even if the current environmental contributions are improved. This implies that the time frame for intervention requires exploration of experience over several generations, and that understanding the consequences is necessary for effective change.

Conclusion

The majority of studies suggest that very early trauma experiences have an effect on infant security and are experienced in relationship with the attachment figure, usually the mother. These early traumas alter the ANS patterns of reaction and are the early origins of psychiatric disorders (Schore, 2002). Given this, early intervention is critical to the positive enhancement of the mother's internal state of mind and sensitivity during the primary period of development, including conscious family planning for conception, pregnancy and birth. Early intervention will help to significantly alter the intergenerational transmission of PTSD and infant disorganised attachment. A continuum of intervention is important initially to support mothers to be more sensitive to their infant's experience and communication cue. Research shows that the mother's sensitivity is significant in promoting secure infant attachment.

Early intervention during the primary period of development can help to establish maternal insight and nurture the mother to learn how to self-regulate. Improved autonomic responses ultimately establish healthy ANS in her infant. Early intervention programmes need to develop integrated strategies that help parents learn how to cope with their own stress. By understanding why they react the way they do, parents can modify their behaviour to better support their baby's development. Sensitive relationships need to be developed with the mother in order for her to enhance her sensitive attunement and responsiveness to her infant.

Disorganised attachment behaviour in the infant could also be described as unresolved trauma or post-traumatic stress. With the progress in neuroscience and epigenetic knowledge, it would appear that the evolution of attachment theory will go beyond the identification of the mother's influence on intergenerational transmission of disorganised attachment. An understanding of the broader perspective and the role that epigenetic transmission of disorganised attachment contributes, requires an expansion of the time frame for intervention to go beyond one generation to several, past and future. Changing the devastating effects of intergenerational transmission of disorganised attachment demands kindness and much more social responsibility, to lessen the burden on mothers, honour an infant's integrity and improve society.

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Māori in Economic Development

Richard E. Orzecki
Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga

Abstract

The iwi (tribe) of Ngāti Raukawa has a membership of 21,000 spread across a network of 24 hapū (kinship groups). In this paper the name Raukawa refers to the iwi, Ngāti Raukawa, and to the incorporated body, Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Inc.

In the case study, the investor was the incorporated body, the Rūnanga. Data from the case study was used to assess the performance of an investment made by Raukawa in Levin Meats Ltd. The performance of Raukawa's investment against the financial commitment made by Raukawa was generally unfavourable, but when this performance was judged against the expression of kaupapa (inherited values) the results were very favourable.

These commercial arrangements would see Raukawa engage with the expression of inherited values in mind while protecting its financial base. The case study showed that Raukawa engaged in ways that expressed support for the community without seeking to maximise financial return. Raukawa's role was performed with community in mind, and only modest financial benefits.

The paper provides a detailed breakdown of Raukawa's financial contribution and, more importantly, demonstrates the expressions of kaupapa including manaakitanga (generosity, hospitality), whanaungatanga (familyness), kotahitanga (unity), pūkengatanga (knowledge), whakapapa (genealogy), kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and rangatiratanga (chieftainship) in the company's activities.

Introduction

In 2001 Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Inc (Te Rūnanga) was notified about the imminent closure of the largest employer in Levin. The Lakeview meat plant, a local abattoir, was to be put into receivership and most likely shut down. Te Rūnanga was acutely aware that those most seriously affected would be its own Raukawa whānau members as well as other iwi tribal members whose main occupation was this seasonal employment. Te Rūnanga applied for financial assistance to conduct a feasibility study with a view to purchasing the plant and thus saving these jobs. With the support of the receiver (the bank), the review took 12 months to complete. In the end the purchase price was more than Te Rūnanga could afford but in the ensuing period the receiver had found another purchaser, namely the Grieves whānau (family). The three brothers and first cousin believed that they could make the business a success and invited Te Rūnanga to become a founding shareholder. Thus began the new business named Levin Meats Ltd, which exported 100% of meat products to more than 35 different markets. Te Rūnanga loaned $2 million—by far its greatest investment—for 6 years at an agreed interest. I was appointed a director by Te Rūnanga and became Chairman of the Board for 2 years. My 6-year involvement from 2002 to 2008 was a most tumultuous time for the meat industry, and especially for meat exporting.

In late 2008 the Alliance Group Ltd based in the South Island purchased the assets of Levin Meats Ltd. The $2 million was repaid and the new, much larger, meat processing company has invested another $20 million to upgrade the plant, thus helping to ensure its future as a major employer in our community.

The Case Study: Levin Meats Ltd

In early 2009 I was asked to assist in the development of a paper "An Exploration of Iwi Entrepreneurship" with Professor Whatarangi Winiata, Daphne Luke and Elizabeth Cook from Te

Wānanga-o-Raukawa, based in Ōtaki. They were keen to look at Levin Meats Ltd as a case study, and to draw out two key themes of a framework for Māori in economic development.

One theme addresses kaupapa tuku iho, which are inherited values. For Māori, the expression of these values is preferred over their non-expression. The same can be said when defining any value, that is, we would rather have it than not have it. The expression of kaupapa tuku iho by an iwi is viewed favourably by other rōpū tuku iho (hereditary groups). For the iwi expressing kaupapa, this activity is uplifting, enriching and a source of satisfaction. Concurrently, it is an assurance of survival of the iwi and of the natural world.

Policies, practices and organisational arrangements that are designed to express kaupapa are called tikanga. An unlimited number of tikanga can express each kaupapa. The combination of kaupapa and tikanga is referred to as the kaupapa and tikanga framework and can be managed so as to be a natural source of innovation.

The second theme is the nature of knowing. In this respect the Māori world view and in particular the Māori way of knowing is compared with the world view and ways of knowing brought to these islands by the Pākehā people (New Zealanders of European descent). The differences in the two ways are described and illustrated through the Levin Meats Ltd experience.

Choice of Kaupapa Tuku Iho

Ten kaupapa (inherited values) are the focus of analysis in this paper. Many other kaupapa could have been chosen. At this point it is sufficient to introduce in the Māori language the kaupapa with which we will be working. Each one has many possible translations. Among the many options are those presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Kaupapa and Translation Options

Kaupapa in Māori	Translation Option in Pākehā
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
rangatiratanga	chieftainship
manaakitanga	generosity
pūkengatanga	knowledge
whakapapa	genealogy
whanaungatanga	familyness
wairuatanga	spirituality
te reo	language

Each kaupapa can be expressed in many different, perfectly correct ways. These are called tikanga. The combination of each kaupapa, and the infinite number of tikanga available to express the kaupapa, provide innovative ways to address various issues. The combination is referred to as the kaupapa–tikanga framework and the search for the most effective combination can be assisted by iterative processes.

Identifying more and more tikanga to express a particular kaupapa is limited only by our imagination. The continuing search for and implementation of tikanga to give expression to these kaupapa is central to the survival of Māori as a people, which will happen when an increasing number of people of Māori ancestry live according to kaupapa tuku iho.

The paper relies on the assumption that Māori entrepreneurs seek to maximise the expression of kaupapa, inherited values, subject to financial constraints. To explain their behaviour, cultural variables are included.

Mana-a-iwi (authority and prestige of iwi) or, more generally, mana-a-rōpū tuku iho (authority and prestige of hereditary groups) is the principal currency of rōpū tuku iho and includes, but is not limited to, financial transactions. It is helpful to think about mana-a-rōpū tuku iho as a *principal* form of currency, which is employed, at this time in our history, subject to any constraints on the expression of kaupapa tuku iho created by one's financial position.

Iwi Entrepreneurship Opportunity

Data in the case study was used to assess the performance of Raukawa's investment in Levin Meats Ltd. Based on Raukawa's financial commitment, this performance was unfavourable, but when the performance was judged against the expression of kaupapa the results were very favourable. There was mana a iwi in the results for Raukawa.

In coming to their decision to engage with Levin Meats Ltd, a number of objectives were considered. These five objectives, and their impact in terms of the expression of kaupapa and expenditure or income, appear in Table 2. As the table shows, three of the objectives would incur costs while two would be income-generating opportunities.

Table 2
Levin Meats Ltd: Objectives Under Consideration and Expected Impacts

Objective	Expected Impacts	
	Kaupapa	**Finance**
To secure jobs	Expressive of *manaakitanga* at least	Expenditure by Levin Meats Ltd (LML)
To establish a crèche for workers	Expressive of *whanaungatanga* at least	Expenditure by LML
To provide meat for whānau at reduced prices	Expressive of *manaakitanga* at least	Income for LML
To support purchases from local suppliers (including power, water, packaging)	Expressive of *kotahitanga* at least	Expenditure by LML
To brand the company with a new logo incorporating the iwi	Expressive of *rangatiratanga* at least	Income for LML

Raukawa was invited to lend $2 million to a newly established boutique meat works, Levin Meats Ltd, to acquire and install capital equipment. Raukawa chose to make the investment with the employment of members of the iwi firmly in mind in the first instance. Of the workforce, 54% were Raukawa, Muaupoko or other Māori with whom Raukawa shared whanaungatanga and kotahitanga. The remaining 46% were not of Māori descent. For these people, whanaungatanga was not a consideration, but manaakitanga and kotahitanga were. Taking steps to secure jobs was a significant act of kaupapa expression.

For its $2 million loan, Raukawa considered the offered interest reward of 8.5% per year on a $2,000,000 loan attractive compared with the bank yield of 6.25% pa. For Raukawa, there was substantial appeal in the promised superior financial return coupled with the securing of jobs (and the expression of manaakitanga). The ability of hapū to buy meat at a discount (another expression of manaakitanga), the ability of the company to support local suppliers (an expression of kotahitanga within the community), and the idea of branding the company abroad with a logo incorporating the iwi (representing an expression of rangatiratanga), all had appeal.

These arrangements would see Raukawa engage with the expression of inherited values while protecting its financial base. The case study showed how Raukawa worked to express their support for the community without looking to maximise their own financial return. The role was performed with community in mind, and with a return of modest financial benefits.

Table 3
Kaupapa, Tikanga and Financial Considerations

Kaupapa expressed	Tikanga used to express the kaupapa tuku iho	Financial commentary
kaitiakitanga rangatiratanga	To guard and otherwise protect the loan To protect against inflation (and earn a return) To negotiate two board members for Ngāti Raukawa* To contribute to the survival of Māori as a people* To waive penalty interest	For Raukawa, adequate guardianship of the purchasing power of the $2,000,000 was the financial constraint. Interest and penalties were a consideration; $383,000 was received, yielding a return of 3% per annum.
manaakitanga whakapapa whanaungatanga ūkaipōtanga	To employ Ngāti Raukawa To employ Māori other than Ngāti Raukawa • Muaupoko • Other Māori To employ other than Māori To provide koha (contributions) for national Māori events ($25,000) Not to exclude any qualified Māori from selection To provide koha for local events including tangihanga (funerals) ($20,000) To acknowledge that all Māori are related: • Muaupoko (see wages and salaries above) • Other Māori (see wages and salaries above) To share values with the shareholding family, koha ($45,000) To recognise that employees include parents and spouses of Ngāti Raukawa* To give a sense of belonging and value to all employees (through the payment of wages and salaries) To provide members of Ngāti Raukawa with a sense of having enhanced the well-being of the community*	A gross payroll of $27,531,709 over 6 years gave expression to manaakitanga, acknowledged whakapapa, expressed whanaungatanga and heightened ūkaipōtanga. The $27,531,709 was distributed in wages, salaries, and PAYE as set out in Table 4, namely: Raukawa $6,607,610 Muaupoko $2,477,854 Other Māori $5,781,659 Non-Māori $12,664,586 PAYE $5,368,684 Three lots of koha, totalling $90,000, went to communities for various purposes.
pūkengatanga	To arrange training and accreditation for employees* To recognise pūkengatanga through	

	promotion and governance appointments*	
	To accept and use funding offered for industry training ($100,000)	
	To willingly accept training in governance from experienced shareholders*	
wairuatanga	To enhance spiritual wellness and purpose*	
	To include kaumātua (elders) and minita (church ministers) in proceedings*	
kotahitanga	To enhance unity within the region and to encourage the search for more collaboration	Note the loan of $2,000,000 from Raukawa; $12,000,000 is an estimate of payments to local suppliers during the 6 years.
	To purchase goods and services from local suppliers	
te reo	To use Māori language terms for kaupapa and for other purposes, including karakia (invocations, prayer)*	

*Tikanga marked with an asterisk relate to intangibles. No attempt has been made to represent these in monetary terms. Each had implications for the positive impact on mana-a-iwi for Ngāti Raukawa.

Interviews with the principal representative of Raukawa revealed that the iwi's involvement with Levin Meats Ltd occurred in two stages. Stage one included the preference of the iwi to secure the financial return, and the expression of manaakitanga following tikanga identified in Table 1. A shift to greater emphasis on the expression of kaupapa occurred when the opportunity to do so presented itself.

Māori Investment Behaviour
The Theory of Māori Investment
The theory of Māori entrepreneurship assumes that Māori will either

strive to maximise financial returns subject to the expression of kaupapa
OR
seek to maximise the expression of kaupapa tuku iho subject to financial requirements.

Table 4
Investment by Ngāti Raukawa in Levin Meats Ltd, Financial Returns and the Expression of Kaupapa

Investment Behaviour: Optional Views	Financial Returns	Expression of Kaupapa	Outcomes
(a) To maximise financial returns subject to the expression of kaupapa	Expected: $2,765,000, 8.5% pa Actual: $2,383,000, 1.3% pa	Expected at least to express manaakitanga by securing jobs for 110—the implied kaupapa constraint. The possibility of expressing other kaupapa could have been implicit.	The financial return fell short by $383,000; the rate of return was 1.3% pa. The employment target was well exceeded, along with the associated level of manaakitanga.
(b) To maximise the expression of kaupapa subject to financial considerations	Expected: $2,765,000, 8.5% pa. These numbers indicate the implied financial constraint. These were not met. Actual returns were $2,383,000, 1.3% pa.	Expected to express manaakitanga and other kaupapa in the course of maintaining and increasing employment; the possibility of expressing other kaupapa was implicit.	The financial return fell short of the expected in part because the expression of kaupapa took precedence; all 10 kaupapa were expressed.

Risk reduction can be achieved if arrangements are made for withdrawal. Raukawa chose not to exercise this right, recognising that the opportunities to express kaupapa would have been extinguished. Emphasis was placed on the quality of the relationship between the owners and Raukawa. (The Raukawa view was that we were there for the long haul and would not withdraw unless the owners were willing to do so.)

When realising that interest payments were in doubt, the opportunity to express the kaupapa remained important. Raukawa chose to not press their options to insist on interest payments, in other words not to press for their financial entitlements. In due course, the emphasis on the expression of kaupapa, and lack of emphasis on financial return facilitated the welcome sale of the meat works to another company in the meat-processing industry in November 2008, at which point Ngāti Raukawa was able to exit having given expression to a selection of kaupapa and recovered its investment, with some interest.

While it is true that kaupapa were not the subject of discussion early in the exploration of entrepreneurship by Raukawa, there was evidence that the presence of opportunities to express kaupapa was influential. These opportunities became determining factors in the success of the relationship.

When this investment was being considered, along with the expression of kaupapa, priority was given to job security and the accompanying kaupapa, namely manaakitanga. It was apparent to the new owners that Raukawa was not there to maximise its financial returns but to ensure the expression of kaupapa. The owners behaved in ways that were in support of Raukawa's preferences including their readiness to accept new ways of expressing the diversity of kaupapa that emerged.

Mātauranga (Knowledge) Continuum and Pākehā Epistemology: Some Comparisons
During their lengthy period of isolation on these islands, principally Te Ika a Māui (North Island), Te Waka a Māui (South Island) and Wharekauri (Chathams), Māori prospered. In addition to meeting the

challenges of their environment they formulated their own views of the world including on the nature of knowledge. They expanded and refined the mātauranga continuum that they inherited and refined according to their circumstances during their voyaging of Te Moananui a Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean).

During the last 30 years, relevant Māori educational initiatives have revealed important distinctions between Pākehā epistemology and the mātauranga continuum. To assist us to understand these differences we can make three distinguishing observations on the mātauranga continuum. One is that a Māori world view acknowledges the existence of multiple domains of reality and multiple human perceptions of reality. Galileo assumed that there was only one domain of reality (and human perception).

A second observation is that a Māori world view also acknowledges the existence and context-dependent use of multiple theories of logic. Pākehā epistemology assumes a single theory of logic.

A third observation is that a Māori world view acknowledges the existence of indivisible, interconnected complex reality. Some work in Pākehā epistemology is heading in this direction to address this problem.

Epistemology of te ao Pākehā (the European world) is embodied in the work of Galileo Galilee, articulated 500 years ago, in the middle years of Māori isolation. Central to Galileo's gift to the world of science were the following:

There are universal laws of a mathematical character.
These laws can be discovered by scientific experiment.
Such experiments can be perfectly replicated.

These three statements rely on some absolutely key assumptions that are not necessarily fulfilled. One assumption is that it is possible to reduce complex reality to certain fundamental building blocks; the relationship between these building blocks can be described using the deterministic laws of mathematics. These laws assume the existence of a single reference point from which to observe reality. If this assumption does not hold, then reality will ultimately resist reduction into smaller parts. We can observe reductionism giving way to holism.

A second assumption is that it is possible to undertake experiments in which all variables can be experimentally controlled so that fundamental causal relationships can be identified. If this assumption is not fulfilled then those variables that cannot be controlled will be excluded from the experiment. The logic of exclusion is a consequence.

A third assumption is that complex reality functions as a result of quantifiable cause and effect relationships that are essentially deterministic in nature. This has given way to probability.

Taken together, the gift from Galileo and pragmatic responses to unfulfilled assumptions, have seen the emergence of 8,000 to 10,000 disciplines all in the name of scientific method enunciated by Galileo and followed by scholars since. The epistemology brought to Aotearoa New Zealand and professed by Pākehā is in this tradition.

The fragmentation of knowledge into smaller parts is a natural result of the outworking of exclusive logic. Academic specialisation has resulted in huge advances in objective knowledge in science and technology. However, its exclusive nature has also caused many problems. For example, given this prescription for science, economics has everything to do with human self-interest and profitability but very little to do with those variables that have been excluded. As examples we have human ethics, kaupapa, mana a iwi, environmental degradation, social inequality and cultural survival.

This paper suggests that Māori entrepreneurship sits within the mātauranga continuum. Rather than falling captive to the logic of exclusion where there is no place for the kaupapa tuku iho introduced in this paper, our case study calls upon the logic of *inclusion*.

The Results

The results of Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga's decisions were as follows:

A feasibility study, prepared with the assistance of Te Puni Kōkiri, revealed that the company had the potential to be viable.

Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga made available $2 million as a loan from its MANA programme.

The principal driver for Raukawa was to secure jobs for members (and families) of Ngāti Raukawa, of other Māori and of Pākehā; the expression of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga was implicit.

During the next 6 years, permanent employment went from 110 to 270 with 200 to 300 additional casual workers.

$2 million with some interest was paid to Raukawa in November 2008.

An analysis "in retrospect" revealed that all 10 kaupapa (adopted from Te Wānanga o Raukawa) were implicit in the tikanga followed by management and governance.

Over these 6 years:

Net salaries and wages paid	$34,482,814
Other payments for local services and supplies	$33,536,351
Total local expenditure	**$68,019,165**
Expenditure on stock, PAYE, equipment and services from outside the local area	$276,665,831
Total local and external expenditures (without consideration of multiplier effects)	**$344,684,996**

Depending on the choice of industry multiplier, at the low end (a multiplier of three) total expenditures in the economy would reach $1.034 billion; and twice this, that is $2.068 billion with a multiplier of six. This is a significant contribution to the national economy.

Conclusion

While kaupapa did not feature prominently in the planning of the company's expansion, kaupapa were present in triggering the loan made to Levin Meats Ltd and in retrospect they played a significant role throughout the 6 years. Raukawa and Levin Meats Ltd could be uplifted by the performance of the company. Raukawa demonstrated its ability and willingness to assist the community through its support for the company, to maintain employment. In a wider capacity it undertook the role of the government (The Crown) to provide employment for the local community. Raukawa's role spanned the two principal dimensions—financial and kaupapa.

Its capacity, however, is much greater in working with kaupapa in management and governance than in the provision of capital. The iwi understands the potential for finding innovative solutions in the kaupapa–tikanga framework and can manage that dimension. It is important to note that the $2 million loaned by Raukawa generated significant economic activity for its people and the wider community.

The members of Ngāti Raukawa will have a sense of pleasure. They will feel uplifted, indeed, enriched. For interested observers, the mana-a-iwi of Ngāti Raukawa will have been raised as a consequence of the skill displayed and the generosity conveyed in the expression of kaupapa tuku iho.

Mana-a-iwi is in the eyes of those doing the observing. Ngāti Raukawa cannot attribute mana to themselves. Dissension within the Rūnanga about the lower than expected financial return will have little effect on the view of Ngāti Raukawa held by observers.

When comparing the epistemology of te ao Pākehā and the mātauranga continuum we described an investment by a Māori organisation, the rewards from which were largely the expression of kaupapa tuku iho, subject to financial constraints. The kaupapa–tikanga framework was described and this framework as a source of innovation was explained and illustrated.

The concern for the survival of Māori as a people and the importance of mana-a-iwi has been a continuing and major issue for Māori. Of all the goals embraced by Raukawa, survival as a people is the most important. If it is not possible to achieve this goal, then no other pursuit is really of importance.

Glossary

ao	world
iwi	tribe
hapū	kinship groups
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
karakia	invocations, prayer
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa	inherited values
koha	contribution
kotahitanga	unity
manaakitanga	generosity, hospitality
mana-a-iwi	authority and prestige of iwi
mātauranga	knowledge, epistemology
minita	church ministers
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pūkengatanga	knowledge
rangatiratanga	chieftainship
rōpū tuku iho	hereditary groups
tangihanga	funerals
te ao Pākehā	the European world
te reo	language
tikanga	policies, practices and organisational arrangements
ūkaipōtanga	provision of sustenance
whakapapa	genealogy
whanaungatanga	familyness
wairuatanga	spirituality

Reference

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Māori Into Tertiary Education (MITE): A Tauira-Centred Approach to Addressing Māori Tertiary Educational Aspirations

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Abstract

The cost of failing in tertiary education is proving to be too high for Māori to continue to bear. The implications of the continuing divide between indigenous and non-indigenous ways of knowing and modes of delivery are further perpetuated by a lack of strategies for engaging, understanding and accommodating differences across the tertiary sector in urban societies. In order to address the interface between indigenous and non-indigenous tertiary institutions in Auckland, the Māori Into Tertiary Education (MITE) project seeks to build meaningful relationships, inclusive of all stakeholders, in a large urban setting. Māori Into Tertiary Education aims to bring about profound structural change, a shared understanding of educational aspirations, and a common collaborative measure that addresses engagement and success of Māori in tertiary education and may prove to be a useful partnership model that can be replicated in other settings.

Keywords

Māori, tertiary, education, Auckland, collaborative, Te Wananga o Aotearoa

Introduction

Māori Into Tertiary Education (MITE), funded by the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), is a multi-partnered relationship between the Tertiary Education Organisations (TEOs), Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWoA), Manukau Institute of Technology (MIT), Unitec Institute of Technology (Unitec) and The University of Auckland (UoA). These TEOs form the executive of the project, with participation at the steering-group level from senior Māori representatives of the Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

The relationship was formed to develop a cohesive Auckland-wide strategy for Māori engagement in tertiary education. This project is a proactive, non-deficit (does not focus on notions of "failure"), kaupapa Māori (Māori-centred) approach to addressing Māori tertiary education needs in the Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland region. In line with the recent Tertiary Education Commission directive to review tertiary provision in this region, MITE seeks to address Māori tertiary educational aspirations by collaborating with all stakeholders across Tāmaki Makaurau.

Recent research projects include the Regional Facilitation Process and Statements of Tertiary Education Need. They have identified Māori educational disparity and the need to address it. While Māori have been engaged in needs-identification and stakeholder input at a local level, this work has often been done in isolation and there is disconnection across the region. This has resulted in duplication of services and provision of resources, with needs not being addressed in some areas. Māori Into Tertiary Education seeks to bring together existing information to identify Auckland-wide gaps and priorities. It is essentially the strategic mechanism for connecting the local with the regional: locally engaged, regionally connected, globally competitive.

Ko te Pūtake: Aim

Māori Into Tertiary Education aims to provide a mechanism through which genuine partnerships can be created to enhance the social, cultural, environmental and economic development of Māori in the wider Tāmaki Makaurau region. The partnerships will provide shared vision and decision-making, with equitable power-sharing and contribution of resources. Partnerships will build on the existing

strengths of each partner organisation and of current local activities in Tāmaki Makaurau to address Māori tertiary education needs.

Māori Into Tertiary Education does not seek to duplicate existing iwi (tribal), urban Māori or sub-regional Māori tertiary education engagement initiatives; it looks to build existing local initiatives into an overview that defines priorities and needs for the region as a whole. While TWoA, MIT, Unitec and UoA will have leadership roles in the project, there has already been meaningful engagement with iwi, urban Tāmaki Makaurau Māori organisations and marae (recognised Māori meeting places), Māori private training establishments (PTEs), other TEOs and wānanga (Māori tertiary educational institutions), sub-regional Māori organisations, and secondary schools.

Ko te Whakakitenga: Vision
The vision of MITE is to enable seamless tertiary provision for Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau.

Ko te Uaratanga: Mission
Māori Into Tertiary Education has a fourfold mission:

1. Ko te whai i te ikeiketanga o ngā taumata teitei o te mātauranga, nā, ka kite ai te hunga Māori i Tāmaki nei ngā huarahi, ngā honohononga e taea ai te whai. (To aspire to the very heights of educational achievement, and to enable Māori in Tāmaki to access meaningful information about educational pathways available.)
2. Ki te whakahau tātou i a tātou anō e whakapau kaha nei ki te hāpai i ngā tauira Māori i Tāmaki, ahakoa ko wai. (To continue to encourage all stakeholders to engage with Māori students in Auckland, whoever they may be.)
3. Ki te whakatūhura i ngā minamina mō ngā tauira Māori i ngā whare wānanga, ngā kura tuarua, nga Iwi, me te hāpori Māori, kia rangitāmirohia i te whakaaro tahi. (To disclose the aspirations of all educational institutions, secondary schools, tribal and Māori communities, so that they may become shared.)
4. Ki te whakakōtahi ai ngā whakanōhanga mātauranga—ko ngā tauira Māori te take. (To unite all educational institutions—for Māori student gain.)

Ko te Kaupapa: Philosophy
The core tikanga (guiding principles) of MITE, developed in consultation with the MITE steering group, have tauira Māori (Māori students) at the centre. These principles inform practice when dealing with stakeholders, and when making decisions concerning the strategic direction of the project. The core principles are tika (correctness), pono (truth), ikeiketanga (excellence) and kotahitanga (unity).

The major philosophies are embedded in an aspirational framework that is student-focused, and can be grouped into five major themes, outlined as follows.

Educational Aspirations
Māori Into Tertiary Education is a project that addresses educational aspirations. The aspirations include: moving Māori students from sub-degree to degree level programmes; forming a provision network that allows seamless movement between tertiary institutions; ensuring Māori students transcend barriers that limit their ability to study at tertiary institutions and; providing initiatives that enable Māori students to easily negotiate Tāmaki's tertiary-education landscape.

Shared Understanding of Need and Provision
Māori Into Tertiary Education has helped develop a common understanding of needs, gaps, priorities, challenges and shared aspirations. This will lead to decisions about the alignment and application of resources—including programmes and curriculum, delivery methods, research, technology, buildings, land, staff and student knowledge and expertise—to respond to these needs.

Structural Changes

The MITE venture has created a consortium of tertiary providers who, through the above framework, have started to develop initiatives to meet the educational aspirations of Māori in the Tāmaki Makaurau region. These have focused on establishing a more seamless network of provision by:

> assessing and determining collective strengths to reduce barriers and thus ensure the success of Māori students;
> providing a unified TEO forum for community and industry engagement; and
> providing a disciplined but broad approach to complex and innovative initiatives, which include areas outside the normal scope of the tertiary sector, for the benefit of Māori students.

Transformational, Proactive Approaches to Education

Education should be transformative in nature (Giles & Alderson, 2008; Sheehan, 2008), and seek to make positive change in not only an individual's life but also within the wider whānau (family, including extended family) context (Durie, 2004). Durie questions whether, in the next 25 years, a major transformation is needed that will transcend the emphasis on access and success as outcomes and focus on greater consistency, the dual goal of living as Māori and as citizens of the world, and achieving high levels of accomplishment with full participation in a global context in a changing world. Tertiary institutions are starting to show a willingness to prioritise these transformational goals. But it is only by understanding the aspiration to be Māori, to be successful by a number of different indicators and to achieve at the highest standards possible, that transformation will truly begin to occur.

Māori Into Tertiary Education aims to engage with initiatives that take a proactive, non-deficit, specified approach to Māori student tertiary gain, and which are transformational in nature.

Tauira-Centred Principles

Māori Into Tertiary Education is unique in that it is student-focused within a wider kaupapa Māori framework (Figure 1).
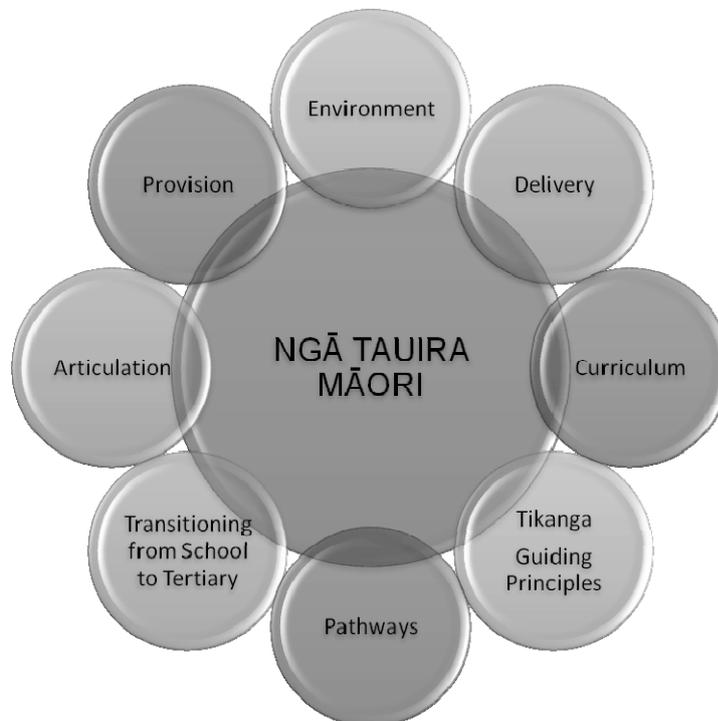
Figure 1. Māori Into Tertiary Education tauira-centred approach.

Recommendations

Māori Into Tertiary Education has made six key recommendations that will contribute to best outcomes for tauira Māori in the Tāmaki Makaurau tertiary sector. The recommendations are as follows.

Establish a Tāmaki Makaurau-Wide Tertiary Board

Implementing and funding a Tāmaki Makaurau-wide board is seen as integral to monitoring and maintaining a cohesive Māori tertiary strategy that is inclusive of all stakeholders.

Māori Into Tertiary Education will require funding for 3–4 years to see the advantages of this recommendation. The project will establish a Tāmaki Makaurau regional governance group for Māori engagement in tertiary education. Co-ordinated funding could be an approach; the Te Tapuae o Rehua governance and funding structure could be used as a model.

Representatives from the major TEOs should form the first level of the Māori tertiary strategy board. To ensure that regional needs are discussed in an inclusive forum, representatives from the regions must serve on the board, and would ideally include members from PTEs, industry training organisations (ITOs), industry training providers (ITPs), the community and iwi. For this to occur, however, there must be a coordinated approach by wider stakeholders that reflects a better organisational structure at the sector level; that is, there is a dedicated Auckland ITO and PTE group. This would essentially form a Māori Educational Authority for Tāmaki Makaurau, and would be vital in light of the changes proposed under the Auckland Super City legislation.

Review of the Current NCEA System and Its Alignment with the Tertiary Sector

The project highlights a number of significant barriers to the movement of Māori students from secondary school to tertiary study. For meaningful gains to be made in this area, the following activities are recommended:

There is urgent review of Māori NCEA achievement, including options offered to Māori students at individual schools. Map this information against TEO-entry criteria across Tāmaki Makaurau.

Tertiary Education Organisations proactively approach and build relationships with secondary schools to address the attainment of qualifications by Māori students, so that their movement into TEOs is seamless.

Research is conducted to accurately calculate attrition rates by secondary school and region, and match this data with participation rates in TEOs across Tāmaki Makaurau.

Tertiary Education Organisations clearly map the movement of Māori students from individual secondary schools. This data is given back to each school for analysis.

Tertiary Provision: Filling the Gaps, Meeting the Needs

MITE is inclusive of the recommendations of regional facilitation documents into current gaps and needs for tertiary provision in Tāmaki Makaurau. The project has collated information that is specific to its aims. In summary, these include:

increased targeting of provision for Māori-specific needs;
increased articulation opportunities between PTEs and ITPs;
proactive pathwaying into degree-level programmes to lift achievement;
a look at redesigning the culture profile of Māori in industry;
targeted provision, appropriate for needs of Māori; that is, provision that is developed around the individual student, and which specifies their particular pathwaying needs as they progress through tertiary education;
increased meaningful partnerships with iwi;
increase in trades vocational and Level 1–4 provision;
increased provision in vocation-based partnerships with secondary schools;

increased satellite/partnership delivery of higher-level programmes in areas of greatest need, such as in Manukau and Waitākere;

other tertiary providers engage in meaningful collaborative arrangements with PTEs, as the largest deliverer to Māori; and

ITOs meet their priorities, and better align with ITPs to accurately account for Māori learners in industry training.

Alignment With Iwi

MITE seeks to assist iwi to build capacity around accessing data and information from tertiary institutions. Particular requests have been made to gain access to the statistics of iwi members studying at programme level in order to: a) collate information about existing iwi qualifications; b) project future iwi educational capacity; c) enable iwi to strategically plan for future educational priorities; and d) inform current scholarship allocation practices. The recommendations are that:

There is further research into the particular needs of iwi from tertiary education institutions.

Tertiary education institutions make data available annually to iwi about their tribal members, what programmes they are studying, and at what level.

Tertiary education institutions provide programmes relevant to iwi priority and need.

Collaboration Across the Sector

Collaboration across the sector is a clear objective of the Tertiary Education Strategy (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010). A collaborative approach takes into account the specific strengths of each TEO in terms of the engagement, retention and successful completion rates for Māori students.

The results of our study suggest that TWoA and the two ITPs would be best suited to partnerships with industry-related projects that seek to increase Māori participation in those fields. In business and health-related programmes, TWoA and the universities would be best suited for collaborative partnerships, with TWoA having the highest participation rates, and the universities having low participation but the highest achievement rates. Further research is needed to analyse data in terms of level of programme, and should incorporate factors such as learning environment, delivery modes, and teaching best-practice for Māori students. Pastoral care and student support may also be factors in the successful retention and achievement of Māori students, and should also be investigated further.

Research and Data Acquisition

There is currently a dearth of literature that has a whole-of-sector approach to educational gain for Māori students. Research is often fragmented, or specifically focused on one area of the "tertiary jigsaw"; for example, secondary-school achievement or tertiary provision. Māori educational needs are complex, but the solutions are often simple, and there are a number of current pastoral care and pathwaying projects that are proving to be effective in a number of settings. MITE should have a role collating and disseminating such information so that the successful projects can be replicated elsewhere across the region. The recommendation is that further research be carried out in the following areas:

mapping Māori student NCEA achievement with tertiary entry criteria;

movement of Māori students between secondary school and tertiary providers;

iwi tertiary education capacity and aspirations; and

Māori tertiary student achievement in qualifications across all levels of programme provision, in a number of different fields of study.

MITE Sub-Projects

Māori Into Tertiary Education's overall objective to show an increase in tertiary participation by Māori students across Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland is achieved through five sub-projects that use a multi-sector, cross-collaborative approach. The following five sub-projects will be implemented as part of the wider MITE strategic direction.

The ATIA Articulation Working Group

An initial MITE meeting comprising the leaders of seven TEOs (namely, Auckland University of Technology, Manukau Institute of Technology, Massey University (Albany), NorthTec, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Unitec Institute of Technology and The University of Auckland) set the framework for the implementation of the project. As a central component of that framework it was agreed that the TEOs would establish a working group of senior academic leaders from each institution to explore the key issue of articulation. It was recognised that, while this working group would retain a central focus on the articulation needs of Māori, this would necessarily be done in the context of a broad examination and review of articulation for all students studying or wishing to study at Auckland or North Auckland tertiary institutions.

The objective of the ATIA working group is, therefore, to improve articulation between member institutions, with an overt focus on articulation for Māori students. To achieve this objective, the ATIA Working Group has collated: documentation of current articulation practice; baseline statistics on articulation; information identifying alternatives, opportunities and barriers to articulation; information identifying innovative solutions to removing or reducing such barriers; solutions-based implementation methods; information on how to monitor the impact of such methods.

A draft report outlining the definition of articulation, barriers to articulation between institutions, and other issues such as co-enrolment have been identified by the project manager, Andrew Codling. By using Single Data Returns (SDRs) and comparing national student numbers (NSNs) for each institution, the draft report indicates the movement of tertiary students from one tertiary institution to another within the Auckland region. The data presented is not, strictly, articulation data, but is a broader set of data representing student movement, some of which is articulation. The MITE team acknowledges the important work that Andrew Codling and the articulation group are doing, and the contribution of ATIAs to articulation across participating institutions, which will have a positive effect on MITE objectives.

The ATIA Pathways Project

The core purpose of the Pathways Project is to develop an internet-accessed database of pathways of qualifications between institutions that will provide prospective and current tertiary students with a user-friendly tool with which to plan their tertiary education. The establishment of this project will serve as a pilot to test the effectiveness of a web-accessible pathwaying database that improves the information available to all students about study options between TEOs. It will:

> look at student movement between Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and ATIA providers, in the first instance by making information on institutional transfer arrangements for programmes widely available to current and potential students, their whānau and communities. It should be noted that the wider aim is to address the issue of seamless provision between TEOs, and that the pathwaying initiative will have a multi-directional focus;
> make information about pathways more accessible and transparent;
> assist students in making initial and further study choices about appropriate institutions and programmes of study;
> encourage conversations between ATIA members that result in the formal recognition of qualifications as pathways into higher-level programmes; and
> encourage further opportunities for collaboration among providers and other stakeholders.

The MITE Website

The MITE website will contain:

> live Geographical Information System (GIS) information on Māori student participation and completion rates at secondary schools and tertiary providers across Tāmaki Makaurau;
> the ATIA database of qualifications pathways, which will provide prospective and current tertiary students with a user-friendly tool with which to plan their tertiary education progress;

information on Māori student success, relevant projects at secondary and tertiary levels, and new initiatives in tertiary education for Māori in Tāmaki Makaurau; and

aspirational initiatives aimed at raising the success rate of Māori students at tertiary level.

The Pipeline Project

The core purpose of the Pipeline Project is to develop a seamless, proactive pathwaying method that puts Māori tertiary students into internships of the Committee for Auckland companies. This project will provide tangible job-outcome based results for Māori students; and build on existing relationships between the TEOs in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland and members of the Committee for Auckland. Priority will be given to those companies that have an active, meaningful relationship with the Committee for Auckland and have demonstrated a commitment to Māori students. Māori students will be sought out by the tertiary institutions in the specific industries where need is identified.

The Māori Educational Success Project

The core purpose of the Māori Educational Success Project is to develop a digital analogue, through photography and/or video, to showcase Māori educational success across the areas of teaching, learning and graduation.

Indicators of TEO educational performance are defined as successful course completion, student retention, qualification completion and student progression (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010). At the Hui Taumata (2005), Māori aspirations for economic, social and cultural development included: a healthy whānau, with the capacity to meet changing needs; Māori delivery systems in health, education, commerce and environmental management; being active and involved in a competitive economy, with participation in global markets and opportunities. The adage from the Hui Taumata (2005) was that education alone will not realise those aspirations, but learning at primary, secondary and tertiary levels will nevertheless play a decisive role.

The aim of this sub-project is to show what Māori success looks like, and how it differs across tertiary institutions in Auckland. It will form the basis for discussion into what the indicators of Māori tertiary educational success may be.

Kōrero Whakamutunga: Conclusion

Māori Into Tertiary Education is not about replicating existing programmes or initiatives in Tāmaki Makaurau/Auckland; rather, it is, in the first instance, about providing meaningful data and information to those who have a vested interest in Māori tertiary education, including iwi, communities, TEOs, whānau, secondary-school students and staff, and the general public. In the second instance, what MITE has highlighted is an innovative, collaborative approach to Māori student educational gain. This has occurred due to a willingness by Māori and non-Māori across the sector, at all levels, to engage in conversations about Māori student achievement, and with a proactive model of partnership that places Māori student need at the centre.

The Tertiary Education Union (2009) has expressed concern that there is not a specific Māori tertiary education strategy in the Tertiary Education Strategy of 2010, and that overall the document has little detail about expectations for the sector in regard to Māori learners, aspirations and achievement (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010). Given that there are particular challenges facing the sector regarding Māori education, we would also expect a greater focus on this in the strategy. In saying that, however, Māori, youth and Pasifika peoples are the groups prioritised in this document, although what is not clear is how TEOs and tertiary stakeholders can make meaningful gains in Māori education without engagement strategies, such as in the ITO sector.

What MITE has been doing is seeking to solve a whole-of-Auckland problem within the parameters of a Māori-focused project, and with a limited budget. Māori students are participating at all levels of tertiary education, across the whole of Tāmaki Makaurau tertiary landscape, so what is good for Māori students will benefit all tertiary students. The process will be greatly helped by the provision of timely data to MITE, as the conduit for information on Māori student achievement.

Access to information on current TEC projects is also important, as is the establishment of MITE as a regional base to combat the difficulties encountered when collating data from a number of sources.

Māori Into Tertiary Education aims to create a platform across the sector for profound structural change, facilitating a collaborative understanding of need, and helping to shape a culture that emphasises a shared commitment to Māori educational aspirations. The hope is that MITE becomes a sustainable project that will contribute greatly to Māori student gain in the future, across the whole of Tāmaki Makaurau.

Mā whero mā pango ka tutuki ai te mahi.
By working together we can achieve great things.

Glossary

ikeiketanga	excellence
iwi	tribal
kaupapa Māori	Māori-centred philosophy
kotahitanga	unity
marae	meeting house, meeting grounds
pono	truth
tauira	student
tika	correctness
tikanga	guiding principle, customary practice
wānanga	Māori tertiary educational institutions
whānau	family, including extended family

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The Health Interface in Aboriginal Communities: Going Beyond "Culturally Appropriate Measures"

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Abstract

This paper questions current "culturally appropriate measures" adopted in Australia's indigenous health policy and service delivery in relation to their ability to reconcile Aboriginal patients' "cultural needs" within the mainstream health care system. The issue of Aboriginal patients' non-compliance—failure to use prescribed medications—will be discussed to illustrate the limits of these culturally appropriate measures. The main argument is that these measures operate only at one level of the health interface in which most Aboriginal patients live on a daily basis. Indeed, culturally appropriate measures are founded on the fundamental assumption that the Western medical system is a neutral construct, free from any "cultural traits" and that cultural awareness must be applied only to Aboriginal patients, leaving the medical advice/treatment unquestioned and unchallenged. This paper proposes to go beyond the limits of culturally appropriate measures by recognising and integrating Aboriginal traditional medicine within Australia's indigenous health policy frameworks and health care delivery system.

Keywords

culturally appropriate measures, health interface, Aboriginal traditional medicine, Australia's indigenous health policy

Introduction

A language of "culture" is often used in Aboriginal health policies and service-delivery provisions to accommodate the cultural diversity of Aboriginal patients. Terms like "cultural awareness", "cultural appropriateness" and "cultural safety" are widely adopted as important devices to improve the quality, accessibility and effectiveness of health care delivery services in Aboriginal communities. In this regard, there are two interrelated questions that I would like to explore: first, are "culturally appropriate measures" adequate to fully reconcile the cultural needs or cultural diversity of Aboriginal people with the mainstream health care system? Second, do culturally appropriate measures allow the integration of Aboriginal knowledge and belief systems within the mainstream medical paradigm and health care services?

In this paper Aboriginal people refers to Aboriginal people of the mainland and Tasmania, as well as the people of the Torres Strait Islands.

Culturally Appropriate Measures: "Compliance" and Treatment Failure

The interrelated issues of Aboriginal patients' "compliance" and treatment failure are discussed to demonstrate how the adoption of culturally appropriate measures in particular settings can perpetuate the same cultural divide that they intend to overcome.

Compliance in the health care domain indicates the uptake of medical advice and services (McConnel, 2003). Thus, treatment failure or failures to use prescribed medication are considered to be the result of "poor compliance" or "non-compliance". Evidence shows that treatment failure as a result of poor compliance has significantly weighed down the health status of Aboriginal people (McConnel, 2003; Hamrosi, Taylor & Aslani, 2006). Indeed, non-compliance, that is, the lack of adherence to Western medical advice and services, is considered to be a key cause of the continuing dreadful state of health among Aboriginal people, especially in remote indigenous health practices (Kemp et al., 1994; Lucas, 1997; Maher, 1999; Hamrosi et al., 2006). Failure to use prescribed medication is a reality of daily life, a real problem that contributes significantly to poor health

outcomes (Lucas, 1997). Alternatively, it is contested that indigenous non–compliance is not the problem but rather a measure of the real issue: the dissonance between two different belief systems, those of Aboriginal patients and Western medicine (McConnel 2003; Maher, 1999, p. 235). *Strong compliance*, or healthy behaviour, occurs when there is a strong cultural affinity between patients and Western medical advice and treatments, particularly when the scientific concepts of cause and effect, as well as statistical relationships such as predictability, are shared. *Poor compliance*, or unhealthy behaviour, occurs when there is not a common understanding of these fundamental concepts underlying the Western medical system (McConnel, 2003). Difficulties arise when perceptions about the causes of ill health are different and when health practitioners offer an account of reality that differs from patients' understanding and experience: the greater the dissonance between the Western medical explanatory model and patients' belief systems, the larger the impact on compliance (Maher, 1999, p. 235; McConnel, 2003).

The introduction of culturally appropriate measures as a device to improve the accessibility of the mainstream health delivery system can be considered a means to increase compliance among Aboriginal patients. The point I would like to make is that, in this particular case, those measures operate only at one specific level of the health interface in which a lot of Aboriginal people live on a daily basis. To clarify, we can consider compliance as a rate or a fraction with a numerator and denominator. In the context of Aboriginal health, the numerator indicates adherence to medical advice, whereas the denominator is the medical advice given according to the Western medical system. It follows that progress towards compliance can be achieved either by manipulating the numerator or the denominator (McConnel, 2003). Efforts to improve compliance have focused on the numerator: increasing Aboriginal patients' adherence to medical treatments and advice. A range of culturally appropriate measures have been introduced, including encouraging patients to take responsibility for their health, increasing personal and community autonomy, facilitating institutional or organisational change to better align services with Aboriginal cultural needs (McConnel, 2003), and changing "institutional attitudes and behaviour" to ensure "cultural safety" and to accommodate indigenous Australians' "cultural diversity" (Humphery & Weeramanthri, 2001; McConnel, 2003).

These culturally appropriate measures rest on a fundamental assumption: the denominator, that is, the Western medical system or medical treatment, remains unchanged and unchallenged. In this way, Western medicine is conceived of as a neutral construct, free from any cultural traits. In contrast, it is argued here that cultural awareness should be applied not only to Aboriginal patients, but also to the Western system of medicine. Western medicine is deemed to have a culture, a set of attitudes, actions and a belief system. The most significant feature is that the Western medical culture is science-based: scientific and evidence-based knowledge underpins the whole conceptual fabric of Western medicine. Accordingly, a scientific view of health, illness and disease not only informs the whole cognitive apparatus of the medical system, but it also affects health professionals' practices, attitudes, and the advice given to patients. It is precisely the distance between the Aboriginal health belief system and Western medicine's belief system that is the root cause of the problematic issues in cross-cultural health service delivery settings (Maher, 1999; McConnel, 2003; Benson, 2005).

It becomes clear that the adoption of these culturally appropriate measures to improve Aboriginal compliance with medical advice and treatments ignores the complex dynamics played out at the health interface. The health interface is conceived of as a particular aspect of the "cultural interface" between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Nakata (2004, p. 19) defines the cultural interface as "the intersection of the Western and Indigenous domains," the place where different systems of thought coexist, the place where "knowledge systems as they operate in people's daily lives [will] interact, develop, change and transform." Therefore, the health interface involves a coexistence and tension between two different systems of knowledge and belief. In this regard, Maher (1999, p. 234) shows how the poor compatibility between the belief systems that underpin the space in which these different systems of knowledge meet leads to a "strategy of domain separation" to distinguish between Western and Aboriginal causes of illness. The perception of separate cultural domains brings about different behavioural patterns to deal with health-related issues, such as illness. The model depicted in Figure 1 is an interesting attempt to grasp the complexities played out at the health

interface. It shows how Aboriginal clients tend to navigate between their belief system and that of the Western medical paradigm (Maher, 1999, p. 234).

Illness event	Mode of interaction of treatment options	Treatment options	Treatment outcomes
Sick person	Sequential	Traditional healer	Cure
	Compartmental	Healing songs or ceremonies by the elders or women practioners	Management
			Health Clinic
	Concurrent	Herbal medicine	Hospital
		Western medicine	Death

Figure 1. Model of Aboriginal behavioural patterns of seeking medical assistance.

This model tries to capture the different behavioural patterns of seeking medical assistance in case of illness. *Sequential behaviour* indicates the use of one system and then the other (for instance, consulting first with a Western doctor and then a traditional one, or vice versa); *compartmental behaviour* indicates the adoption of Aboriginal traditional medicine, for instance, in cases where the conditions of ill-health have a clear traditional explanation; *concurrent behaviour* identifies the concomitant use of Western and traditional forms of health care.

The fundamental assumption that lies beneath these patterns is that Western medicine focuses principally on the identification and treatment of diseases. Western medicine can reduce the symptoms and explain the modalities and mechanisms of how ailments have arisen. Traditional medicine, instead, provides not only the *how* but also the *why* of sicknesses: traditional explanations provide meaningful reasons for the illnesses suffered. Traditional medicine is deemed to address the ultimate cause of sicknesses as well as personal, family and community issues surrounding illnesses (Maher, 1999; Devanesen 1985; Armstrong & Fitzgerald, 1996). It is suggested that a combination of traditional and Western medicine is usually adopted. However, in the case of wounds caused by payback punishments or acts of retribution, Western medicine may not be considered as a treatment option whereas when the root causes of illnesses are explained by supernatural interventions, Western medicine will be adopted to treat the symptoms and speed up the healing process even though it cannot explain or remove the cause of such illness. It is also asserted that only Western medicine can deal with diseases that emerged after contact with Europeans (Waldock, 1984; Scrimgeour, Rowse & Lucas, 1997; Maher, 1999).

The root cause of these behavioural patterns and related difficulties in the delivery of health care and patients' compliance lies in the poor compatibility between the belief systems underlying these two systems of medicine. Ralph Folds (2001), for instance, observes that Pintupi adopt Western medicine not because they accept its foundational principles, but because it occasionally cures illnesses that white people brought to them. Some aspects of Western medicine have been incorporated into Pintupi life and belief systems without abandoning their own understanding and explanation of illness, its causes and proper treatments. For example, even though women give birth in hospitals, their newborn babies are "smoked" in order to protect them from diseases. A widespread illness is often considered to be caused by the absence of a ngangkari (Aboriginal traditional healer) in the settlement, and it is common for Pintupi to consult with a ngangkari before going to clinics or to doctors and nurses. In some cases, people remain sick for weeks without going to hospitals because they cannot find the "right" ngangkari (Folds, 2001, pp. 135–136). In the Northern Territory, specifically at Yirrkala, evidence shows that Aboriginal people choose Western medicine to cure the

majority of their illnesses, but the causes of such illnesses are explained according to their traditional belief system (Devanesen, 2000).

A sample of health-related beliefs identified in different Aboriginal communities across Australia is represented in Figure 2 (Maher, 1999, pp. 230–231). This framework does not include the beliefs of any particular community because there are considerable variations between and within communities. The framework is useful for appreciating the singularity of Aboriginal people's health beliefs and for gaining a better understanding of the significant cultural differences underlying Western medicine and traditional Aboriginal medicine. A key element that needs to be considered is that traditional health beliefs are connected with several aspects of Aboriginal life, such as kinship obligations and land. Social and spiritual dysfunctions have a central role in causing diseases so that "individual well-being is always contingent upon the effective discharge of obligations to society and the land itself" (Morgan, Slade & Morgan, 1997, p. 598). The priority given to social relationships suggests that social obligations or responsibilities may take precedence over one's own health. The Aboriginal model of illness causation sees ailments classified into five main categories: natural, environmental, direct supernatural, indirect supernatural and Western or emergent causes. These categories are not mutually exclusive since multiple possible causes can be identified in relation to a specific case (Maher, 1999, p. 230).

It is important to note that supernatural intervention and sorcery are considered the main causes of serious illnesses and they are considered of fundamental importance because they provide meaningful explanations for the death or illness of a specific person, and why this happened at a certain time. In other words, they provide the "ultimate reason why a person became ill" (Maher, 1999, p. 232). These are answers that the Western medical system is not able to provide.

Traditional health beliefs also operate as a form of social control: good health is associated with strict adherence to approved patterns of behaviour and avoidance of dangerous people, places and objects (Biernoff, 1982). Preventive care is therefore directly connected to the causes of illness according to the Aboriginal modalities of illness causation, so that preventive measures are founded on norms governing behaviours. These may include looking after the land and not abusing one's land or trespassing on others' territories; avoiding prohibited sacred sites or certain foods in determined ceremonies or life crises; or complying with obligations to others.

The heath interface is a living reality, a negotiating domain where indigenous people interpret and constantly make choices. It is noted, for instance, that "Pintupi are—inconveniently for policy— not a passive, dispirited people but vigorous participants busily interpreting and refashioning earnest Western endeavors to simultaneously change and fossilise their culture" (Folds, 2001, p. 137). It is evident that when there is a strong persistence of these health-related beliefs, the health interface cannot be ignored in normative policy frameworks, neither in the delivery of health care to Aboriginal communities nor in Aboriginal patients.

Categories of Illness Causation	Categories of Illness	Examples of Resultant Conditions
Natural (part of everyday life, generally result in temporary states of weakness)	Emotions (resentment, sulking, shame, worry, homesickness, grief, jealousy, anger, anxiety) Dietary factors Physical assault and injury	Loss of appetite, weight loss, listlessness, pain, suicide or attempted suicide Diarrhoea, coughs and lung complaints, headaches Physical injuries
Environmental	Winds The moon Climate: excessive heat and cold	Pain, stomach ache, diarrhoea, chills Epilepsy or fitting in children Colds, aches, headache, respiratory complaints, diarrhoea
Direct supernatural (transgression of the Law)	Breach of taboos: taboos of place-sacred sites; taboos of ritual/ceremonies; taboos of pregnancy; taboos of relationship (parent, childhood, avoidance, incest, mortuary); taboos of menstruation; Spirits of the dead	Multiple possible effects including: swellings, vomiting, diarrhoea, drowsiness, madness, death, nausea, lethargy, difficult pregnancy, injured foetus, deformed child, skin sores, epilepsy, neck pain with headache, leprosy, pneumonia, broken bones Weakness, vomit a lot and lose interest in living, influenza, sickness or death, madness
Indirect supernatural Intervention (all illness attributed to sorcery is understood ultimately to be the result of social or religious offences, intergroup or intragroup conflict)	Boning, singing, painting	Multiple possible effects including: death, serious injury and illness, sterility, congenital defects, physical malformation
Emergent/Western (conditions only known by Aboriginal society since colonisation)	Social and epidemiological changes which have occurred post colonisation of Australia	Alcohol-related illness, substance abuse, spina bifida, cerebral palsy, diabetes, heart disease, cancer, sexually transmitted disease, smallpox, measles, bronchitis, influenza, diarrhoea

Figure 2. Framework outlining "traditional" Aboriginal health beliefs.
Source: *A Review of Traditional Aboriginal Health Beliefs* (Maher, 1999, p. 231).

Beyond Culturally Appropriate Measures: The Recognition and Inclusion of Aboriginal Traditional Medicine in Australia's Health Care System

The incidence of treatment failure/non-compliance and the related discussion on the health interface demonstrate how the adoption of culturally appropriate measures that exclusively focus on increasing Aboriginal patients' adherence to the mainstream scientific-based medical system are inadequate. Such measures fail to fully address the cultural needs of Aboriginal patients, and to integrate Aboriginal knowledge and belief systems within the medical system. The application of the concept of "cultural appropriateness" to mainstream health care services for Aboriginal patients tends to sanction a one-way medical conceptual framework and medical response to illnesses while ignoring the dynamics of different belief systems at the health interface.

It is argued here that the articulation of real "culturally sensitive" health policies for indigenous Australians should imply a broader and deeper cultural awareness operating at the health interface. In the case of compliance we have seen that compliance can be expressed as a rate with a numerator and

denominator. In this case, McConnel (2003, p. 4) suggests that the attainment of a deeper understanding and broader cultural awareness could be achieved by manipulating the denominator. In his view "[t]o change the denominator we cannot abandon our Western medical teaching, but a shared understanding can be built which accommodates both cultures' belief systems—a synthesis of knowledge systems derived from dissonant worldviews." On a similar line of argument, Benson (2005) suggests that the concept of "concordance" would be more suitable since it implies that patient–doctor consultations are founded on a state of harmony and agreement. In other words, the concept of concordance helps harmonise the belief systems and worldviews of medical personnel and Aboriginal patients. There is no doubt that both McConnel's synthesis of knowledge systems and Benson's concept of concordance contribute to a more culturally sensitive understanding of the health interface between Aboriginal patients and Western health services and medical treatments.

However, I argue that both concepts still conceal a foundational breach in Australia's current medical system, indigenous health policy frameworks and health care services: the disregard of Aboriginal traditional medicine. The adoption of adequate culturally appropriate measures that reflect the complex and dynamic nature of the health interface can only take place with the formal recognition of Aboriginal traditional medicine. In other words, a significant manipulation of the denominator would only occur by adding a second factor to the denominator, that is, Aboriginal traditional medicine. In this way, Aboriginal traditional medicine would be elevated to the same level as Western mainstream medicine so as to allow a two-way medical system whereby the allopathic-Western and traditional medical paradigms complement each other. Furthermore, the recognition and integration of Aboriginal traditional medicine into Australia's health policy frameworks and health delivery services would have far-reaching significance and implications. From an international perspective, it would harmonise Australia's indigenous health policy with the increasing interest and recognition of traditional medicine and complementary/alternative medicine within the international public health policy agenda (World Health Organisation 2000, 2001, 2002; World Health Organisation & Pan American Health Organisation, 2000) and with national practices in other countries (Germosen-Robineau & Lagos-Witte, 1997; Ryser, 2006). It would allow the integration of Aboriginal health knowledge and belief systems into the current mainstream medical system and health care services; promote a deeper understanding of Aboriginal concepts of health and illness; facilitate a better understanding of the health-related beliefs that underlie Western medicine and traditional Aboriginal medicine; contribute to a shared comprehension between non-Aboriginal health professionals and Aboriginal traditional healers; help comprehend the different behavioural patterns stemming from the coexistence and tension between two different systems of medicine; help clarify the dynamics within the negotiation area that I have been referring to as the health interface; and help appreciate what, from a non-Indigenous medical perspective, can be considered "irrational behaviours".

To conclude, I would like to highlight that the recognition of Aboriginal traditional medicine and the introduction of a two-way health care delivery system in Australia would comply with key international human rights standards. More specifically, Australia would fulfil article 24(1) of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states that:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to their traditional medicines and to maintain their health practices, including the conservation of their vital medical plants, animals and minerals.
> Indigenous individuals also have the right to access, without any discrimination, to all social and health services.

Glossary

Ngangkari   Aboriginal traditional healer

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Maranga Waitaha—A Tribal Philosophy: Traditional Knowledge Guiding Contemporary Development

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Waitaha Raupatu Trust

Abstract

Maranga Waitaha is a philosophy developed by the people of Waitaha. Waitaha is an ancient tribe of Te Arawa, and we are utilising our Treaty of Waitangi settlement process to re-establish our tribal identity and re-affirm our mana (authority, prestige). Maranga Waitaha is a philosophy about our people: "Ngā wawata, ngā momoeā a ō tātou tūpuna" (The longings, the dreams of our ancestors). The settlement negotiations are never going to address the injuries that Waitaha experienced at the hands of those whose ideologies were, and are still, different to ours. Engaging with those of different cultures while sustaining our mana and identity is the most effective way forward for our people. This presentation will discuss how Maranga Waitaha will influence the way we think about who we are as a people, and tell us how we can blend the traditional knowledge of the past into the thinking of today, and for tomorrow.

Keywords

Maranga Waitaha, tribal identity, mana, traditional knowledge

Waitaha: Kei Hea Koe, E Ngaro Nei
(Waitaha: Where Are You, Who Have Been Out of Sight?)

Ko Ōtawa te maunga, ko Raparapa-a-Hoe te awa, ko Hei te tupuna, ko Waitaha te iwi, ko *Te Arawa* te waka (Ōtawa is the mountain, Raparapa-a-Hoe is the river, Hei is the ancestor, Waitaha the tribe, *Te Arawa* the canoe). Ko Sandra Pōtaka ahau (My name is Sandra Pōtaka). My co-presenter is my Aunty Punohu McCausland. We are here to talk about Waitaha.

Hei and his son Waitaha were aboard the waka (canoe), *Te Arawa*. Waitaha is an ancient tribe that descends from Hei and Waitaha. We are to be found in the Bay of Plenty, and our base is at Hei Marae, near Te Puke.

Some images are projected on the data screen. All we ask is that you look at them. They symbolise the way that we think about our inherited and traditional knowledge. The scenes you see are our maunga (mountain), awa (river), moana (sea), significant sites and other taonga (treasures). We no longer "own" these lands.

The tribal estate of Waitaha is represented by the photo of some of our whānau (family) in front of our wharenui (meeting house), Hei. We have one marae and we have our people—and we live on a reservation.

Maranga Waitaha

Waitaha was once a thriving tribe with land, water, food sources and other resources. Soon after the Crown raupatu (land confiscations) in Tauranga in the 1870s, Waitaha was almost destitute. Forced into the sale of what is known as the Te Puke block, Waitaha were then settled on a 500-acre reservation to the east of what is now Te Puke township and 1,000 acres to the west of the present township. Our urupā (cemetery) is on one side and Hei Marae, our only marae, is on the other. A lot of the 1,500-acre Crown grants had to be sold to keep our people alive.

Waitaha is currently in the final stages of negotiating the settlement of our historical Treaty of Waitangi claims—Wai 664, 702 and 1,175. We intend to utilise the settlement process to re-establish our tribal identity and re-affirm our mana.

Significant cultural redress unique to Waitaha include: an apology to our tupuna (ancestor) Hākaraia, who was persecuted for 6 years before finally being killed by the Crown; a fund for the restoration of Hei Marae; funding for a Maranga Waitaha facilitator role; funding to compile a history of Waitaha; and an education endowment fund.

Maranga Waitaha is a philosophy developed by Waitaha about our people and the vision our ancestors had for us: "Ngā wawata, ngā moemoeā a ō tātou tupuna". We are striving for some basic things so we can build a positive future for our people, including tribal unity, cultural identity, a strong social fabric, and an economic base; and the establishment of Waitaha as a political force. Our focus has been on doing what we can ourselves—we cannot rely on anyone else to help us move on.

We undertook a strategic planning process with support from Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development) and the Ministry of Social Development. Our people identified their dreams and goals. Maranga Waitaha is a way to support them so they can achieve these.

Our people wanted to have healthy, happy whānau; to live free from alcohol, drug and other abuses. They wanted to eat nutritious kai (food) grown on their own land. The second set of slides show what we are doing and who we are doing it with. We are looking for the potential in our people, nurturing strengths, and developing skills and talents. It isn't rocket science.

Last year we launched our māra kai (gardening) project at the Hei Marae Matariki wānanga (house of learning). We also managed to organise cooking classes and opportunities for the whānau to participate in healthy activities. We set up a gardening mentoring programme, and we got our whānau involved in networking so they could hear what other people were doing.

These are things our whanau wanted to do, and we are doing them.

We leave you with this saying of Waitaha:

I heke iho i te rangi
te whakairinga o ngā kōrero me ngā taonga
heke iho i ngā heke
ki ngā poupou
kia pouhia ki te whenua
kia kore ai e taka ki te taha ki te hē.

The saying means "all knowledge and understanding are the treasures that descended from the heavens and were established within the tāhuhu (ridge pole) of the meeting house. It is from there that these treasures descend again to the heke (rafters). From the heke they descend again to the poupou (side supports), where they were firmly implanted at the base, to the land. Never to be forgotten."

Acknowledgements

Glossary

awa	river
heke	rafters
kai	food

māra kai	gardening
mana	prestige, authority
maunga	mountain
moana	sea
moemoeā	dreams
poupou	side supports
raupatu	land confiscations
tāhuhu	ridge pole
taonga	treasures
tupuna	ancestor
urupā	cemetery
waka	canoe
wānanga	house of learning
wawata	longings
whānau	family, extended family
wharenui	meeting house

Creating a Culturally Relevant Model of Support for Māori Learners in the Tertiary Sector

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Abstract

Support for first-year degree Māori students for engagement, retention and success is one of the priority outcomes the Tertiary Education Commission (2007) has directed for higher education providers in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The challenge (te wero) is to develop culturally relevant support for this cohort of students.

There is evidence which shows that enhanced support for first-year Māori learners, particularly at the beginning of the first year of tertiary studies, has a positive impact on successful outcomes (Earle, 2007). This paper will show that engagement and retention of tertiary learners, particularly Māori, is of strategic importance. The Tertiary Education Strategy 2010–2015 (Ministry of Education, n.d.) remains focused on increasing Māori learner involvement and success, and, while there has been significant growth in the number of Māori people enrolling in tertiary education in recent years, engagement and retention have continued to be problematic. For Māori learners, it is important to contextualise culturally relevant support in the tertiary sector. Finding ways to enable and support students from diverse backgrounds to persist with their studies and to complete their qualifications has become the topic of much research and debate over the last two decades.

This paper will attempt to investigate the notion that enhanced culturally relevant support for first-year Māori learners, particularly in the open and distance learning (ODL) environment and at the beginning of the first year of study, has a positive impact on successful outcomes.

Keywords

distance learning, support, kaupapa Māori, indigenous, belonging, engagement

Introduction

There is a clear mandate from Government, as documented in the Tertiary Education Strategy 2010–2015 (Ministry of Education, n.d.), that success be experienced by all New Zealanders through lifelong learning, by ensuring that educational opportunities are available for all New Zealanders. To have a nation who can contribute fully to the economy and society is a sound return on investment for the Government.

There is visible evidence that having a degree benefits Māori economically, as well as having social and cultural benefits. Māori participation in higher education is growing, but young Māori continue to be under-represented in degree courses, while many Māori have entered degree studies as adults. According to Earle (2007, p. 3), "younger students tend to be more successful in completing degrees than older students. However, neither young nor older Māori are as successful as non-Māori in the same age group." To raise the engagement, retention and success rates of Māori, this author suggests that culturally relevant and improved support for first-year Māori students, who are participating in degree study, needs to be implemented.

The open and distance learning (ODL) environment is a first choice for many Māori for a variety of reasons. Evidence will show that this choice of study mode is not a culturally relevant learning style for Māori, but a number of institutions are beginning to implement strategies that enhance Māori ODL learning and teaching styles.

To keep this paper from going into "academic space", tightly woven interlinking concepts will be investigated:

Māori's relationship with education;
the relationship between Māori and ODL;
a plan to support first-year Māori students;
the Telephone Peer Support (TPS) Programme and how it works;
working with Māori students;
the cultural relevance of the TPS Programme; and
outcomes thus far.

Māori's Relationship with Education
Introduction
Māori success is New Zealand's success! Māori education today provides the platform for Māori and New Zealand's success tomorrow. Recently there has been a significant growth in the number of Māori participating in tertiary education, but this has not always been so. History shows that the marriage between Māori and education has been a turbulent affair over the years with both parties reluctant to move quickly to resolve the complicated relationship. To save this marriage, many parties recognised the need for a change in direction, not just for Māori but for all New Zealanders.

When the Fourth Labour Government took office in 1984, they began a major restructuring programme of the New Zealand economy. This economic revolution was driven by strong ideological commitment to the market-based economies of Roger Douglas (Minister of Finance); a group of highly influential business people; a number of key Labour ministers; and the increasing influence of the Treasury. Embedded in Roger Douglas's ideas and theories were many of Treasury's philosophies and it became known that Treasury was to provide the philosophical firepower behind Rogernomics and New Zealand was swept into a tidal wave of changes. According to the 1991 Budget Document, "education was regarded as a key investment in our economic future and the Government was committed to providing an environment that enabled businesses and individuals to develop international competitive and innovative skills" (National Government, 1991, as cited in Peters & Marshall, 2004, p. 116).

The Unique Place of Māori in Tertiary Education
There has been a significant growth in the number of Māori participating in tertiary education, particularly amongst older Māori women. However, this increase has been at the certificate levels 1–3. To build on this, one of the areas for development is to increase the participation and achievement of Māori students, especially at the Bachelors level and above. The Government recognises the unique place of Māori as tangata whenua (people of the land) and as indigenous residents; this means that the tertiary education sector has a particular responsibility to work with Māori to develop and maintain the Māori language, culture, learning and teaching.

The Responsibility of the Change Agents—the Government, the Institution, the Student
The Government, through the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), has a number of priority outcomes that tertiary education organisations have been directed to manage, particularly those pertaining to Māori. For Māori to achieve in the future, these organisations need to ensure that they are supporting their students by providing the right systems and structures to achieve qualifications that help to meet their needs and aspirations. There are definite advantages in being able to study full-year, full-time, especially in the first year. For those students whose study mode is distance education, it is likely that part-time students have to juggle study with work, social and family commitments.

The Relationship Between Māori and Open and Distance Learning
Introduction
Participation in the NZ tertiary education system has been expanding rapidly in the last decade. "Building strong bridges into tertiary education" (Tertiary Education Commission, 2007) is one of the

priorities for the new tertiary strategy, especially for Māori people. Open and distance learning has offered a second chance education opportunity for Māori people, many of whom have been failed by earlier education institutions (Durie, Durie, Cox & Richardson, 1992, as cited in Brookfield & MacFarlane, 1996, p. 55) and this is evidenced by the number of students who participate in tertiary education. The Open Polytechnic, for example, is one of the largest providers of tertiary education of Māori, and an annual survey investigates Māori views in relation to the benefits of ODL, the values of their course of study, and how to improve current support systems. If Māori are to succeed in the open and distance environment, it is imperative that tertiary organisations delivering this mode of learning meet the needs of Māori distance learners by providing proactive support for students. It continues to be a government policy for tertiary providers to encourage and support more varied methods of tertiary education delivery to better match Māori learners' learning styles and needs.

Profiling the Open and Distance Learner
The numbers of students undertaking tertiary study from a distance has increased, with a particular increase in the number of Māori students at the Open Polytechnic (Open Polytechnic of New Zealand, 2009). For many Māori, ODL has provided opportunities to participate in tertiary education without leaving their social and geographical environment, to study at their own pace and fit education around their work, social and family commitments.

The open and distance learner tends to be the adult learner who is in work. For the Māori student, their home and work lives are important and makes demands on them in ways quite different from many campus-based 19-year-olds. When crises occur, such as illness, they may choose to withdraw from their studies so that they can devote their remaining energies to work and family life. Study workload is a key issue for ODL students as it interferes with other aspects of their lives. Leaving an ODL course may not be such a big decision for many adult students while it can be a life-changing decision for a 19-year-old on campus.

There is the recognition that individual students in the ODL sector come from a wider range of backgrounds than can be found in face-to-face institutions. This changeable range of learners of almost any age, from any socio-economic group and from any geographical location, exists only in the ODL environment (Grote, 2000). These students have diverse educational, vocational and professional backgrounds. They are found in prisons, or on location in the armed forces, are able study full or part time and can defer study for a while, leave and return.

A Plan to Support First-Year Māori Learners
Introduction
To implement culturally relevant support for first-year Māori student engagement, retention and progression, the Learning Centre at the Open Polytechnic developed a pilot programme that supported this notion. The project named Telephone Peer Support (TPS) Programme was the tool used to contextualise support to increase engagement, retention and success for first-year Māori students. This project is based on evidence which shows that enhanced support for first-year Māori students, particularly at the beginning of the first year, has a positive impact on successful outcomes (Airini et al., 2007; Earle, 2007). This paper will describe the model in more detail later.

A Theory of Change for Māori Success
It is necessary to have a theoretical critique of policy and developments that have contributed to Māori education policies. Peters and Marshall (2004) noted that to understand the political motivation of changing our education system, it is necessary to have the "theoretical and analytical tools to interrogate the basic premises driving the change" (p. 110). The theoretical assumption allows one to stand back and critically view the changes or intended changes with an academic intelligent set of glasses to bring about informed conclusions.

Educational policy implementation that is relevant to Māori success is a combination of theory of change with a praxis that is "malleable and transformative" (Tooley, 2000, p. 16), so that the Māori learner is empowered to "engage in the world of the Pākehā [New Zealanders of European descent]"

("tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ara mō tō tinana", a saying of Apirana Ngata) and to embrace the world that was biologically gifted to him or her in being Māori.

The Telephone Peer Support Programme and How it Works
Introduction
The TPS Programme aims to provide meaningful and timely learning support through telephone calling, so that first-year students, in particular Māori students, complete their courses successfully. The objective is to welcome students to the Open Polytechnic learning community and help them make a positive start to study. For many first time students, contacting their tutor or other staff for assistance can be very daunting, so the programme becomes a broker of connections and a sense of belonging.

Peer Support Staff and the TPS Programme
There is a diversity of ages, gender, ethnicity, social and educational background among the TPS staff. All staff members have a history of tertiary study and understand the perils of tertiary learning. Their occupations range from full-time intramural student to legal executive, to solo Mum to a semi-retired CEO. The TPS members are on-call casual callers who work 3 nights a week from 6pm to 9pm inclusive. Most of the staff members have had telephone contact calling experience, but extensive training is conducted by the Project Manager and the Learning Adviser Māori. The staff member works from a prescribed script which acts as a guide to help generate a conversation around the learners study.

The programme has identified three key contact times:

> Call 1—at the start of the course.
> During this "conversation" the TPS staff talks through with the student the process of getting started; study skill techniques; planning study; and preparing for the first assessment and contact names and telephone numbers of key people who can help the student with the above, e.g. tutor/learning support advisor.
> Call 2—at mid-course.
> This contact call is most crucial as this is often the period when a student is deciding whether to stay in study or drop out.
> Call 3—pre-exam.
> During this "conversation" the TPS staff will direct the student to ExamWise, an online workshop conducted by the Learning Support Centre, to help students through the exam period. The TPS staff will help with revision and exam skills, and how to overcome the stress of exam and study.

Staff members are required to "record" the telephone conversations and these details are written onto a student database. Comments are noted, any issues arising from the conversation are noted, for example, student unable to contact tutor, and if necessary they are followed up where appropriate by a Learning Centre adviser or academic staff member. The project manager then collates the evidence and forwards the reports to respective tutor/lecturers. The TPS staff provides students with advice, additional resources and referral to tutors or learning support staff as appropriate.

Working With Māori Students
It has been identified that four key characteristics or elements are necessary when working with Māori students:

> ability to build affirmative constructive relationships;
> having a sense of cultural identity;
> a confident self-identity; and
> possessing and reflecting an altruistic attitude.

Ability to Build Affirmative Constructive Relationships

The practice of whānau (family, extended family) and whanaungatanga (relationships) is fundamental to Māori culture and identity. Establishing effective rapport and relationships is essential when engaging Māori students in their study. The cultural values, customs and practices that organise around the whānau (family or group situation) are based upon "collective responsibility"; all members of the group, therefore, play an important role in supporting each other. The notion of collective responsibility is necessary part of Māori survival and educational achievement.

Having a Sense of Cultural Identity

Experiencing diverse cultures through workplaces, social or family situations can help develop empathy for marginalised groups. This experience, and the ability to draw on it, is important to the notion of cultural aspirations or taonga tuku iho (treasured inheritance from the ancestors). This principle acknowledges the strong emotional and spiritual factor related to kaupapa Māori (Māori issues, Māori philosophy). In relation to academic achievement Māori students need to be both able and comfortable to discuss issues of direct relevance to them and their study, and to be able to express this within a kaupapa Māori context.

A Confident Self-Identity

Self-assurance and confidence in one's identity means that cultural differences do not intimidate; difference is accepted and embraced. Within the context of kaupapa Māori the notion of tino rangatiratanga (principle of self-determination) is expressed. Kaupapa Māori is about Māori autonomy where Māori have the right to their own destiny and to participate in all aspects of education. To work with Māori students is an opportunity for Māori to accept responsibility for their own educational destiny and an acceptance that education by Māori, for Māori and in Māori is plausible.

An Altruistic Attitude

Having a considerate unselfish attitude, in addition to enjoying social contacts, leads people to give generously of their time, support and knowledge to others in the community. Within the context of kaupapa Māori, the notion of ako Māori promotes teaching and learning practices that are unique to Māori. There is a strong emphasis on peer support through, for example, the concepts of tuakana–teina (older–younger sibling relationship) and tautoko (help, support) as culturally defined pedagogical methods that highlight Māori processes of ako (learning and teaching).

To date, the TPS Programme has recruited people who are able to connect the open and distance learner with the community known as the Open Polytechnic. Three designated Māori staff members spend most of their time working with Māori students and all display the above qualities to connect them with the Māori learner. Other staff members are also assigned to work with Māori students when necessary. Even though these staff members are not Māori they possess the gift to build positive relationships; have a sense of cultural diversity; possess a confident self-identity; and reflect and possess an altruistic attitude.

Cultural Relevance of the Telephone Peer Support Programme

Kaupapa Māori theory is a theory of change and incorporates a practice which is pliable, easily modified and very powerful in developing the needs and aspiration of Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory does not put aside Pākehā knowledge or culture; rather it extracts the excellence from both worlds. In kaupapa Māori, learning houses, Māori language, culture, knowledge and values are accepted in their own right. The role and importance of critical theory and kaupapa Māori theory are necessary frameworks for understanding Māori education because both approaches have common factors and complement each other. McMurchy-Pilkington (2001, p. 173) argues that "Kaupapa Māori can be described as critical theory at a localised level." Smith (1991), one of the first advocates of kaupapa Māori, documents the change principles or intervention elements that are significant to kaupapa Māori and three of those principles are clearly defined in the peer support programme.

The Notion of Tautoko (Support)

The programme embraces the concept of ako Māori (culturally preferred pedagogy) and promotes the peer support concept by highlighting the kaupapa Māori principle of tuakana–teina (peer support). It provides the distance learner the opportunity to kōrero (discuss) their study progress and to get practical advice about academic matters. Within the conversation there is often opportunity to whakapapa (make genealogical connections) and therefore a social context is blended within the academic setting. Māori derives from an oral culture and the peer support programme incorporates a culturally relevant value of Māoritanga (Māori culture, practices and beliefs).

The Notion of Whanaungatanga (Belonging)

Whanaungatanga is the sense of family connection or a relationship through shared experiences where people work together to provide people with a sense of belonging. This sense of belonging develops as a result of relationship bonding which serves to strengthen each member of the group. In this instance the student and the peer supporter. Through their conversations and dialogue a trust relationship develops and results in the students becoming a whānau or kinship group known as the Open Polytechnic learning community. The peer support programme contributes to students' sense of belonging and being part of a learning community. Māori students have always been attracted to the notion of community learning to foster a sense of whānau and maximise the positive effect of peer support.

The Notion of Kōrero (Talking, Communication)

Distance learning can be isolating for all students and Māori students in particular do not participate well when isolated. The programme is a useful tool to engage Māori students in their learning by connecting them with their tutor, a learning adviser or the peer supporter. For most students, this is the only opportunity they have to kōrero (talk about) their study. The notion of kōrero involves the values of sharing, trusting, helping and collaboration, which are the foundations on which the programme is built.

The Notion of Ako Māori (Culturally Preferred Pedagogy)

The notion of ako Māori refers to the learning and teaching environment, in which it exists as an extension of the cultural backgrounds and foundations, which are Māori. There is an expectation that students will help others to achieve and succeed. The programme helped Māori students increase their study skills by encouraging students to register for the Online StudyWise which is an online workshop to provide academic skills for achievement. Many students are new to the distance learning environment and the TPS callers helped students with strategies to manage their workload and how to achieve their study goals.

Conclusion

Preliminary findings (student and tutor reported) include: increased student motivation and engagement with study, increased likelihood that students will contact tutors or learning support staff when experiencing difficulties, and students feeling less isolated and more supported in their studies. Successful completion rates of students in this programme will be collated at the end of Trimester 2 and compared with those for 2009 in order to identify gains.

As a specialist national provider of open and distance learning, the Open Polytechnic provides a flexible form of education for people who want or need an alternative to attending face-to-face study. The learners are mainly adults studying part-time, either in the workforce where they aim to improve their skills or home-based and preparing to re-enter employment. A large group are second chance learners, looking to restart their learning journey.

The ODL style of learning, a strong characteristic of the Open Polytechnic has the potential to play an even greater role in supporting Māori advancement, particularly when support services like the Learning Centre are willing to take a dominant culture learning style, and apply culturally relevant themes to promote engagement, retention and progression for Māori students today for tomorrow.

Glossary

ako	learning and teaching
ako Māori	culturally preferred pedagogy
kaupapa Māori	Māori issues, Māori philosophy
kōrero	discuss, talk about
Māoritanga	Māori culture, practices and beliefs
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
tangata whenua	people of the land
taonga tuku iho	treasured inheritance from the ancestors
tautoko	help, support
tino rangatiratanga	principle of self-determination
tuakana–teina	older–younger sibling relationship, peer support
wero	challenge
whakapapa	make genealogical connections
whānau	family, extended family
whanaungatanga	relationships

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Ahakoa He Kiri Mā: A Fire in Our Blood

Michelle Waireti Roestenburg
Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa, Ngā Puhi, Dutch
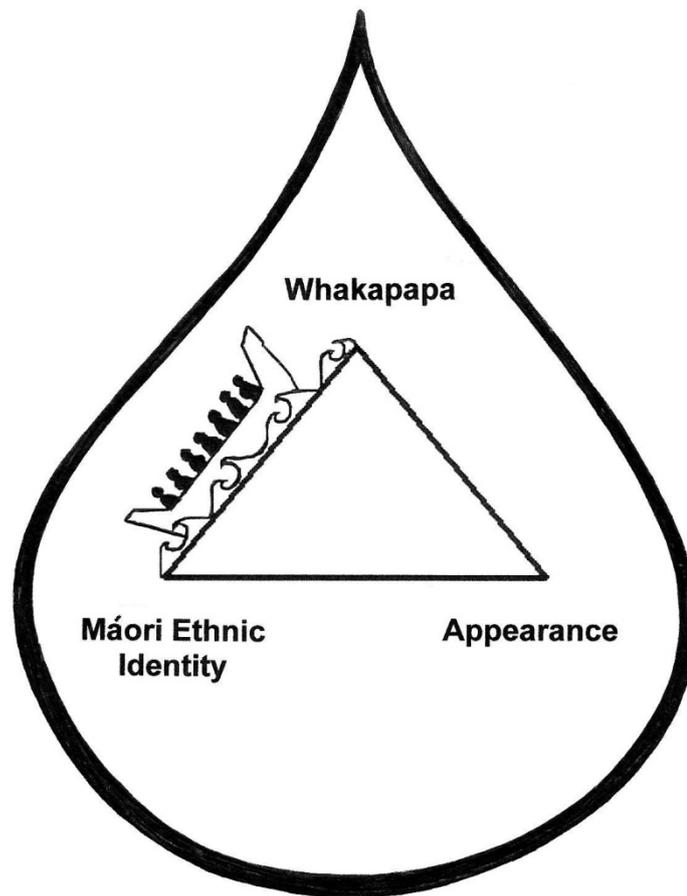
Ora Wairua
Ora Tinana
Ka Ora Tangata!

Figure 1. Relationship among whakapapa, Māori identity and appearance.

Abstract

This study approaches the nexus of whakapapa (genealogy), Māori identity and non-conventional presentations of "Māoriness". The factors and forces that enable or disable the development of positive Māori identity are examined through the experiences of six Māori women who are strongly and positively identified as Māori, yet do not "look" Māori. By using a tikanga (correct procedure, customary practice) framework, Māori participants and a Māori researcher, we created a research paradigm capable of congruent cultural interpretations of Māori identity.

Childhood identity formation environments of mana Māori that were incongruent with wider societal positioning of Māori, or Māori denigration environments that mirrored societal attitudes to Māori, were explicated. Contemporary and historical socio-political colonial influences were articulated with Māori-centric forces. Whanaungatanga or collectivity as an outcome of tikanga or the

tīpuna-inspired desire to seek what is right and good at the intra-personal and inter-subjective levels was revealed as the indomitable heart force of Māori identity.

Keywords

Whakapapa (genealogy)
This study examines the factors and forces that enable or disable positive Māori identity. It does so through the experiences of six Māori women who are strongly identified as Māori, but who do not "look" Māori. The impetus for this study arose when I peered into the confused and confusing space within my being that gives life meaning, and is also most challenging. The confluence of tīpuna (ancestors) mandate, Māori identity and appearance is a deeply felt relationship that informs and underlies my whole being, centring and ordering my reality (Figure 1). My white appearance can leave me bewildered, and certainly in the past, occasionally bereft. Persistently, I have been driven to respond to an echo or call to engage deeper and deeper in te ao Māori (the Māori world), yet I did not understand why. I earnestly believe and desire to contribute to "the positive embracing of Māori identity which is the driving force of the current regeneration of Māori culture" (Walker, 1989, p. 80).

Positive and Negative Māori Identities
While mental ill health has been identified as "the" primary future health risk to Māori, positive identities lend a protective and strengthening influence (Durie, 1995)—mitigating childhood adversity (Marie, Fergusson & Boden, 2009), increasing pro-social behaviour and reducing offending (Department of Corrections, 2009), and correlating with educational and economic success (A. Durie, 2001; M. Durie, 2001). Positive Māori identities provide a link to the past, emotional, psychological and social security, an anchor and umbilical cord in today's world of global opportunities and challenges.

Inability to identify positively as Māori often leads to "trapped lifestyles" (Durie, 1998), and an absence of positive identity in either te ao Māori or te ao hurihuri (the modern world). Instead of connection, pride and stability, there is multidimensional marginality in the form of poverty, crime, drug and alcohol addictions, abuse and other symptoms of systemic alienation—known only too well to indigenous people who have survived the war of colonisation. Without positive identities, our potential as human beings remains denied and excluded; our essential dignity is disqualified from expression in today's world.

State of Identities
A snapshot of the state of Māori identities at the nation level reveals that most Māori are alienated from the protective and nourishing influence of positive Māori identities. By combining the 2006 census descent population figure of 643,997 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007) with Te Hoe Nuku Roa findings that less than a third of all Māori are positively or securely identified as Māori (M. Durie, 2001), then 431,464 Māori are currently alienated from the protective and nourishing influence of positive Māori identities.

The continuing war of colonisation is the cause of our alienation from ourselves. As with other indigenous people, the science of "progress" separated Māori from the conditions and resources necessary for the maintenance of physical life; those who survived were unable to live meaningfully within the meta-physical systems Māori had known for millennium. Today denial and ongoing violence are necessary to suffocate Māori potential and growth. Subjugation of Māori and history disqualifies redress and the restoration of balance.

Extermination of Māori and Māori ways of being was not successful, however: "[t]he level of alienation of Māori from their own resources is severe even though there are high levels of aspirations for greater participation in the Māori world" (M. Durie, 2001, p. 56). Positive Māori identity alienation in today's Aotearoa represents the violence and destruction of the colonisers, yet also the resilience and determination of Māori.

Mixed Descent

A finer-grained examination of current Māori ethnic identities reveals that Māori children make up 25% all New Zealand children (Statistics New Zealand, 2007) so their capacity or incapacity to attain wellbeing and meaningful lives will have a telling impact on the future of the whole country. Seventy-five percent of Māori children have mixed ancestry (Statistics New Zealand, 2007); and of these, 57% have a Pākehā parent (Hui Taumata, 2005). For these children, "Successful navigation of the uncharted seas between the two peoples of Aotearoa of whom they embody is their challenge" (Bevan, 2000, p. 11).

The number of people of mixed Māori descent is increasing (Butterworth & Mako, 1989), as is the trend to assign Māori ethnicity to these children (Howard & Didham, 2005; Kukutai, 2004). This cultural phenomenon shows that, "It is culture that gives race meaning not vice versa" (Stevenson, 2001, p. 35). In a reversal of the dynamics of overt and systemised oppression and denigration that drove the social mechanisms of New Zealand until the mid-1970s, more New Zealanders are having part-Māori children and overtly raising them as Māori.

White Māori

While the number of white-looking Māori children is climbing, our corporate ability to recognise and support them as Māori may not be improving. There is a proliferation of terms to describe Māori who happen to look white. While in some cultures such multiple descriptions or words indicates sophistication and an intimacy with a phenomenon, I suggest that here they represent our inability to "put our finger on" or "do" non-Māori-looking Māori. Such a lack will obstruct and disable our collective growth and re-emergence as Māori.

There were pale Māori in pre-colonial Māori society. When Kupe, the first Māori explorer, arrived he found, says Wirihana Aoterangi of Ngāti Tāhinga, "that the people who dwelt here were fairies. They were, in fact, of goblin-like appearance; such were those people, the descendants of those that were with Maui when he fished up this island" (Salmond, 1991, p. 28). Paleness was a fundamental characteristic of the first peoples of this land. Many pūrākau (historical accounts) also tell of "fair" Māori such as urukehu (red-heads), who, while not common, had their place and roles in pre-colonial society.

Changing Contexts

Context is implicit in the generation of meaning. Transplanting things Māori into non-Māori settings changes the original meaning (Tūmoana & Stuart, 2010). While "fairness" was inherent to original Māori society, its interpretation in contemporary times has become riddled with our colonial history. Māori were systematically devastated by a people who were fair, and described as mā kōrako (white albinos), punehunehu (misty looking), and whero tākou (reddish in appearance) (Mohi Turei, in Salmond, 1991). Today, Māori interpretations of "fair" Māori reflect ongoing oppression at the hands of white people rather than what are, for most, unknown origins and a whakapapa of whiteness.

In the absence of critically informed approaches to white-looking Māori, we may inadvertently advance the ethnocidal desires of racists who "look forward to the next hundred years or so, to a time when we shall have no Maoris at all, but a white race with a slight dash of the finest coloured race in the world" (William Herris, Minister of Native Affairs, 1912–21, in Ball, 2005, p. 10).

Realms of Influence

Alignment with and harmony between the intangible and tangible worlds are still part of indigenous consciousness (Peat, 2005). The realms of influence model (Figure 2) illustrates the complexity of the influences on and views towards Māori, characterised in the women's stories. The seven concentric circles represent the levels of social organisation from which the influences arose. Quality at each level indicates either Māori mana (prestige, authority), in bold, or derogation, not in bold. The superordinate influence of tīpuna flows through all accounts.
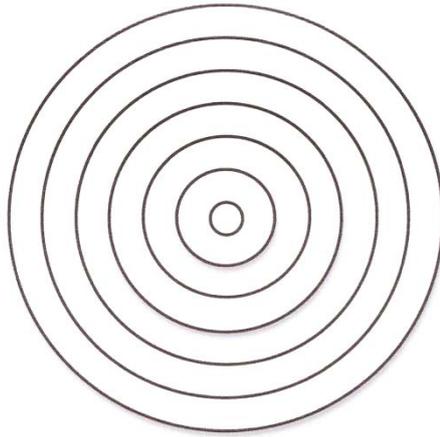
Figure 2. Realms of influence model.
The seven realms of social influence are, from the centre: the inter-subjective and intra-personal; immediate whānau (family); whānau whānui (extended family); local socio-cultural; regional; national; global.

"Tangibly Sheltering" Mana Māori Worlds

> I think it makes a huge difference the value in your family that Māori is given … I mean in my life, Māori was always given the mana, being Māori was always a thing to be proud of in our home, and the way that we walked in our world. (Hinehika)

Four of the six women interviewed were raised in worlds that unquestionably and pervasively gave mana to all things Māori. This positioning was so comprehensive that, in the main, the women were unaware of the derogatory forces of wider socio-political contexts until they emerged from the shelter of whānau, in early adulthood. They recalled only positive attitudes towards Māori people and culture, high levels of reciprocal interaction, and close kinship. The extent and quality of Māori cultural positioning for the "tangibly sheltering" participants is represented in Figure 3.
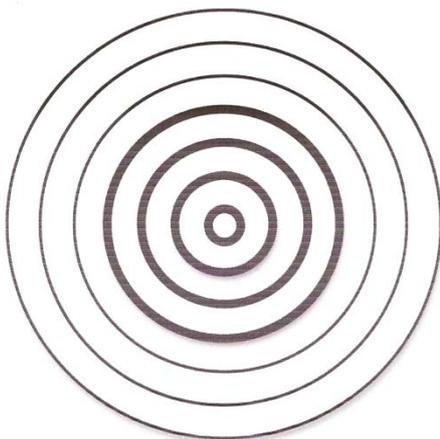
Figure 3. Tangibly sheltering model.
Bold lines represent a mana Māori orientation within the inner four realms: inter-subjective and intra-personal, immediate whānau, whānui whānui and local socio-cultural. Non-bold lines represent systematic derogation of Māori at the regional, national and global levels.

Keepers of Culture
These women were raised in families who deliberately and determinedly preserved proud Māori-centric worlds. "One of the fundamentals underpinning the continuity of Māori identity is the political climate in which Māori identity is embedded" (Moeke-Pickering, 1996, p. 56). Although non-Māori

ecologies were recognised as explicitly and detrimentally dominating the political climate, their influence was countered by the Māori mother and whānau, who worked to eliminate it from the children's lives.

> We lived in Upper Hutt which was very, very white … we were alone in a little white cul-de-sac. It wasn't that bad, you know kids make friends. But Mum tells stories about when we got invited to birthday parties she was very excited because we didn't get invited to lots of things by Pākehā. And she would feed us up before we went because she didn't want them to think that these Māori kids were little pigs, and that we'd get invited back. (Hinehika)

For one woman, awareness of non-Māori ecological perspectives of Māori did not occur until her mother named it in her adulthood. Disbelief and sadness signalled her surprise at Māori marginalisation by non-Māori; a marginalisation that for most Māori is the norm (A. Durie, 2001).

> And once she told me I was thinking "That's so sad" how could she have that perception of what a people thought and I guess her perception was reinforced actually by experience that we didn't get invited to lots of things and why would that be? We got invited in the Māori world and the Pākehā family world, but by school friends we didn't get invited to lots of stuff. (Hinehika)

Māori mothers and their whānau were the keepers of culture. They heroically and incessantly predicted, countered and neutralised all forms of Māori derogation in the social fields that surrounded their children. Like Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi, they held the sky up on a mana Māori-centric world. "To exist, humanly, is to name the word, to change it" (Freire, 1972, p. 69). These mothers existed humanly, using their experience of exclusion and oppression to change the worlds their children inhabited.

"Tangibly Traumatising" Worlds

As with all things in te ao Māori, whakapapa or conscious and deliberate attention to the multiple layers of "becoming" that underlie "being" yields continuity and understanding (Williams & Henare, 2009). Whakapapa links the temporal with the transcendent, the immediate with the timeless, and inextricably locates the individual in the collective. In tracking the layers in participant kōrero (talk) about what contributed to homes that were "tangibly traumatising" to all things Māori, including their own children, it seemed it began in the whānau yet was influenced from beyond. Instead of nourishment and support that orbited on pride and positivity in being Māori, two participants experienced the opposite.

> When I was very young I had some strange idea that being Māori must be like a disease, because you weren't allowed to talk about it … one of my sisters was actually beaten by my mother because she let it slip at school, she got a really bad hiding. That's where I came across this idea in my mind that it must be like a disease. (Erana)

> My hands, my mother didn't like my hands because they were too dark, they weren't white enough so she was always making me go away to scrub my hands and my knuckles and that sort of stuff. And there was a part inside me which rebelled, you know it was denying me who I am and not accepting who I am. (Erana)

> I realised that without realising it I tended to gravitate towards other Māori or Māori things. … I was almost like this black sheep within the family. She married a Pākehā and they had kids, and she wanted to bring them up very proper, and I was constantly getting into Māori, the good and the bad things. (Whi)

Tangibly traumatising describes the home environments in which Erana and Whi were raised. The dominant cultural posture was an active and at times violent denigration and condemnation of all things Māori. Yet both women maintained a subjective mana Māori-centric orientation that was at complete odds with the predominant socio-cultural value of Māori (Figure 4).
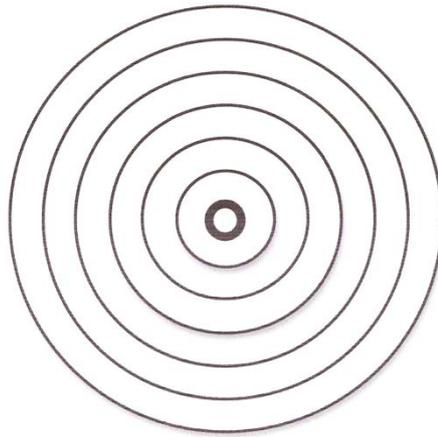
Figure 4. Tangibly traumatising model.

In the tangibly traumatising situations, derogation of Māori was evident in all realms of social influence except the intrapersonal or intersubjective.

Changes Over Time: The Personal is the Political

Both the women who experienced tangibly traumatising upbringings lived in the same area, yet were separated in age by 30 years. Through the lens of their experiences, changes in societal flows of power and representation of Māori come into view.

> My own people the Waitaha were always fair anyway, I have photographs of my tīpuna right back in the 1880s onwards and they are all fair … you know that's why the Pākehā down South would say, "Oh we don't have any Māori's down here," cause they could be almost not noticeable… (Erana)

> The neighbourhood that we grew up in was virtually completely white. (Erana)

Erana's world mirrored and perpetuated the wider context of 1940s and 1950s New Zealand suburbia that followed the war of despiritualisation, or colonisation, where Māori people and institutions were erased from the skyline of day-to-day existence: "[t]he land had been largely stripped of native people, trees and birds" (Ramsden, 2002, p. 14). There was no way to be acceptable and Māori (Figure 5).
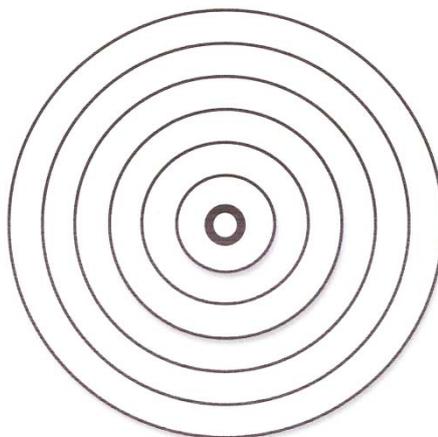
Figure 5. 1940s and 1950s model.

Derogation of Māori was evident at all levels of 1940s and 1950s New Zealand society except the intrapersonal or intersubjective.

By the 1970s and 1980s it was not only possible to be overtly Māori, although with some restrictions, the capacity to be positively Māori had been restored.

> I was constantly … getting into Māori, the good and the bad things, things that are commonly associated with being Māori. … I started realising it was ok to be Māori when you are playing sports and when you are being introduced to somebody else who might find that interesting, but in every other context it wasn't ok. (Whi)

Whi's inner three realms of influence mirrored Erana's of 30 years earlier; however, shifts had occurred in the local and regional socio-cultural domains (Figure 6). Instead of denigration and violence towards Māori at school, it was now possible to find nourishment, learn te reo Māori (the Māori language) and other aspects of Māori culture, and pursue these further in the regional environment by joining kapa haka (performing arts) or cultural clubs.
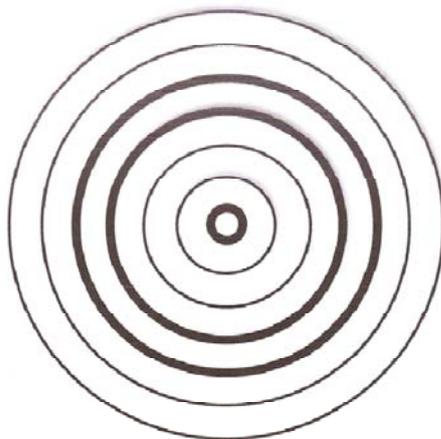
Figure 6. 1970s and 1980s model.

In the 1970s and 1980s derogation of Māori continued to characterise whānau, whānau whānui, societal and global spheres; however, mana Māori orientation characterised the intersubjective or intrapersonal, and had been restored to the local and regional socio-cultural realms.

Tīpuna Knowing: The "Tikanga Within"
Although there was variability in the origins and quality of influence towards Māori, common to each of the women interviewed were experiences of communication, guidance and nourishment from tīpuna.

Tangible Guidance
For the women raised in mana Māori worlds, the presence of tīpuna added to the tangible guidance and nourishment provided by their whānau whānui.

> My tīpuna, my knowingness of being Māori, is still there, and that's what keeps you safe and protected from anything that comes your way or people saying "You're not Māori enough"… cause you are still accepted by your own tīpuna and your own whānau. (Nellie)

Intangible Guidance
For the women raised in homes where their Māori identity and culture were denigrated, an intangible tīpuna guidance was the primary source of succour and guidance in being Māori.

> Follow what you think is right because at the end of the day you've got to be able to rest your head and your heart and know that you have done what you think is right. And I think for most of us that's following tikanga really within us, even if no one else is patting us on the back and telling us it is the right thing to do. (Whi)

And then my grandfather and others came for a visit, which was very rare, we weren't allowed to say that they were our grandparents, we weren't allowed to identify them to any of the neighbours … and somewhere inside me I felt it was all wrong and I didn't accept it or believe it. I realised there was some part of me that wanted to know who all these things were that are a part of me, so I suppose it was a kind of determination to recover, or try and recover all of those things I felt were lost. (Erana)

Choosing to be Māori

As well as tīpuna support, the other superordinate theme of all six women's stories was that of choice.

Cause you don't get a choice, whether you are a 1/4 Māori or a 26th Māori or a 1/64th Māori you don't get a choice, you're Māori and you have whakapapa and you have links … you don't get to escape that … lots of people may think that they do … but they never will. (Hinehika)

If you are mokopuna (a grandchild), you are Māori. There were no issues about quantums, percentages or degrees. If a person has whakapapa, they are Māori: "it is impossible to have only a 'part grandchild', whakapapa is not divisible because mokopuna cannot be divided up into discrete parts" (Jackson, 2003, p. 62). "It's not how Māori are you, cause you just are" (Hinehika). Being Māori for the participants meant there was no choice. With or without Māori socialisation, if you had whakapapa, you were Māori. "There are no tikanga-free days" (Tania), and there are no "Māori-free" options when you are mokopuna of tīpuna: "Māori birth parentage is unalterable" (A. Durie, 2001, p. 299). Each of the women interviewed affirmed that if you are mokopuna you are undeniably and inherently Māori. Just as our babies are an inseparable whole, if our ancestors are Māori, we are completely Māori.

He Ngākau Māori: The Heart of It

Tikanga sits at the heart of being Māori. When absent, it is sought; when present it is perpetuated. "Tikanga within" (Whi) is the authority and power that activates our conviction to protect, nourish and celebrate our whakapapa, even against all odds. For through whakapapa you can know your place, where you stand, and where you can be proud and confident within a "series of never-ending beginnings" (Jackson, 2008, n.p.).

Tikanga: The Activated Voices of the Ancestors

With all indigenous peoples, the intangible and tangible institutions of life-centred lore or tikanga bind an individual to the collective and beyond (Figure 7). By recalling us to our essential oneness, tikanga creates spiritual, social and political coherence. Tikanga permeates an individual and adheres them to their whakapapa, whānau whānui, hapū (kinship grouping), iwi (tribe), ancestors, whenua (land, country), life and atua (gods)**.**

Figure 7. Tikanga-based-world model.

In the pre-colonial Māori world, tikanga and mana Māori pervaded all realms of being, and all tangible and intangible institutions.

Indomitable tīpuna presence and spiritual potency in the women's accounts are a micro-reflection of collective Māori irrepressibility and resiliency on the historical and contemporary, national and international stages. A pulsing reservoir of mana-centred, ancestor-infused reality held deep within continues to sustain Māori. We have not only survived, we have survived as Māori. Tikanga as an expression of tīpuna mandate is what underlies positive Māori identity, even in the absence of other confirming factors and the presence of seemingly overwhelming negative forces of Māori derogation.

Restoring opportunities to gather and practice tikanga or values of aroha (love) and manaaki (dignity, support) gives life and meaning to Māori forms of being, strengthening and infusing tīpuna-mandated whakapapa in today's world (Figure 8). The radiant nature of mana Māori on the singular level is the radiant nature of the Māori collective.
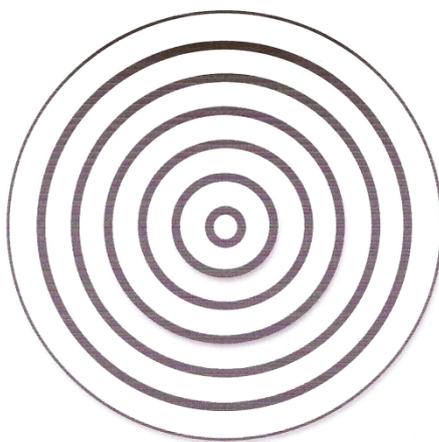
Figure 8. Respiritualisation and radiation.

Ahakoa he kiri mā (even though the skin is white)
He ngākau Māori (the heart is Māori/indigenous)

Not one more acre!
Not one more tipuna!

Glossary

aroha	love
atua	gods
hapū	kinship grouping
iwi	tribe
kapa haka	performing arts
kōrako	albino
kōrero	talk, story, account
mā	white
mana	prestige
manaaki	dignity, support
mokopuna	grandchild
punehunehu	misty looking
pūrākau	historical account
te ao hurihuri	the changing world
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te reo Māori	the Māori language

tipuna, tīpuna	ancestor, ancestors
tikanga	correct procedures, customary practice
urukehu	red-head
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family
whanaungatanga	kinship connection
whānau whānui	extended family
whenua	land, country
whero tākou	reddish in appearance

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The American Indian Well-Being Model in Higher Education

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Abstract

The American Indian Well-Being Model in higher education is a holistic model that is designed for indigenous students who plan on entering and succeeding in college. The eight pillars of well-being include spiritual, cultural, physical, environmental, social, professional, mental, and emotional pillars. All eight pillars must coincide in harmony to ensure college success. The model further identifies resources, strengths, challenges, and plans of action for college students. The ultimate goal of the Well-Being Model is for students to identify a life symbol that encompasses all eight pillars and that can be passed on while accomplishing life endeavors.

The American Indian Well-Being Model in Higher Education

I remember conducting an oral history project on the Tohajiilee Navajo Reservation during the mid-1990s. I was often concerned about American Indian higher education and needed some type of advice to help me succeed in my Master's programme. I interviewed a Navajo elder and asked him, "What words of advice would you offer our younger generations who plan on attending college?" He answered, "I would tell them to remember who they are, where they are from and where they are going in life." Furthermore, the elder explained the sacredness of spiritual, mental and physical well-being and the importance of the close connections of the individual, family and community.

These three elements of well-being ignited my thinking into a broader view of helping all students succeed in higher education. As I continued my education at the doctorate level, I expanded my Well-Being Model, which served as a major component of my dissertation which itself involved success and persistence factors pertaining to American Indian graduate and professional students.

The overall purpose in developing the holistic American Indian Well-being Model in Higher Education was to create a blueprint for American Indian college students by addressing well-being factors that include spiritual, cultural, social, professional, mental, emotional, physical and environmental pillars. According to Miller (2009), "Holistic Education is a philosophy of education based on the premise that each person finds identity, meaning, and purpose in life through connections to the community, to the natural world, and to humanitarian values such as compassion and peace." As for elders from the Canoncito Band of Navajo, learning is viewed from a holistic viewpoint.

"The key to learning for our people is to learn in circles, cycles, seasons, directions, nature, and our past. Learning has its purpose and we must make connections to all living things including Mother Earth, and Father Sky" (Secatero, 2006). The Well-Being Model can be used as a primary means of helping college students, college practitioners and researchers in addressing issues that concern higher education. Prospective college and graduate students may find themselves asking the following questions, which are relevant to well-being factors, when considering higher education. Here are the eight pillars:

1. Spiritual Well-Being (Purpose)
Why am I attending college?

Before an individual decides to pursue higher education, he or she may ask, "Why am I attending college?" This sense of purpose includes important elements, such as an individual's beliefs, happiness and balancing well-being factors in life. Examples of spiritual well-being can relate to daily prayer, self acceptance/realisation, life fulfilment and remembering teachings from those in the spirit world.

2. Cultural Well-Being (Identity)
How do I balance my culture and the modern world while I am in college?

Cultural well-being is essential for American Indian students to succeed in college and integrates knowing who you are, where you are from and where you are going in life. This formulates the issue of identity and protecting our culture by interpreting our past and linking with our future. Examples of cultural well-being include cultural practices, songs, Native language, rituals, artistic talent, community pride and giving back.

3. Professional Well-Being (Planning)
What are the goals for my college and professional career?

Professional well-being includes a variety of factors, including planning a successful college academic experience and future career. Professional well-being also includes the development of skills, interests, a work ethic, hobbies, financial literacy and leadership. It is essential for college students to plan ahead in fulfilling all academic, career and financial aid obligations.

4. Social Well-Being (Networking)
Do I have adequate networking skills to succeed in college?

Social well-being is defined as "Our ability to interact successfully within a community and throughout a variety of cultural contacts, while showing respect for ourselves and others" (Washing State University (WSU Well-Being, n.d.). Examples of social well-being include time management, cooperation, group work, literacy skills, intimacy, dialogue with professors and students and a circle of positive friends.

5. Mental Well-Being (Thinking)
Am I academically prepared to meet the rigours of college?

Mental well-being is defined as a state of well-being in which an individual realises his or her own abilities, coping skills and learns how to think in a variety of ways. It can sometimes be referred to as "intellectual well-being" (WSU Well-Being, n.d.). Examples of mental well-being include study skills, learning styles, problem solving, test preparation, research skills, creativity and rigour.

6. Emotional Well-Being (Feeling)
Do I know how to balance my emotions to succeed in college?

Emotional well-being allows us to recognise, understand, experience and express a full range of emotions and channel those emotions into healthy behaviours that satisfy personal and social goals (WSU Well-Being, n.d.). Examples of emotional well-being include stress management, positive self-esteem, adapting to change, coping skills, resilience and anger management.

7. Physical Well-Being (Body)
Can I take care of myself and my body while I'm in college?

Physical well-being can be referred to as the ability to understand what can make our body most efficient and effective and the ability to recognise and respect our own limitations (WSU Well-Being, n.d.). Examples of physical well-being include proper diet, exercise, drug and alcohol awareness, motivation, sex education, personal hygiene, sleep and relaxation.

8. Environmental Well-Being (Place)
Is the college that I plan to attend a good fit for me and my goals?

In many American Indian traditions, the umbilical cord of a newborn is often placed in the ground or kept in the family home for safekeeping. The umbilical cord serves as an educational seed that is planted for future growth and a sense of place. In American Indian society, the sense of place is very important and provides a foundation for learning and a physical concept of home.

As part of building one's college career, it is important to have a plan to navigate and identify all eight pillars of well-being.

Developing a Personal Well-Being Model
As part of developing a personal Well-Being Model for higher education, I created a circle that highlights each of the eight pillars of well-being: spiritual, cultural, social, professional, emotional, mental, environmental and physical. In addition, each circle represents a particular area for each well-being pillar, such as resources, strengths, challenges and a plan of action. Students who are completing this model must carefully read each well-being resource and develop a basic understanding of it. There are no wrong answers as each student labels each portion of the model with their own interpretations. The main objectives of the personal Well-Being Model are to encourage students to think critically about well-being factors that can help them succeed in higher education.

Resources
Resources are instrumental to student success at all levels of higher education. A resource can be identified as a mentor, student support specialist, elder, community activist, leader, coach or even a family member. In addition, college campuses have various forms of resource centres that assist students with tutoring, school organisations, workshops and other events that are relevant to academic and personal growth.

Strengths
It is very important for college students to identify personal strengths that can assist in positive self-concept. Strengths are connected to the positive attributes that each person embodies: talents, thinking skills, friendliness, perseverance, dedication, knowledge of culture and other positive factors.

Challenges
Learning to identify challenges is another essential tool for developing a personal Well-Being Model. Challenges are obstacles to succeeding in college, such as lack of mentors, homesickness, no sense of belonging, family issues and a shortage of financial aid funding.

Plan of Action
The plan of action is a vital element of the Well-Being Model, which identifies a possible solution in reference to addressing challenges. In this plan of action, a student may also list a time frame to effectively solve the challenge. When using this model, it is important to know that some students may leave some portions blank but these can be addressed at a later time.
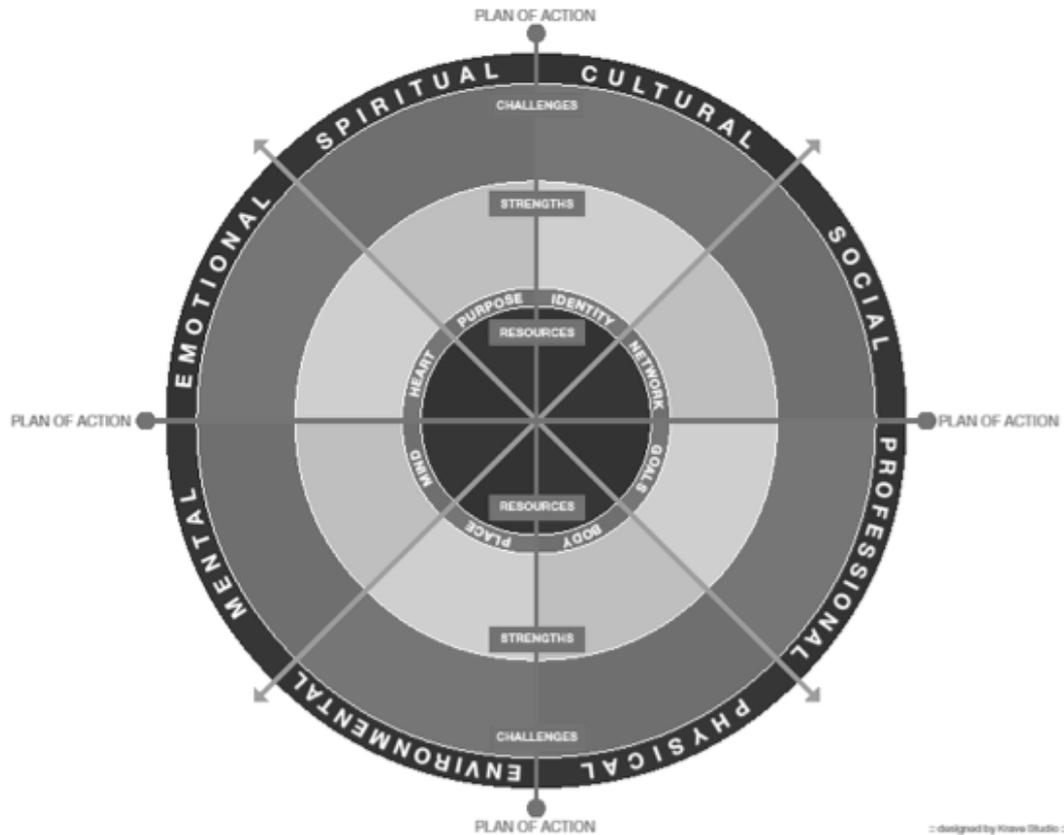
Figure 1. Plan of action for implementation of the Well-Being Model.

Diagram of the Well-Being Model in Higher Education

If you look carefully at the diagram, the student is in the centre where all lines meet. In the inner circle, a student must identify a person who would serve as a resource in that particular well-being pillar. For example, in the spiritual portion of the Well-Being Model, a student may identify a traditional elder as a resource and list daily prayer as a strength. As an example of a spiritual well-being challenge, a student may identify a disconnection with home. In the outer portion of the circle, a student will then identify a plan of action, such as calling home to speak with family members at least once per week, as a possible solution.

Spiritual Well-being

Resource: Traditional elder
Strengths: Daily prayer; ceremonial duties
Challenges: Homesickness; wanting to come home often
Plan of Action: Call home once a week to speak with family members

In another example, a student may identify and connect with physical well-being. As a resource, a student may identify their younger siblings as a resource, since most young children are physically active and idolise college students. As a challenge, a student may express that he or she is eating too much junk food rather than making healthy food choices. As a solution, the student will identify eating healthier foods, such as vegetables and fruits, as a plan of action.

Physical Well-being

Resource: Young children
Strength: Role model status for children
Challenges: Eating too much junk food
Plan of Action: Eat healthier foods such as vegetables and fruits

Discussion

The model serves as a foundation for college students to recognise their strengths, challenges, and to initiate a plan of action. As part of learning from elders, the Well-Being Model can also be constructed as a problem-solving tool. In the outer portion of the circle, a student identifies a particular problem that is then listed in the Plan of Action section. In the second step of the problem-solving process, a student then identifies obstacles that relate to the problem. In step three, the student also identifies their own inner strengths and previous problem-solving actions. As the student continues to solve their problem, they continue to work their way into the centre of the circle, which is labelled with a resource. In this fourth critical step, the student will consult an elder, a student adviser, or a professor to help with the problem. Once the consultation process is finished, the student begins to work outward and combines their inner strengths with the words of wisdom from their resource in the fifth step. As the student continues to work their way outward, they address the problem in the challenges section, which is the sixth step. In the final step, the student conducts a follow-up and lists this plan in the Plan of Action section.

Creating a Life Symbol

According to many elders in the Canoncito Band of Navajos and among many indigenous peoples, symbolism is an intricate and important stage that can strengthen the well-being pillars (purpose, identity, mind, heart, body, place, network, and goals). It is important that American Indian students identify these important concepts of well-being to promote balance in life.

> For American Indian people, well-being can often be a symbol in many forms, including animate and inanimate. For example, as a Canoncito Navajo college student, I knew that corn has always been revered as being a sacred symbol among our people. Therefore, I incorporated the eight pillars into a well-being symbol of corn, as shown in Figure 2. The following is my reflection on this symbol:

> As part of my personal life model, I drew the straight, intersecting lines as corn stalks, because corn is sacred among the Canoncito Band of Navajos. A seed of corn resembles my umbilical cord, which my parents buried in the earth near my home. The umbilical cord represents my physical well-being and my foundation in life. As part of environmental well-being, I was nourished with love, respect and a good home. Corn also needs nourishment and proper care to grow strong and healthy. I developed my mental and emotional well-being as a teenager. I often credit one teacher who made a positive difference to my mental well-being by challenging me to reach my full potential in her classes. In terms of emotional well-being, my high school counselor was an extraordinary person, who helped me address challenges as I entered college. In this stage, as with a corn stalk, I developed a strong base to stand on my own. I continued to grow socially and professionally in my young college life. I became president of an American Indian club at my university to enhance my social network. I also developed my teaching skills as an educator and finished my teaching licensure program. These skills contributed to my professional well-being. In the final stage, I developed my cultural and spiritual well-being. As part of my cultural well-being, I learned about our tribal history and learned how to pray in the Native way. At this stage, the maturity of the corn is marked with the corn tassel. This tasel is a primary source of corn pollen that is used for prayer. Each morning, Navajo people pray with corn pollen, which is a strong symbol of walking the Beauty way in life. (Personal testimony of Shawn Secatero)

Figure 2. Eight pillars incorporated into a well-being symbol of corn.

Future Implications

The American Indian Well-Being Model is currently in the developmental stages as more research needs to be conducted and implemented among various different populations. The Well-Being Model can also be utilised among all people and by college practitioners to assist students who are experiencing challenges in their academic and personal lives. As the Well-Being Model continues to evolve, four new pillars are under consideration for research; these include financial, technical, practical, and artistic pillars. As American Indian people, our very existence in academia is often a sensitive and critical issue and one that needs further exploration. The Well-Being Model exemplifies a holistic approach in helping our students achieve success. In an oral history interview that I conducted in 1995, I asked a 100-year-old Canoncito Band of Navajo woman about what our children need to learn. She replied, "My children, always remember who you are, where you are from, and where you are going in life. You all have strong young wings, and I am sure you are eager to fly higher."

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Identity in an Indigenous Society: Where Do Samoan/Pasefika Fit Within Aotearoa?

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Tena koutou, tena koutou tena koutou katoa,
Talofa Lava, Afifio mai i le tatau fonotaga. O lo'u igoa Ali'itasi Stewart.

Warm Pasefika greetings, I greet all my sisters and brothers from near and far. I pay homage to all our ancestors who delivered us to this gathering, our vessel for knowledge. I am very humbled and, though great in years, I am still a juvenile in terms of the knowledge I have gained over the last couple of days. I would like to acknowledge the support of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and my department, the National Centre for Research on Europe at the University of Canterbury.

Abstract

This question of where Samoan/Pasefika fit within Aotearoa is one that is often bandied about. My bones are not of this land but my parents contributed much to Aotearoa during their time here. I was born here but I do not see myself as a "New Zealander". I would go further, to say that I see Samoans as the African-Americans of Aotearoa.

Keywords

identity, Samoan, indigenous, Māori

Identity in an Indigenous Society: Where Do Samoan/Pasefika Fit Within Aotearoa?

The question of where Samoan/Pasefika fit within Aotearoa is contentious, especially among Pasefika in my age group. My father once said to me during the 1960s: "Before Samoans can get ahead, we need to push Māori through the door and when they have what's rightfully theirs, then we can knock on the door and be invited in because we are visitors here."

I carried this message for a number of years taking into account the essence of the message, that the need to "get ahead" by supporting Māori was paramount. I watched my father walk the talk as he was a fluent speaker of te reo Māori and well instructed in things Māori. The sharing of knowledge was twofold between the late Wahawaha Stirling and my father.

As we are all aware, Pasefika people are not indigenous under the United Nations definition, perhaps because we are not minorities in our land. But here in Aotearoa, Samoans are a minority and as my father reiterated: "Samoans are visitors to this land, respect this land and Māori and you cannot go wrong." He continued: "You do not have the right to speak on behalf of Māori without their permission."

I tried to live by these teachings and values, not an easy task for a child expected to live in three worlds, that of Māori, Papalagi (people of European descent) and Samoan. Years later I practised these teachings by supporting Māori in their struggles. During this journey, however, I realised that my people were also struggling, and I adopted the ethos that non-Pasefika have no business speaking on my behalf and determining my future as a Pasefika person in Aotearoa, as happened in the past and unfortunately more recently.

The question: "Where do Samoan/Pasefika fit within Aotearoa?" has been bandied about for some time. I was born in Aotearoa but I do not see myself as a "New Zealander". I know this idea is contentious among my peers and colleagues but I am a visitor to these shores. I claim Samoan heritage and identity because, I would argue, that if I excel and succeed I am claimed and perceived as a good

Kiwi, but on the other hand if I display criminal traits or unacceptable behaviour I am labelled a "coconut" or "bloody Pacific Islander"; so—good or bad—I am Samoan!

My ancestral bones are not of this land but my parents contributed much to Aotearoa during their time here on earth. I also had an uncle who fought for this country and yet he was not eligible for the war pension so I ask again where exactly do Pasefika sit within Aotearoa? I would go further and say that I see Pasefika people as the African-Americans of Aotearoa. My reason: that we have shared some of the same journeys and, like the African-American, we are or possibly were, the significant "other" dominant ethnic group in Aotearoa. One of my colleagues thought that when I raised the analogy of African-Americans I was referring to Samoans being the new niggers in Aotearoa, replacing Māori. He explained that Samoan or Pasefika were the new target group for harassment, and I tend to agree.

Another contentious matter is that Aotearoa lies within the Pacific triangle, and is therefore classified as a Pacific nation, but if you asked John or Jane Doe in some elite areas in Aotearoa if they were Pacific Islanders they would vehemently deny it, perhaps because of their preconceived idea of what a Pasefika person looks like. Some Māori claim and acknowledge Pasefika as the elder sibling—tuakana. So my question is for the too hard box: "If Aotearoa is acknowledged by all as a Pacific Nation, then its people can be classified as Pasefika people." So I ask again: "Where do visiting Pasefika people like myself fit in Aotearoa and at whose table do I sit? Do I sit with Māori or do I sit with European? Do I sit with other immigrants or am I still knocking on the door some 70 years after arrival?"

Samoans emigrated to Aotearoa during the 1940s or early 1950s, seeking improved economic and educational opportunities. Some were lured by the promise of the land of milk and honey and racial harmony. It was said that Samoa's biggest export was its people because of the remittance they sent home and the knowledge they took back home. Pasefika people in Aotearoa hoped for a better life for their families both here and back home and I suppose, in a sense, they succeeded. However, by New Zealand standards this was, and is not, the case; most Pasefika people then and now occupy the lower socio-economic strata of society. Nevertheless through all these journeys of highs and lows, Pasefika and in particular Samoans—I speak from experience—never totally assimilated, because our parents held firm to their traditional customary knowledge and practices. They maintained our identity within a Māori and European discourse.

During the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, we were tarred with the same brown brush by the dominant discourse. If you were brown you were either Māori or Pacific, but there was no real recognition of the differences within the Pasefika communities. Government policies, both positive and negative, were geared around Pasefika people's needs or unwanted needs. For example, immigration policies were lapsed in order to allow Pasefika people to fill the industrial shortfall during New Zealand's economic crisis of the 1950s and 1960s. Then, during the 1970s, came the re-enforcement of the same immigration policies leading to the Dawn Raids. Pasefika people, mainly Samoans and Tongans, were tossed aside like used goods as New Zealand's economy grew and became more stable. Obviously, Pasefika had completed their task and now … "back to the plantation you go." Ironically, most of the over-stayers at that time were Europeans.

Much like African American activists during the civil rights movement our young Pasefika activists mobilised the community and established the Polynesian Panthers, playing the government at their own games and carrying out their own Dawn Raids on politicians. Alliances were formed between groups, for example, the Nga Tama Toa and Polynesian Panthers advocated basic human rights for their people. Societal problems such as racism, economic disparity and access to equal opportunities became a collective issue unlike today when problems seem to be internalised and singular, making simple solutions difficult to achieve. The call of many is more effective than a lone cry. Another alliance close to my heart developed during the early 1970s between the late Louisa Crawley, the late Tagaloa Osa Smith and the late Wahawaha Stirling (Te Upoko o Otautahi), who attempted to forge a closer relationship between Māori and Samoan communities. The three proposed

that a multi-cultural centre be built with a marae (Māori meeting complex) in front and a fale (Pasefika meeting house) out back, similar to that of The University of Auckland. Unfortunately the Samoan community rejected the proposal unanimously. Several years later a national marae in Otautahi was opened, Nga Hau e Wha (the Four Winds). The Four Winds expresses the gathering of many throughout the lands. Ironically, shortly after the opening, various groups in the Samoan community became regular users of the facilities.

Those of us born during the 1950s led the way in dealing with racism in all facets of New Zealand society, not only from the dominant discourse but also from Māori, especially during the 1980s and early 1990s, and that's okay because unfortunately I saw that it was a payback from the 1960s. Most of the Samoan mothers I knew in Christchurch were racist towards Māori. As a child I remember some Samoan mothers forbidding their children to participate and associate with Māori children, essentially presuming that Māori were their subordinates. I suspect that this view stems from how Māori were portrayed by Europeans, and thus these mothers did not see themselves as "local natives". In my mind especially at a young age, I could not comprehend the view held by these mothers because my own mother allowed me to make my own choices. During this period, for the first time, I heard the term "colour bar", a system of ethnic rating, for example in America. The classification would go something like this: Euro-American, African-American Hispanic and Native-American. Effectively, Native-American and Māori were seen as the bottom of the racial food chain. I soon realised, and acknowledged, that Māori suffered a double-edged wound of racism from both European and Pacific people. Having been mistaken for Māori on numerous occasions I have experienced racial abuse not only from Europeans, and other Pacific Islanders, but from my own people.

Pasefika sit outside the Treaty of Waitangi because frankly it was none of our business. However during the mid- to late-1970s and early-1990s we young Pasefika activists made it our business to support our Māori brothers and sisters in their struggles for redress. The Dawn Raids in 1974, the Land March 1975 and Bastion Point 1978, shifted my focus from international atrocities to domestic inequalities and hardships. I often wondered if the constant airing of the international outrage of apartheid in the media was a diversionary tactic to tone down the Treaty claims and the movement toward Māori sovereignty.

Looking back I felt the ripple effect of my father's words from the 1960s, and his aspiration to see both Māori and Pasefika get ahead. Motivated by the legacy, the early attitude of Samoan mothers towards Māori and my belief in a cause gave me hope for a favourable outcome. The events on campus during the mid-1990s, demonstrated to my colleagues and myself that anything was possible if we worked together towards a common belief, irrespective of nationality. Some members of the Samoan community on campus questioned my involvement with Māori, asking why. My explanation seemed like a myth to them and I quickly grew tired of defending my stance, although some joined in the struggles on campus to get the Treaty of Waitangi instilled in the Students' Association constitution. From this alliance, Kapa Kafe was formed. Our goal was to get as many Māori and Pasefika students through to graduation but more importantly to ensure that Māori students were represented in all facets of the University even at the highest level. By the mid- to late-1990s we were a formidable force to be reckoned with. Rose Parker, an education lecturer, once said: "You'll never understand Māori until you walk a mile in my shoes." While I took a few steps in Māori shoes, as a Samoan I was proud to walk beside Māori, and share their journey. Though never far from my mind was the thought that if I knock on Māori's door, would I be embraced or would I be left out in the cold?

Our parents aspired for success for their children, and never far from my mind was the idea that: "we are the children of migrant Samoans from the 1940s and 1950s, we are still visitors because our ancestral bones have their own home." Some of the children have made this country their own, contributing and participating in all sectors from arts and music to the sports arena, from academia to the corporate world. Though my ethos of pushing my people ahead has not changed, my target group has changed—to become my people, Samoans. Over the last 10 years I have endeavoured to support all things Pacific but have become selective in those whom I support. We now have Pasefika people

employed in key positions, but some tend to forget that they are there to give Pasefika a true voice. So I ask this question one final time: "Where do I sit as a New Zealand born Samoan within Aotearoa?"

Glossary

Dawn Raids	early morning raids on Pacific Island homes in Auckland from the mid-1970s to early 1980s that led to the arrest of those who had entered New Zealand on visitor or temporary permits
fale	Pasefika meeting house
marae	Māori meeting complex
Papalagi	Samoan word for people of European descent
tuakana	elder sibling

Attempting to Integrate Indigenous Traditional Knowledge of Waterways with Western Science: To Restore and Protect the Health and Well-Being of an Ancestral River

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Abstract
This short paper does not delve into the many ground-breaking features of the Waikato River Settlement. Instead, it highlights aspects of the settlement that relate to the Waikato River Independent Scoping Study. This study has assessed the current condition of the health and well-being of the Waikato River. Once completed, the study—by bringing together indigenous knowledge and Western science—will identify restoration scenarios, the costs and benefits of these, and priority actions. I begin by briefly providing some cultural contexts around fresh water, the Waikato River and the people of the river, before turning to the Waikato River Settlement. I conclude by taking the liberty to bring together some of the themes that emerged during the conference presentations I was fortunate enough to attend.

Keywords
water, freshwater, traditional knowledge, river restoration, mātauranga Māori

Cultural Contexts
Māori have a saying: "He iti te kupu, he nui te kōrero" (A word might seem small, but it often encompasses many layers of meaning). Understanding those layers can often enlighten us in terms of broader cultural contexts. The Māori word "wai" is a classic example. A deceptively small word, wai means water. Water is a taonga (treasured resource) and central to our cultural identity. Accessing clean fresh water is an issue of survival. Some consider it to be a human right. Controlling the water resource is fundamental to ensuring protection and access, and will certainly be one of the most critical battles that Māori will face in the near future. Waimāori is fresh water—as opposed to waitai, which is tidal water—and it may also mean water that belongs to Māori. On another layer, the word wai features in fundamental questions of identity asked in our culture: "Nā wai koe?" (To whom do you belong? Who is your mother your father? Or, whose waters do you flow from?). We do not ask "Ko wai koe?" (Who are you?), as this is considered impolite. Instead we ask, "Ko wai tō ingoa?" (Who is your name?). The word also appears in significant place names. Te Rerenga Wairua is located at the northern tip of Te Ika a Māui (North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand). Literally this name means the leaping place of the spirits—wairua here means spirits—encapsulating the cultural belief that spirits leave behind their worldly bodies and travel to Te Rerenga Wairua to continue their journey beyond the veil of death. Wairua here can also mean two waters. Standing at Te Rerenga Wairua, one witnesses the confluence of the Pacific Ocean and the Tasman Sea—two waters coming together.

Regardless of tribal affiliations, all Māori are inextricably bound to the waterways by virtue of whakapapa (genealogy), which derives from our creation stories. We see ourselves as direct descendants of our earth mother and sky father. We see ourselves as an integral part of nature—not just of the land, but as the land. In relation to water, the Whanganui people have a saying, "Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au" (I am the river and the river is me), which is an elegant expression of this interconnectedness.

It is our tradition to personify the natural world. The Waikato River is my ancestral river, and it has its own mauri (life force) and spiritual integrity. The river's origins are recounted in stories of life-giving water being sent by one ancestral mountain, Tongariro, to heal another, the maiden Taupiri.

According to later oral histories, the captain of the Tainui canoe, Hoturoa, observed the lively waters chopping against the side of his canoe and named the waters Waikato.

My ancestors (I am of Waikato-Tainui and Ngāti Korokī Kahukura descent) descend directly from Hoturoa, and having moved inland from the final resting place of the *Tainui* canoe at the coastal settlement of Kāwhia, they have lived on the banks of the Waikato River since the 14th century. The river provided sustenance and a transport network for the nearby villages. We are a river people. The river is deeply embedded into our collective and individual consciousness. We have many stories of heroes and villains, of battles and significant events, all commemorated in names and features along its banks (King, 1977, p. 50). We have sayings that acknowledge the river's metaphysical nature as well as the strong communities that have lived along its banks:

> Waikato taniwharau!
> He piko he taniwha, he piko he taniwha.
> (Waikato of a hundred taniwha!
> At every bend a chief, at every bend a chief.)

We take our name from the river. It is our responsibility as tribal members to protect the integrity of the river as an ancestor and as a way of life. Over generations my ancestors have developed tikanga (laws and practices) which reflect a profound respect for the Waikato River and the life within. Tikanga related to the blessing of children, of cleansing, and of healing. The river's healing powers are reflected in the words of respected elder, Te Kaapo Clark (1996, p. 1):

> Spiritually the Waikato River is constant, enduring and perpetual. It brings us peace in times of stress, relieves us from illness and pain, cleanses and purifies our bodies and souls from the many problems that surround us.

In addition to its spiritual dimension, the river was central to our survival. Tikanga also recognised that if we care for the river, the river will continue to sustain us as people. Te Kaapo Clark (Clark & Tairi, 1992) spoke of swampy lowlands and the river providing flax for weaving, and water fowl and eels for food. In the tribal domain of my people, the river and its tributaries were famous for an abundance of eels. According to oral histories, when spearing eels, people threw the little ones back. Food was not eaten right by the river but taken home. The young people were taught not to be greedy, to take only enough for a meal, and not to mistreat the river. Rāhui, (prohibition, restrictions), on fishing or other activities were imposed in defined areas to prevent fishing for a time to allow food species to rejuvenate.

Moana Jackson spoke earlier at this conference about colonisation involving a process of identity theft. We all know that it involved the theft of so much more. Lands and waters were taken, and we are all too familiar with the cultural loss, disorientation and disengagement that colonisation has also caused. Our ancestors' understanding of the river and its ecosystems, and their rights and authority, have been neglected over the many decades the Crown has assumed control of the Waikato River. Mining, farming and the development of hydro-electricity contributed to the economic growth of New Zealand, but these have also taken their toll on the health and well-being of the river. The impact of over-fishing, the introduction of predatory fish, the disturbance of migration caused by hydro-electric dams, and the inability of species to survive industrial pollution, is that river iwi (tribes) can no longer gather important food species where there was once an abundance. Apart from the tangible loss of food, knowledge of species and fishing practices has not been passed down to the next generations, which in turn results in a loss of connection between youth and the elders who possess such knowledge. It has meant a loss to our language, as the names of different species and stages of their life-cycles are no longer spoken.

I have written elsewhere (Te Aho, 2008) about the long search for redress that followed the Crown's invasion into Waikato and the massive confiscations that followed in the 1860s. The persistence of that search for some sense of justice has culminated in the Waikato Raupatu Claims

Settlement Act 1995 in relation to lands, and the Waikato-Tainui Raupatu Claims (Waikato River) Act 2010 in relation to the river. As part of the river settlement, the Crown accepts that it failed to respect, provide for and protect the special relationship that river iwi have with the river as their ancestor. It also accepts responsibility for the degradation of the river that has occurred while under Crown authority.

Waikato River Settlement

The overarching purpose of the settlement is to protect and restore the health and well-being of the Waikato River for future generations. Like many other settlements, it has been a means of restoring rights such as kaitiakitanga (guardianship of natural resources). It is beyond the scope of this short paper to delve into the many ground-breaking features of the settlement. Instead, I focus on the Waikato River Independent Scoping Study (WRISS), which is currently being completed by a team of researchers led by the National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research (NIWA) as part of the settlement (Guardians Establishment Committee, n.d.). The first milestone report of the study, The Waikato River: Current Condition and Framework for Restoration, records that human activities have degraded the health and well-being of the Waikato River. The WRISS will go on to identify restoration scenarios, the costs and benefits of these, and priority actions by bringing together indigenous knowledge and knowledge systems and Western science.

Degraded water has an impact on the ability of river iwi to carry out the activities important to us. Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) researchers—led by Dr Gail Tipa, Dr Charlotte Severne, Weno Iti and Apanui Skipper—have collated some very valuable information that, among other things, identifies what those important activities are. This mātauranga Māori will have a vital role to play in restoration. As far as we know, this is the first time that such a project has been attempted on such a scale. Around the world there are many studies relating to river restoration. Some study methods are at a catchment-wide scale, some use social science and some incorporate indigenous environmental knowledge. The Waikato River Independent Scoping Study has all those features. Its findings will be used by a decision-making body on which indigenous and non-indigenous people have an equal say.

Whilst it provides opportunities for inclusiveness, and for promoting a mutual respect for different values, aspirations, and ways of viewing the world, it also presents a number of challenges. How do you weave mātauranga Māori through every aspect of the analysis? Is it possible to integrate mātauranga Māori with economic analysis? How can you quantify intangible benefits? From whose perspective is something labelled a cost or a benefit? How can we ensure that Western science does not dominate the discourse and the language of the report? These are some of the challenges that are being worked through. Since the conference, the WRISS has been completed and will be released to the public sometime in November 2010.

I want to conclude by bringing together some of the themes from other presentations at this conference that have struck me as being particularly relevant here.

Conference Themes
Our Past Informs Our Future
A number of presenters have talked about how our past informs our future. The Guardians Establishment Committee, of which I was a member, performed a governance role in relation to the WRISS, and has looked to the past to provide a vision statement for the future restoration of the river. The vision statement is an excerpt of a lament by King Tāwhiao from the 1860s which describes the wholesome condition of the river—how it once was, and how it can be again for future generations:

> Tōku awa koiora me ōna pikonga he kura tangihia o te mātāmuri.
> (The river of life, each curve more beautiful than the last.)

Wānanga and Leadership
There has been a lot of talk about the importance of wānanga (learning forums) and leadership. Our ancestors lived in a world that is hard for us to imagine. So much has changed. Here I pay tribute to

the likes of my elder, Te Kaapo Clark of Ngāti Korokī Kahukura, who held wānanga during his lifetime to ensure that many of our stories and tikanga were not lost. He and others like him inspired my generation, many of whom are now reaping the benefits of those wānanga, in many ways. It is our generation's responsibility to continue this work. We do not require Treaty settlements or Crown funding to do so. In exercising leadership we must in turn realise that our children live in a world that we may find difficult to understand. We need to pass on our knowledge in ways that are relevant to them.

Will the House Change?

In his keynote presentation, Moana Jackson referred to the learned John Rangihau. Moana recounted Rangihau's observation that often Māori share our stories and/or our traditional knowledge only to find that it becomes something of a mere adornment, like a carving that might appear over an entranceway to a house. But the house doesn't change inside. During that keynote presentation, Moana also told a story about the G-Shock watch his mokopuna (grandchild) encouraged him to buy. The watch had so many fancy features that Moana found it almost impossible to tell the time! Such is the power of branding. How does all of this relate to restoring the Waikato River? I confess that there have been niggling concerns about how much has been made of the Waikato River Settlement as a model for other catchments and resources, largely due to the so-called "new era of co-management" that it brings about. Will the house change inside? Will decision-makers change their attitudes about the river, or at least their behaviour? Or is this another example of a powerful branding exercise? Will the settlement achieve its purpose? Can the river actually be restored for future generations? Will our mātauranga Māori, shared so enthusiastically, be given the level of recognition it deserves?

I end this paper with the optimistic view that the protagonists of this settlement have done everything possible to position Māori on the *inside* of the house to effect the change necessary to achieve the settlement's bold purpose: to restore and protect the health and well-being of the Waikato River for future generations.

Glossary

iwi	tribe
kaitiakitanga	guardianship of natural resources
mātauranga	knowledge
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
mauri	life force
mokopuna	grandchild
rāhui	prohibition, restriction
taonga	treasured resource
Te Ika a Māui	North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand
tikanga	laws and practices
wai	water
waimāori	fresh water
wairua	spirit; two waters
waitai	tidal water, sea water
wānanga	learning forums
whakapapa	genealogical relationships

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Nō Cripps, Nō Bloods Rānei?

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Abstract

This paper was researched and written as part of an advanced undergraduate Summer School research programme. The paper argues that one important dimension of Māori membership of youth gangs is the necessity for an individual to identify with their local environment in a way that makes membership of the collective culturally relevant via the medium of adapting whakapapa (the layering of genealogical ties between generations). This suggestion is predicated upon a fundamental tenet in Māori epistemology that one must have whakapapa to have meaning and place in the world in relation to all things.

From roots in the 1950s urban economic boom of post-World War II New Zealand, classic Māori gang culture first emerged in New Zealand during the 1960s. While providing a support network for its members it has largely been problematised by the majority Pākehā population. Gangs in the new millennium are now adopting new ideologies and have begun to challenge widely held perceptions about what a gang is, and what gang activities involve. A new generation of youth gangs has developed with a high percentage of Māori engaging both actively and passively. Gangs have been described by members and academics alike, as giving Māori a whānau environment upon which tuakana–teina (elder–junior) structures and solidarity have been built. In this study, we show that as gangs have evolved, the reasons for gang association have also evolved, to the extent that Māori in particular, are associating with gangs to fill identity gaps created by colonisation, urbanisation, racism, structural marginalisation and cumulative intergenerational impoverishment. The latter removed new generations of Māori from immediate connections to traditional whakapapa in mainly rural homeland marae (tribal meeting grounds) to new pan-culturalist identities in urban areas, which evolved, transformed and adapted, creating new whakapapa identities in youth gang environments.

Keywords

gangs, whakapapa, youth, urbanisation, identity

Whakapapa

Whakapapa is central to Māori epistemology. Whakapapa literally translated means "to place layer upon layer" (Williams, 1971), which describes the use of whakapapa as a medium to display one's genealogical ties between multiple generations. Whakapapa is used to describe relationships between people and objects in order to be able to locate one's self in time and space, and thus to identify one's self. Walker (1978) suggests that implicit in whakapapa are the ideas of "orderliness, sequence, evolution, and progress". For Roberts (1998) whakapapa helps one to associate with land, the "foundation" of the Māori social structure, while also "being able to locate something in time and in space". Mead (2003) says that one's attachment and association to the land and its immediate surroundings is what shapes a person's world view and are key to determining one's position within or without society, and what that position was. Taonui (2005) argues that whakapapa is a paradynamic framework which connects all things in creation including the animate and inanimate forms of the phenomenological world, the terrestrial and spiritual worlds, the known and unknown, and which explains the relationships between them.

For the purposes of this paper, the recitation of whakapapa enables one to identify one's self in relation to geographical markers such as mountains, rivers and land in general, and to establish one's position or particular place within their extended family unit, and within their tribal unit. It would be fair to say then, that it is more than knowing one's heritage and from whom one is descended; just as

importantly, whakapapa is concerned with a need to identify with all things in one's environment, and is viewed as being central to Māori culture and practices.

Defining Gangs

Gangs, in general, were first studied in the United States in 1927 by Thrasher. His definition arises from the way in which gangs form:

> The gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously, and then integrated through conflict. It is characterised by the following types of behaviour: meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict, and planning. The result of this collective behaviour is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to a local territory. (p. 46)

Thrasher's definition highlights the association with a collective by using the term unit, and also describes the relationship to land through "local territory". For the purposes of this research, the definition of Gilbert (2006) is used as a definition of a youth gang:

> A group of youths, often from disadvantaged backgrounds, with loose structure, a common identifier (colours, a name, hand signals, etc), whose activities are not primarily criminal but involve (mostly) petty crimes, and who see themselves as a gang and are identified as such by others in the community. (p. 3)

Taonui and Newbold (2010, forthcoming) add that gangs are associations of the alienated; in particular ethnic or indigenous gangs are associations of those who have been economically, politically, culturally and socially alienated as a result of colonisation, urbanisation, marginalisation and concomitant racism and physical and ideological subjugation.

Gang Adaptation and Development

Modern youth gangs place a definitive emphasis on new ways of stating identity. The seeds of New Zealand youth gangs can first be seen emerging during the 1950s when youths gathered together and rode around on motorcycles (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). These gangs comprised mainly European adolescent males from working class and poor families (Levett, 1959). The 1960s saw "more structurally mature gangs" (Ministry of Social Development, 2008) emerge due to overwhelming media coverage of gangs and their structures in the United States. Increasing ethnic groups during the 1970s saw more gangs emerge and gangs became criminal. During this time, Māori-based gangs such as Black Power and the Mongrel Mob emerged. There was mass media coverage of gangs at this time, which led to increased gang recruitment and retention (Gilbert, 2006). Intergenerational involvement in gangs occurred during the 1980s around several established gangs with original gang members introducing their children to gang life (Gilbert, 2006). Gangs also turned to engaging in profit-driven crime. The 1990s saw gangs become more heavily involved in illegal dealings as they changed from territorial gangs to organised groups among whom drug importation, cultivation, manufacture and dealings became more widespread. Since 2000, youth gang culture has evolved in New Zealand, influenced by youth street gangs in the United States and hip hop culture (Gilbert & Newbold, 2006). A commonly held view is that all people involved in hip hop culture are involved in youth gang culture, but this is not the case. They are two distinct cultures, with a minority of shared participants. The activity of youth gangs could be criminal, but has a strong tendency to be based purely around a need to seek fun and excitement (Gilbert, 2006).

After looking at the evolution of gangs and the production of youth gangs in New Zealand, it is interesting to note the evolution of a change in membership of these social constructs from predominantly European to predominantly Māori and Pacific Islander. One reason for this dramatic shift can be attributed to the urban migration by Māori after World War II (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). This migration saw the percentage of Māori living in urban cities more than double from 17% to 44% over 20 years (Thorns & Sedgewick, 1997). The reasons for this urban migration are centred on the economic boom New Zealand experienced post World War II, which

drew Māori to the cities in search of work, generally low paying manual labouring positions (Walker, 1992). During the 1970s, an economic crisis struck the country and severely hit blue collar workers and, in particular, Māori. New Zealand's urban make-up had changed so dramatically that New Zealand as a nation was not ready for this crisis (Gilbert & Newbold, 2006).

Also during this time, the now urban Māori were doubly alienated, first because it was difficult to maintain links with the rural centres of Māori culture (Walker, 1992), and secondly because they were rejected by dominant Pākehā who also subjected them to racism and assimilation. Māori resisted and adapted to this treatment by other means; for example, through the establishment of urban often pan-tribal marae. Māori were also systematically marginalised in relation to European New Zealand by European New Zealanders; in particular, through educational participation. This marginalisation was identified as early as 1961 in the Hunn Report which showed that Māori were not achieving as highly as Europeans in their education system. Unfortunately, that report, which recommended greater efforts at assimilation, ignored the key contributing factors of social marginalisation; that is, economic depression, and social and cultural alienation and dislocation experienced by Māori.

These conditions created the perfect environment in which gangs would thrive, so that Māori participation within these social creations would be likely to increase. Even though the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team argues that Māori did not have regular exposure to the marae, it contradicts itself by saying that many urban Māori returned to marae for tangihanga, arguably one of the most important cultural practices belonging to Māori (Te Hoe Nuku Roa, 1998). Key to this discussion, however, was that Māori chose to adopt gang cultural practices. These practices were not forced upon them but accessibility was made easy; for example, through mass media coverage. The gang culture provided similar structures that Māori have known and experienced for hundreds of years, such as whanaungatanga (relatedness, the establishing of relationships) or collective identity, cohesiveness and solidarity. Māori adopted and modified originally socially excluded European working class gang structures by integrating aspects of Māori culture. The definitions provided by Mead (2003) and by Roberts (1998) about whakapapa and the relationship to the land, and other definitions mentioned earlier, open the opportunity for discussion around what is in common between these culturally separate—gangs and Māori culture—and to what extent.

Whakapapa has been described as being able "to locate something in time and in space". Thrasher's definition of a gang describes a unit moving together as one, or as Roberts (1998) would put it, the locality of the person within the space. Gilbert's (2006) analysis of gang members sharing a common identifier, such as a common colour, is not very different to the idea of whakapapa in that people share common identity through a common ancestral figure. Upon seeing the colour red on several youths grouped together moving as a unit through time and space, one might knowingly draw on that group's association to Bloods. In a similar way, descendants of Porourangi when united as one "unit" at some sort of gathering (thus knowing their position within time and in space, and each other's positions), would sing their famous tribal anthem of Paikea. In these examples, collective units (the youth gang and the tribe) know their position at that time, have a common identifier (colour and ancestor respectively), and express their whakapapa, or identity, in relation to one another and others around them by moving as one and acting as one. They do, however, act in distinctly different ways. Ngāti Porou, for example, share the common identifier through ancestry whereas the youth gangs have the ability to choose their common identifier; this means that for gangs there is no distinct linear transmission of the identifier as is the case with descendants of Porourangi. However, the underlying principles are to an extent similar. Both Māori participants in youth gang culture and Māori culture express their positions in relation to others by signalling who they are and who they are not. Youth gangs would do this by simply wearing their colours and/or patches; these clearly signal to other youth gang participants which gang someone belongs to. Opposing youth gangs would be easier to identify than opposing iwi, who share an historical battle over a piece of land. Thus the whakapapa of youth gangs and Māori in the traditional sense, are in fact different, yet share similar qualities such as strong associations to land.

There is also the notion that whakapapa provides holistic connections and ties to land. Māori most commonly express these holistic connections through the medium of pepeha (tribal aphorisms) whereby one acknowledges geographical features associated with one's tribal homeland. Pepeha are used in a wide variety of oratory mediums and are common in songs and whaikōrero (speech making). For example, someone from Waikato could signal their connection to that area by saying: "Waikato taniwha rau, he piko, he taniwha, he piko, he taniwha" (Waikato with a hundred demons, for every bend, there is a demon). This particular pepeha describes the geographical features of the Waikato River and the history behind it, and is similar to how youth gang participants describe their association to their gang turf(s) through association to particular suburbs by naming streets with a strong connection to particular gangs. For example, in Christchurch, the Cripps youth gang is associated with Aranui, but it is through Hampshire Street that the affiliation to the land is made—much in the way that through its river Waikato is affiliated to the Waikato region. This connection is not overtly displayed by youth gangs or made as obvious as it is in pepeha; but through other mediums the connection is overtly displayed and communicated, as in general communication between gang participants, where the majority of gang activities take place. The key here is that from a Māori epistemological viewpoint, there is an association to land which stems from whakapapa. The only difference in the context of youth gangs is that it is through a different expression that the connections and affiliations with land (which still stem from whakapapa) are communicated.

Youth gangs also display attributes of whakapapa in the genealogical sense. A study by Eggleston (2000) highlighted that many youth gang participants have had older family members such as parents, or in some cases grandparents, involved in gangs such as the Mongrel Mob and Black Power. Such links reinforce the idea of whakapapa for some by providing descending genealogical patterns whereby one can acknowledge family ties and connections to possibly a number of gangs and hence Walker's definition of whakapapa containing "orderliness, sequence, evolution, and progress" (1978). This enhances the concepts of whānau and tūrangawaewae (a place to which one belongs) within the larger collective unit, creating solidarity among various participants, much in the way that descendants of Awanuiarangi can be from different collectives, in this case, Te Ati Awa and Ngāti Awa. Thus, in some cases, youth gangs have a linear genealogy whereby they cannot choose their whakapapa.

Urbanisation allowed Māori the opportunity to disengage, adapt, or completely reinvent the notion of Māori culture. One must be aware that any form of whakapapa that is created, socially and artificially, can never be a true representation of whakapapa. Nevertheless, the fact that Māori have taken the underlying blueprints of whakapapa and transported them from a rural to an urban environment is an achievement in itself. The suggestion that whakapapa can be a reason for Māori choosing to participate in youth gangs and their activities, seems credible. This essay has highlighted some strong, solid, correlations between whakapapa in the contexts of Māori identity and youth gang identity. The concepts and social constructs discussed in this essay are founded on the presence of whakapapa. This allows Māori to create urban socially constructed identities informed strongly by the epistemology of whakapapa. It could be argued that the cultural and traditional orientation of contemporary Māori identity can support all types of people who are unable to identify in terms of cultural ideology and epistemology based primarily around whakapapa. Thus Māori are enabled to regain their sense of identity and belonging, which whakapapa allows, while also providing flexibility in the way that whakapapa is portrayed. Although there are distinct differences in the portrayal of whakapapa between youth gang culture and Māori culture, they both share a common foundation which has allowed for the growth of a distinct variation of whakapapa. It may be expressed in a relaxed, less obvious manner, which has allowed the social constructions that youth gangs are, to evolve naturally with their own distinct culture and practices. With strong involvement and participation by Māori who have been alienated from their traditional environment, the production of a social construction where whakapapa is present to a degree is inevitable.

Glossary

marae	communal meeting grounds
pepeha	tribal saying or proverb

tuakana–teina	older sibling–younger sibling relationship
tūrangawaewae	a place to stand, ancestral land
whakapapa	the layering of genealogical ties between generations
whaikōrero	oratory, speech making
whānau	family, extended family
whanaungatanga	relatedness, the establishing of relationships

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Aromarau:
An Indigenous Self-Review and Assessment Tool

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Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

Abstract

Aromarau is a newly developed approach to programme self-review at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. This approach is grounded in āhuatanga (ways) and tikanga (practices) Māori, and promotes mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). At the same time, it is rigorous and stands up to external scrutiny and the requirements of a publicly-funded, tertiary education provider. The process itself—in terms of gathering, analysing and evaluating programme-related data in order to provide recommendations for improvement—is fairly typical and can be found in other evaluative methods. What sets aromarau apart from other tools is its grounding in kaupapa wānanga, that is, a set of takepū (applied principles) that guide our practice.

Ngā takepū are: kaitiakitanga (caring for, responsible trusteeship), āhurutanga (safety, nurturing space, to make the world a better space), koha (contributions of consequence), and mauri ora (well-being, realising fullest potential). This paper briefly discusses ngā takepū kaupapa wānanga, and demonstrates how these applied principles affect the activity and outcomes of aromarau.

Keywords

indigenous, education, evaluation, self-review, wānanga

Introduction

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWoA) is constantly reflecting on our own practices as an indigenous tertiary education provider. We are keenly aware of our kaupapa, mission, and values, and are constantly reclaiming our spaces and positions in order to ensure that we are guided by āhuatanga (ways) and tikanga (practices) Māori. In this way, we support the needs and aspirations of our ākonga (students), and promote mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). At the same time, we must ensure that we meet legislative and governmental requirements placed on us as a publicly-funded institution— requirements which are sometimes in stark contrast to our ways of knowing, doing and being.

One approach being developed which has so far been successful in supporting those ways of knowing, doing and being, and promoting tino rangatiratanga (self-determination)—in ways that are rigorous and stand up to external scrutiny—is a method of programme self-review and assessment called "aromarau". Aromarau is a neologism created by combining the words "aromatawai", meaning "to self-reflect or self-assess", and "marau", meaning "programmes or curriculum". The term aromatawai in the context of TWoA is a beautiful word that has reflection inherent in its meaning— within a clear and undisturbed pool of water one can see one's own reflection and take time to think and assess. Aromatawai guides us to take the time to reflect within an environment that is free from prejudice, to gain clarity of purpose in review and self-assessment activity, which contributes to a natural state of learning. The term relates to the applied principle of āhurutanga as described in the kaupapa wānanga framework. The aromarau process, in terms of gathering, analysing and evaluating programme-related data in order to provide recommendations for improvement, is fairly typical and can be found in other evaluative methods. What sets it apart from other tools is its grounding in kaupapa wānanga; a set of takepū that guide our practice.

Ngā takepū are: kaitiakitanga, āhurutanga, koha and mauri ora. When we apply these principles to our reflective practice, the responsibility to aromarau (to reflect on and improve our programmes) becomes a shared one, in which the mana (authority) to be able to effect and implement these changes rests equally on all those who have invested in a programme. Likewise, the drive to engage in aromarau is something which is internally driven (that is, by the self) rather than externally imposed (either by management or by parties external to TWoA).

This paper briefly discusses ngā takepū, kaupapa wānanga, elaborating on how these takepū can apply in evaluation practice and beyond. It demonstrates how these applied principles affect the activity and outcomes of aromarau, through the sharing of a document called *He Koha Aromarau: A Quick Guide*, which is the summarised resource designed to support kaitiaki (those in responsibility) in their aromarau activities.

Kaitiakitanga can most simply be defined as "guardianship". It refers to responsible trusteeship, whether in terms of job, whānau (family), iwi (tribe), or any aspect of life for which a person has responsibilities. Kaitiakitanga implies an obligation to care for those around us as well as the environment, and to act accordingly. When a person feels responsibility as a kaitiaki, he or she is internally motivated, and meets responsibilities because of that inherent desire to care, protect and support rather than because of any external motivation such as a job description or key performance indicators (KPIs).

Āhurutanga can be defined as warmth and comfort. It is used in social work practice to mean the creation of a safe space. It refers to the individual's need to be protected and to be safe in order to grow, develop, and blossom. Āhurutanga depends on relationships of trust, supportive and empowering employment structures and processes, and strong, healthy communication practices. In aromarau practice, āhurutanga can also refer to physical time and space being made available in order to do justice to a task. For example, taking the time to sit down for a cup of tea and a kōrero (conversation) may be more suitable for a task than an email.

A koha is commonly known as a gift or donation. The act of koha can also be referred to as a contribution of consequence. Inherent in koha, as an applied principle, is generosity and a desire to contribute in ways that benefit those around us. Koha enables individuals in a workplace or project to ask themselves, "what can I koha?" and offer to contribute in ways in which they are particularly skilled or experienced, without fear of being considered whakahīhī (proud or vain). It also enables us to accept criticism in the way it is often intended—as a gift for our benefit—rather than as an insult or something to cause us to act defensively.

Mauri ora is a term with many deep meanings. For this purpose it refers to well-being and the conscious pursuit of such. Mauri ora can mean realising one's fullest potential and is something we should be keenly aware of promoting, for ourselves and those around us. We can also be aware of the mauri ora of a whānau, a team, a project, a programme or a place. Mauri ora can be used as a lens through which we pass our activities, asking ourselves if that activity supports the mauri ora of those involved.

The next sections provide a summarised, reference version of a much larger resource designed to support the kaitiaki who engage with aromarau. Rather than discuss concepts academically which we feel are best understood in practice, the authors have chosen to share this document 1) as an example of ngā takepū in action, as it is both structured and written in kaupapa wānanga; and 2) as a koha, for the reader to use, change, and share in any way that might be of value.
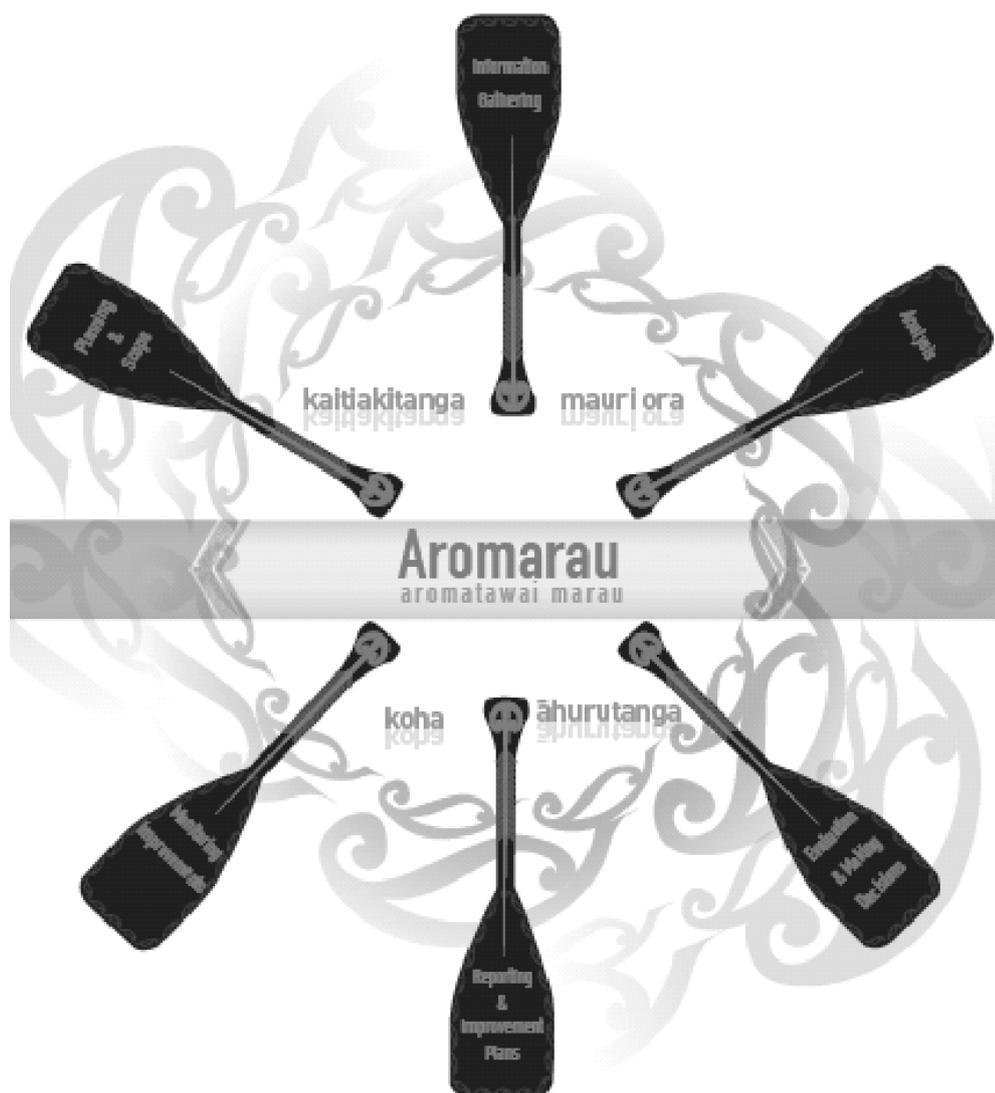
Figure 1. Elements of Aromarau.

Aromarau is the TWoA answer to programme self-assessment. Aromarau celebrates rohe (region) and kaiako (teacher)-driven self-assessment activity by placing those kaitiaki most connected to the marau closest to the aromarau process. Aromarau is a collaborative space, which is rohe driven and head-office serviced. This quick guide is a reference only as you engage with aromarau. Please go to the aromarau space on Te Kete for more in-depth information.

This resource is shaped using kaupapa wānanga. The Āhurutanga are the spaces of the aromarau. The Mauri Ora sections outline the benefits and outcomes. The Kaitiaki sections ask us to consider who best to engage with in this space, and the Koha sections suggest tools and resources which may support your aromarau activities.

Ngā Kaitiaki
Kaitiakitanga and engaging the right kaitiaki is crucial in aromarau. Different kaitiaki bring different experiences and perspectives because of their varied ways of engaging with the programme; this is sometimes more about roles and positions and other times more about relationships. Below is a list of possible kaitiaki.

kaiako (facilitator)

kaiako matua (lead tutor)
academic advisor
kaiārahi (kaitiaki of programmes)
regional academic manager
regional operations manager
regional manager
student support services team leader
student support advisor
external kaitiaki
aromarau coordinator
kaiwhakahanga marau (te punga developers)

As you enter each space, you may want to return to this list to ensure that your aromarau is inclusive and robust.

Planning and Scope: Whakaritea te Papa hei Oranga mō te Kākano (Prepare the Earth So the Seed Will Grow)

Āhurutanga
In this space in your aromarau, you do the groundwork to ensure that your aromarau is successful and that your recommendations carry weight. Being clear on the scope of your aromarau will ensure that it does not become too unwieldy or difficult to manage. We suggest that a scope with more than 1 to 3 areas of focus may simply become too big!

Kaitiakitanga
Who will be on the team to lead this aromarau? Look back at the list above to make sure you consider all possible kaitiaki.

Mauri Ora
In your planning and scoping, mauri ora may be supported for ākonga, kaiako, the programme and our whānau whānui (wider family) in these ways:

Tino rangatiratanga—as we decide for ourselves what areas take priority for aromarau.
Success—good planning ensures a smooth journey.
Opportunity—to recognise kaitiaki skills.
Pono (truth)—as we deal with the tricky questions.
Empowerment—as we provide kaitiaki with improvement responsibilities with clear tasks and time frames, we enable them to succeed.
Whakawhanaungatanga (relationships)—in this space new relationships may be formed, and old ones may be strengthened.

Koha
When planning broadly and in detail, you could focus on:

marau
assessments
modules structure
workbooks/book of readings
learner resources
kaiako–ākonga ratio
contact time
communication
learner support/needs
kaiako support/needs
physical learning environment
marketing resources
delivery practices
kaiako skill enhancements

strategic direction
research support & outcomes

Information Gathering: Kia Kanohi Hōmiromiro (Have an Eye to the Finest Detail)
Āhurutanga
The information gathering space is about collecting as much relevant information as possible, leaving no stone unturned and making sure all the right questions are asked of the right people.

Kaitiakitanga
Should anyone else be brought into the team at this stage? Look back at the list to make sure you consider all possible kaitiaki.

Mauri Ora
When gathering information, mauri ora may be supported for ākonga, kaiako, the programme and our whānau whānui in these ways:

> Titiro (seeing)—true insight into the thinking, aspirations and experience of our ākonga.
> Adding skills to your kete (bag)—kaitiaki may have the chance to experience forms of information gathering that are new to them.
> Pono—as we are open minded to the views of others from our various realities.
> Whakarongo (listening)—kaitiaki are empowered as their voices are heard and valued.

Koha
To support you in the Information Gathering space, we offer possible information gathering sources and methods. You will also have your own ideas.

Possible sources of information	Possible information gathering methods
Kaitiaki	Conversations
Te Kete reports/Pivot tables	Hui
Rākaunui	Interviews
Take 2 System	Focus groups
Whirirautaki	Questionnaires & surveys
Programme whakapapa	Review questions
Previous aromarau reports	Small Group Instructional Diagnosis—
Self/peer evaluations by kaitiaki	SGID
Budget reports	
Student support reports	
Moderation reports	
Degree monitor reports	
Aronoa reports	
Komiti Āwhina minutes	

Analysis: Kohia te Iti, Kohia te Nui, Ka Puta ko te Pai (In Considering the Small Things and the Big Things, the Outcome Is Good)

Āhurutanga

In the analysis space we take all the information that has been gathered and make sense of it. Analysis is the process of breaking something into smaller parts to gain a better understanding of it. It is the *thinking* process that takes place after gathering information, and it invites discussions around cause, impact, consequences.

Kaitiakitanga

Should anyone else be brought into the team at this stage? Look back at the list to make sure you consider all possible kaitiaki. Is it time to bring in a peer evaluator or critical friend who has not been part of the team so far but who will bring a fresh critical eye to the mahi (work)?

Koha

To support you as you analyse, the following is paraphrased from the Analysis page of www.rangahau.co.nz. Go to that site to read more on analysis. The full resource, He Koha Aromarau, gives much more detail on these tools.

Analysis of Qualitative Data

This is the type of data which is collected through interviews, focus groups and SGIDs. The process of analysis of this kind of information is about the quality and content of the data rather than the quantity of data or responses.

Analysis of Quantitative Data

This is the type of data which includes numbers, figures, and is collected through quantities of responses or observations. The most basic form of analysis of quantitative data is a process of counting up data.

Some other analytical tools are:

six sigma
cause and effect matrix
control charts
SWOT
root cause
mapping techniques

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Mauri ora

In your analysis, we see the following ways that mauri ora may be supported for ākonga, kaiako, the programme and our whānau whānui:

> Pono—as you gain a complete view of the performance of the programme, based on fact rather than assumptions or opinions.
> Titiro—seeing things for the way they really are. Being real.
> Empowerment—as we analyse we have evidence to support positive change.
> Adding skills to your kete—as we learn and practise and hone our analytical skills. Evaluation and making decisions.

Evaluation and Making Decisions: Me Mārama ki Muri, Me Mārama ki Mua (To Move Forward, We Look to the Learnings of the Past)

Āhurutanga

In this space we take the analysed data, evaluate it, and use it to inform decisions about the programme. This is a process of further synthesis; filtering and prioritising information in order to create an improvement plan. Evaluation is to judge the value of the analysed information, and assess it based on our values and a set of agreed criteria. It is the result of our informed thinking; the conclusion we come to after we consider all the information at hand, and the analysis of it.

Kaitiakitanga

Should anyone else be brought into the team at this stage? Look back at the under the heading "Ngā Kaitiaki" to make sure you consider all possible kaitiaki. Support from kaitiaki across TWoA may be required here. For instance, some decisions may have fiscal consequence. Hence, the importance of keeping all kaitiaki informed along the way.

Koha

To support you as you evaluate, consider your role as an indigenous evaluator, and how that might affect the way in which you evaluate and make decisions.

Mauri ora

As you make informed decisions, mauri ora may be supported for ākonga, kaiako, the programme and our whānau whānui in these ways:

> Growth—decisions may identify opportunities for kaitiaki development.
> Tino rangatiratanga—the opportunity to make decisions supports our desire to be masters of our own house.
> Wellness for our ākonga—by making decisions that best suit their aspirations and realities.
> Empowerment—as we give voice to kaitiaki who usually are not decision makers.
> Pono—as we are realistic and prioritise improvements that can and should be made.

Reporting and Improvement Plans: Ko Ō Whakaaro, Ko Ōku Whakaaro, Ka Ora te Iwi (Your Thoughts and My Thoughts Bring Life to the People)
Āhurutanga

In this space you take the decisions that have been made, assign mahi to kaitiaki, set time frames for improvements to occur, and feed this information to all the people who need to know. This is an exciting space because it is your opportunity to share your journey, the voices of all kaitiaki, and effect self-determined change. And you get to do this in the way that feels most right to you.

Kaitiakitanga

Who is best placed to write this report? Who will action each point in the improvement plan be assigned to? Should anyone else be brought into the team at this stage? Look back at the list under the heading "Ngā Kaitiaki" to make sure you consider all possible kaitiaki.

Mauri Ora

In your reporting and improvement activity, mauri ora may be supported for ākonga, kaiako, the programme and our whānau whānui in these ways:

> Safety—this is an opportunity to protect ourselves through robust evidence of our aromarau activity.
> Mana—our robust reporting affirms our mana; our right and ability to self-evaluate.
> Empowerment—as we provide kaitiaki with improvement responsibilities, and clear tasks and time frames, we empower them to succeed.
> Tino rangatiratanga—as we report in our own ways/ways that are tika (correct) for us.
> Āhurutanga—to explore creative ways of sharing information and telling our stories.

Koha—Reporting

Here are some suggested methods of reporting; you will also have other ideas to add:
> reporting using kaupapa wānanga
> reporting through stories
> written standard
> arotika reporting framework
> tauira (student) footprint reporting

Koha—Improvement Plans

Writing an improvement plan is a fairly straightforward activity. Remember to focus on and articulate clearly the WHO, the WHAT and the WHEN. Also we suggest you break each task down into achievable chunks; making it clear what steps need to be taken to achieve each improvement point.

Monitoring Improvements: Kia Matatū, Kia Tika, Kia Pono (Be Watchful, Be Honest, Be True)

Āhurutanga

We cannot emphasise enough the importance of the monitoring space. If we do such awesome mahi (work) in all the other spaces and then let the monitoring of those changes slide, we are doing ourselves and our ākonga a real disservice. Monitoring the changes to your programme as informed by the aromarau is the key to a successful aromarau.

Kaitiakitanga

This space lists kaitiaki who may be responsible for monitoring the actions from your improvement plan. We suggest that the tasks may be shared between kaitiaki, but that one kaitiaki is made responsible for tracking these actions overall. If responsibility is shared too widely it becomes more likely that improvements will slip through the cracks.

The Role of Arotika in Monitoring

Please send your improvement plans to Arotika for national analysis. With their bird's-eye-view, Arotika can identify any national trends which may need to influence change to policy or process.

Mauri Ora

In your reporting and improvement activity, mauri ora may be supported for ākonga, kaiako, the programme and our whānau whānui in these ways:

> Change—At last! Change has been brought about by the aromarau. This is mauri ora in action.
> Empowerment—as we provide kaitiaki with monitoring responsibilities with clear tasks and time frames, we empower them to succeed.
> NOA (naturally occurring activity and/or assessment)—monitoring improvements allows you to observe change as it is implemented, and to evaluate the effectiveness of those changes. This leads to continual, naturally occurring aromarau.

Koha

Congratulations! You have now managed to navigate your way through the various spaces of the aromarau. As improvements to the programme are monitored, you will see real, concrete, visible change which will support the mauri ora of the programme, ākonga, and kaiako. Please, do celebrate and share with others across the motu (country)!

Simple conversations as you go about your day-to-day mahi can be a real koha to our whānau who are just embarking on the aromarau huarahi (journey). Give others the gift of sharing your successes and learning from your experience so that they can have confidence in their own ability to effect change through aromarau.

Koha is, after all, a kaitiaki obligation as we move in and out of āhurutanga in our mutual ongoing pursuit of mauri ora.

Papakupu: Glossary

This papakupu is designed to help you understand some of the kupu (words) and key concepts referred to in this resource. These kupu have multiple meanings across multiple contexts. In this resource, these terms are described within the realities of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. Included in the glossary are *neologisms*, newly coined words that are in the process of entering common use in TWoA and are created to help articulate a wānanga way of understanding our day to day activity. They are identified here, and take root meanings from te reo Māori (Māori language) to create kupu Māori (Māori words) for TWoA usage.

āhuatanga	ways
āhurutanga	safety, nurturing space, to make the world a better place
ākonga	student/learner
aromarau (neologism)	aromatawai marau
	programme self-assessment activity and system
aromarau coordinator	Aromarau champions, rohe (region) based
aromatawai	to self-reflect or self-assess
	Self-assessment activity across TWoA
	The term *aromatawai* in the context of TWoA is a beautiful word that has reflection inherent in its meaning—within a clear and undisturbed pool of water one can see one's own reflection and take time to think and assess. *Aromatawai* guides us to take the time to reflect within an environment that is free from prejudice, to gain clarity of purpose in review and self-assessment activity, which contributes to a natural state of learning. The term relates to the applied principle of *āhurutanga* as described in the kaupapa wānanga framework.
aroNOA (neologism)	TWoA moderation activity and system
arotika (neologism)	Aromatawai i ngā tikanga o Te Wānanga o Aotearoa
	Documentation setting out all aspects of a programme of learning
	Arotika functions to provide national data analysis and organise aromatawai activity across TWoA
huarahi	journey
iwi	tribe
kaiārahi	kaitiaki of programmes
kaiako	facilitator, teacher
kaiako matua	lead tutor
kaitiakitanga	caring for, responsible trusteeship
kaiwhakahanga marau	te punga developers
Kaupapa Wānanga	The HOW TO of Te Kaupapa o Te Wānanga o Aotearoa; a tool for embracing and inviting te ao Māori practices, thinking, and behaviours into what we do in TWoA.
kete	bag

koha	making contributions of consequence
Komiti Āwhina	External stakeholder advisory committee, which supports the functioning, quality, relevance review and development of a programme
kōrero	conversations
kupu	words
mahi	work
mana	authority
marau	curriculum or subject area
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
mauri ora	well-being, realising fullest potential
motu	country
NOA	naturally occurring activity and/or assessment
pono	truth
Te Puna Mātauranga	National Support Services for programme delivery, ākonga and kaiako
Te Punga	Kaitiaki of programme development
te reo Māori	Māori language
tika	correct
tikanga	practices
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
titiro	seeing
whakahīhī	proud or vain
whakarongo	listening
whakawhanaungatanga	relationships
whānau	family
whānau whānui	wider family
Whirirautaki	Kaitiaki of document control, programme evaluation, and He Reo Ākonga

Indigenous Knowledge: Documentation and Dissemination: Challenges in the New Millennium

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Abstract

This paper describes what indigenous knowledge (IK) is and why it is important in the development process. Experience has shown that development efforts that ignore local technologies, local systems of knowledge and the local environment generally fail to achieve the desired objectives. Though IK has gained importance in all the development activities internationally, certain critical issues that are fundamental to the development of indigenous people need to be answered. The important questions are: Whose knowledge is it? For whom? Who will benefit? We should not fail to mention the methods of providing indigenous people access to the documented information. Unless these questions are answered, the current concern for IK will be rhetoric by outsiders, for outsiders. This paper elaborates on collection and documentation, recording, storage and dissemination issues; highlights IK, ICT (information and communication technology) and intellectual property rights; and mentions the recommendations of the International Council for Science and the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) for the conservation, access and use of IK.

Keywords

indigenous knowledge, capturing, documentation, preservation, dissemination

Introduction

Indigenous knowledge (IK) refers to the unique, traditional, local knowledge existing within—and developed around—the specific conditions indigenous to a particular geographic area. The development of IK systems covers all aspects of life, including management of the natural environment. Such knowledge systems are cumulative, representing generations of experiences, careful observations and trial-and-error experiments. It is traditional, not because it is old but because it is created in a manner that reflects the traditions of communities, and relates therefore not to the nature of the knowledge itself but to the way in which that knowledge is created, preserved and disseminated.

Indigenous knowledge is stored in people's memories and activities and is expressed in stories, songs, folklore, proverbs, dances, myths, cultural values, beliefs, rituals, community laws, local language and taxonomy, agricultural practices, equipment, materials, plant species and animal breeds. Indigenous knowledge is shared and communicated orally, by specific example and through culture. Indigenous forms of communication and organisation are vital to local-level decision-making processes and to the preservation, development and spread of IK.

Experience has shown that development efforts that ignore local technologies, local systems of knowledge and the local environment generally fail to achieve desired objectives.

Why is IK Important?

Indigenous knowledge is important because it provides problem-solving strategies for local communities, especially for the poor; represents an important contribution to global development knowledge; IK systems are at risk of becoming extinct; is relevant for the development process; and is an under-utilised resource in the development process.

Applying IK in the Development Process

Indigenous knowledge is applied in the development process by raising awareness of the importance of IK among development partners; advocating the use of IK in programmes and projects; establishing partnerships; and helping in the learning of lessons from local communities and NGOs (workshops, conferences and seminars).

Why Should the Development Community Promote IK?

Learning from IK can help the development community to improve their understanding of local conditions and increase responsiveness to clients; by adapting international practices to local conditions, we can improve the impact and sustainability of our work. The International Council for Science (2006) has established recommendations for conserving and utilising indigenous and traditional knowledge. These are to:

> Ensure the full and equal participation of traditional knowledge holders during all stages of development plans, programmes and policies.
> Acknowledge and respect the social and cultural bases within which traditional knowledge is embedded.
> Recognise the rights of traditional people to own, access and realise benefits of their knowledge resources and systems.
> Promote models for environmental and sustainable governance that establish principles of effective and equal partnership between scientific and traditional knowledge.

> International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) recognises that the character of indigenous traditional knowledge does not lend itself to print, electronic or audiovisual means of recording. In order to ensure IKs continuing preservation, access and elaboration, IFLA recommends that libraries and archives: (a) implement programmes to collect, preserve and disseminate; (b) make available and promote information resources which support research and learning, and its importance and use in modern society; (c) publicise the value, contribution and importance for both non-indigenous and indigenous peoples; (d) involve elders and communities in the production of resources, and teaching children to understand and appreciate the traditional knowledge background and sense identity that is associated with IK systems; (e) urge governments to ensure the exemption from value-added taxes of books and other recording media on IK; and (f) encourage the recognition of principles of intellectual property to ensure the proper protection and use of IK and products derived from it.

National Institute of Rural Development Initiatives

The National Institute of Rural Development (NIRD) in Hyderabad, India, has felt an urgent need for an extensive collection of IK and a rural technology database which would benefit potential entrepreneurs. A pro forma was designed to elicit information from IK generators, transfer agencies and individuals, and letters were sent to several hundred institutions and individuals. At the same time a press release through newspapers, and science and other magazines publicised activity, enabling IK developers and inventors to send their information in. The result was a strengthened IK base and transfer mechanism with a focus on cost effectiveness and a sustained market. Some of the technologies were documented and published in the form of a four-volume directory, which covers technologies related to building and variety development, the cultivation of aromatic and medicinal plants, biotechnology, fisheries, energy, food products, fruit-based industries, waste water treatment, forestry, jute and jute products, knowledge technology, mushroom farming, post-harvest technology, water conservation and purification and other miscellaneous topics.

Steps in IK Information Collection and Dissemination

Indigenous knowledge systems in rural communities are rarely documented. It is believed that IK has much to offer and teach the world at large, and only by research and documentation can it be preserved and made available to development workers worldwide and its uses exploited. International databases and libraries are being established (Warren, von Liebenstein & Slikkerveer, 1993, p. 1).

According to Warren et al. (1993, p. 3), functions of the international IK information sources include: providing a central forum for published and unpublished information and data on IK for use by development practitioners; the development and distribution of training materials on the methodologies for recording IK systems; and the establishment of a link between the citizens of a country who are the originators of IK and the development community.

Collection of IK

Subject experts, together with information professionals, need to contribute their expertise to this endeavour. Sources are collected artifacts, indigenous practices, Ola leaf manuscripts, stone inscriptions, photographs and the owners of such knowledge. Many owners of IK will not want to share them with outsiders. There are beliefs with relation to certain indigenous practices; for example, if the knowledge is shared the powers will be lost. Special attention is necessary to convince IK owners to share their knowledge so the cultural heritage will be preserved for future generations, and so the larger community will benefit.

The various kinds of IK—in tacit as well as explicit form—that are scattered throughout the country need to be recognised and identified. Identification of IK is done by going through studies on IK, surveys, museums, printed documents and AV material, and by communicating with community leaders. Subject experts and researchers in IK should be identified and included in the expert list so that their services can be utilised when needed. Such experts would include owners of IK—those who carry their knowledge in their minds; for instance, indigenous medical practitioners who act from accumulated experience rather than recorded knowledge. Identification of IK can at times prove difficult. The knowledge may be embedded in a mix of technologies or in cultural values, rendering it unrecognisable at first glance to the external observer—technical and social analyses may, therefore, be required to identify IK.

Recording and Documenting IK

Recording and documentation of IK is a major challenge because of its tacit nature; it is typically exchanged through personal communication from master to apprentice, from parent to child, et cetera. In some cases, modern tools could be used, while in other circumstances it may be appropriate to rely on more traditional methods, such as taped narration or drawings.

This step will be supported by a panel of information and media experts since it involves the challenge of capturing the larger proportion of IK which exists in tacit form. The contribution of subject experts will also be significant in deciding on appropriate methods to record IK. Tacit knowledge will have to be converted to explicit form using special methods like storytelling, sharing myths, songs, dances, riddles, poems and drama, interactive conversations, sharing experiences and face-to-face communication. Such methods will require audio and video recording, filming, transcribing stories and personal communications, and the photographing of practices.

There are two types of knowledge repositories—distributed and collaborative. If it is a distributed repository a simple multimedia database will be sufficient, but if a collaborative approach is expected recording of data will have to be more sophisticated. Depending on the type of application a variety of methods could be used for recording and documenting. Initiatives in India for the recording and documentation of IK include:

> Preparation of village-wise community biodiversity registers (CBRs) for documenting all knowledge, innovations and practices have been undertaken in a few states.
> The State Plan for Kerala has actively promoted documentation of local knowledge regarding biodiversity in people's biodiversity registers (PBRs).
> The state of Karnataka presents a unique example of NGO initiatives in the formulation of PBRs.
> Seventy-five plant biodiversity registers have been established in 10 states by the Center for Ecological Sciences and the Indian Institute of Sciences (IISc), Bangalore.

Gene Campaign has documented biodiversity and knowledge relating to and among tribal populations in South Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

The Research Foundation of Science, Technology and Ecology (RFSTE) of Jaiv Panchayats is under way in 292 sites across the country.

The Society for Research and Initiatives for Sustainable Technologies and Institutions, (SRISTI), Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India—an NGO making efforts to document IK—has been involved in documenting innovation developed by individuals at the village level.

Kalpavriksh, Uttar Pradesh, has documented the various bio-resources and conservation practices, and distributed them only with the consent and knowledge of the villagers.

The Biodiversity Conservation Prioritization Programme (BCPP) is in 56 sites across seven states.

Many other organisations have since taken up the initiative, and at present about five villages each in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and the rest of India are involved in developing PBRs.

Storage

Storage is the next main stage in the process of building the national repository. This stage involves the selection of hardware and software for the repository, and the classification, indexing and assigning metadata for making the repository accessible to users. Storage needs to consider not only textual data but also graphical, pictorial, audio and other types of data. Appropriate storage and access will depend on the type of repository—collaborative or descriptive. A distributive repository requires only simple methods for input and output of information but a collaborative one may need sophisticated technology to handle various interactive services. To assist with this stage a panel of ICT and information experts is recommended. Storage is not limited to text document or electronic format; it could include tapes, films, storytelling, gene banks, et cetera. It includes categorisation and indexing, so it relates to other information and makes it accessible. This involves electronically stored and indexed abstracts, directories of experts or applications. Using multimedia technologies, IK can now be recorded and preserved.

Dissemination of IK

Dissemination to a wider community adds a developmental dimension to the exchange of knowledge and could promote a wider and deeper impact of the knowledge transfer. This is the stage where the products of the repository are presented to the users. Dissemination activities can take two forms. Publicity material about the repository and the actual knowledge content of the repository, as well as brochures, awareness programmes, presentations at seminars and conferences, publicity programmes through mass media and hosting a website will raise public awareness of the knowledge repository. The knowledge contents can be disseminated through printed material, CD/ROMs, online databases and community radio.

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and the Dissemination of IK

The use of modern ICT for the exchange of IK is exceptional. As countries establish connectivity to reach rural people, modern ICT could become a powerful enabler for dissemination of IK. In the near future, more traditional and suitable channels for dissemination of IK could be used. Depending on the availability of infrastructure, accessibility and connectivity of communities in a country, the following channels could be used:

Radio and television broadcasting in local languages could disseminate IK practices in the rural areas, while telecentres, telelearning centres and telecottages could help IK flow in a two-way communication.

Electronic networking could be the most ideal channel to ensure exchange of IK among development workers, IK centres in different countries and the rural poor.

In India, attempts like the Warna Wired Village (Maharastra) and the Info Village in Pondicherry are still in the initial stages with regard to the relevance of transferring IK. The information and communication technologies will definitely promote activities related to collecting,

processing and dissemination of IK globally. The cyber extension, which is going to revolutionise information dissemination, will be important in disseminating the indigenous practices of farmers (success stories, best practice, et cetera) and, hence, in helping the site-specific needs of farmers.

Exchange Process of IK
Development of Digital Information Resource Base on IK
The database should contain the following information. Where the practice is applied (country and location), by whom (local), in which sector (agriculture, health), what technology (soil erosion control, child care), a description (why is it important for the local community) and from whom can we enquire (name, address, phone, fax and so on).

Directory of Institutions Working in IK
This directory covers mainly the name, address and contact details, and describes what IK practices are being used—promoting, financing, marketing, for example. A questionnaire would be designed and distributed to persons and institutions engaged in IK practices to elicit the required information and then organised systematically for easy retrieval. This would be a very good handbook that would help develop networks among these institutions and facilitate the sharing of IK resources.

Directory of Experts Directory
This involves the identification of experts working in the IK field from sources such as journals, case studies, success stories, newspapers, TV and radio. A questionnaire would be mailed to the experts to extract the tacit knowledge residing in their minds. This recorded knowledge could be used as a reference.

Ready References
Digital information sources on IK could be collected from various sources, such as newspapers, journals, websites, lectures, CDs and videos, and arranged logically to serve as a ready reference of full-text IK material.

Success Stories and Case Studies
Success stories and case studies could be collected from various sources and provide a simple alphabetical search facility.

Online resources
Institutions at national and international level working in IK could be identified and asked to provide an indicative abstract about their institute, outlining their objectives and activities along with their URL for more information. This could be a kind of virtual library on IK.

Newspaper Clippings
Clippings from different newspapers could be scanned and collected on a daily basis and arranged using the standard classification system for easy retrieval.

Alert services about conferences, seminars and training programmes
Indigenous knowledge information about conferences, workshops, seminars and training programmes offered globally through the internet, announcement brochures and advertisements could be collected and disseminated to users on a regular basis, mostly in digital form through LAN services or as an email alert.

Problems in IK Information Collection
Collecting information directly from people is a sensitive issue. Many owners of IK will not want to share this knowledge with outsiders, as there are beliefs with relation to certain indigenous practices that, if such knowledge is shared, the powers will be lost. Inadequate protection of indigenous and traditional knowledge is also a major problem.

Documenting IK is greatly affected by the very nature of the knowledge, which is individual based, making it difficult to disseminate to other people. The knowledge is communicated to the child by its parents, or possibly ancestors communicating to people through dreams, incomprehensible to many except the recipient. It therefore becomes difficult for an individual or an institution, such as a library, to successfully document the knowledge even though it is important. Local people are suspicious of IK documentation outside their oral exchange; they fear it may be misused, or stolen and used against them, or if it is documented that they will not have claim to it and will become powerless.

Documentation of IK has also suffered greatly as a result of the human resources challenges of libraries and information centres. The "brain drain" and lack of capacity to undertake the tedious process of documentation for staff have hampered the documentation processes. In many countries documentation of IK is not coordinated. Different players, such as libraries, information centres and non-government organisations undertake different activities in an uncoordinated way.

Intellectual Property Rights and IK

National indigenous policies are pivotal in the recognition and documentation of IK. Documenting traditional knowledge has become important as most of it is in the public domain and is easy to misappropriate.

Documentation of indigenous knowledge is hugely challenged in the light of intellectual property rights. Intellectual property rights are legal rights attached to information emanating from the mind of the person if it can be applied to making a product. The inadequacies of many property rights' instruments to appreciate the communal nature of IK, and their focus on the economic value of information, have failed to protect indigenous knowledge. This failure has made it difficult for libraries to document this knowledge. The most difficult aspects of IK in relation to individual property rights have been the communality of the knowledge and that it is oral, not written or recorded.

Documentation provides evidence that local communities are the owners of a complex and highly developed knowledge system. The processes of documentation are necessary to establish the claims of local communities to share profits obtained from the commercialisation of products derived from their knowledge.

Conclusion

Documenting indigenous knowledge is greatly affected by the very nature of the knowledge; that is, it is individually based, making it difficult to disseminate to other people. In many countries documentation of IK is not coordinated. Different players such as libraries, information centres and non-government organisations undertake different activities in an uncoordinated way. Doubleday (1993) argues that it is equally important to appreciate the perception that "knowledge is power, as certain individuals may not always be willing to share knowledge with others" (pp. 41–53). The local people are suspicious of documentation of IK outside their oral exchange; they fear it may be misused, and stolen and used against them, or that if it is documented they will not have claim to it and will be powerless. Documentation of IK has also suffered from the human resources challenges of libraries and information centres.

One objective of a number of organisations and individuals is the global sharing of indigenous knowledge. By establishing international libraries and databases, it is hoped that the development community will be able to draw on documented IK and apply it anywhere. Such initiatives are based on the assumption that if it is possible to apply solutions to problems in one country, the same can be applied to similar problems in other country. It relies on the transferability of the knowledge.

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Turupoutia Tō Piki Amokura: Distinguishing Māori Values and Practices in Contemporary Māori Businesses and Organisations

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Abstract

The research examines how Māori businesses and organisations "do" business, and the effects their business practices have on their stakeholders. This paper briefly describes the methods associated with the research and two completed literature reviews that have emerged from the study. Fifteen diverse case-study organisations volunteered to participate, and in-depth interviews were carried out with key people and stakeholders who provided the main data source. A range of perspectives on contemporary business practice and tikanga Māori (Māori customs and practices) was discussed. Preliminary findings include: discussing the place of Māori values and practices in business; the influence of an individual's upbringing and life experiences; the role of whānau (family), hapū (kin-based group, sub-tribe), iwi (tribes) and Māori community support and engagement; and views regarding conventional business practice, legislative requirements and compliance. In particular we explore issues that impact on organisational stakeholders, such as shareholders, owners and the wider community.

Keywords
Māori, business, research, tikanga, values, practices

Research Context

The title for this paper draws from a whakataukī (proverb) from the Whanganui River area: "Ko tōu piki amokura nōu, ko tōku piki amokura nōku". The whakataukī suggests that our knowledge base differs depending on our tribal learning and contexts within which we are raised and taught. This knowledge is symbolised by the piki amokura (prized plume) worn as a headdress, and is manifest in the indigenous values, customs and practices developed by our ancestors and passed down through the generations. This whakataukī reminds us that tikanga may differ within and across whānau, hapū and iwi and, as such, we must be mindful of these differences in tikanga and respect the values and practices of the people and communities we engage with throughout the many facets and stages of our lives.

With respect to this research, the whakataukī acknowledges that Māori businesses and organisations may (or may not) practise tikanga, and that the extent to which tikanga is practised depends on the nature of the business or organisation and the people involved or connected with it. The research investigated the place of tikanga in a business context as well as the impact that business practices have on the participating case studies and their communities. As such, the research accounts for the unique diversity of Māori organisations and their communities, and their capacity to contribute to the development of new knowledge. This knowledge has the potential to spur on social, cultural and political transformation and provide opportunity to build a foundation for a unique and emerging discipline that focuses on Māori ways of doing business. Given that a Māori worldview highlights the relationships and interconnectedness of Māori with their environs (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003), the research supports this and suggests that Māori economic activities cannot and should not be separated from other facets of positive Māori development and well-being.

The research on which this paper is based is titled *Tikanga Pakihi/Tikanga Māori: The Impact of Business Practices on Māori Organisations and Their Communities*, and was funded by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence. The research draws on the skills and expertise of research associates of Te Au Rangahau, the Māori Business Research Centre, at Massey University. These research associates are Māori academic staff, specialising in the areas of management, communications and economics.

Research Methods

Māori business or organisation case studies were recruited mainly through whakapapa (genealogy) connections of the lead researcher to research participants involved in management, governance and stakeholder positions inside and external to the case studies. Whakapapa connections allowed for the involvement of a range of Māori business and organisation types and sizes, operating in various contexts, and also facilitated the particular shared values and understandings between researchers and research participants; it is often easier to make connections to those with whom whakapapa is shared. Where whakapapa connections were remote or slightly removed, whakawhanaungatanga (the act of relationship building) was enacted, and both personal and professional networks were developed and fostered. Such intimacy, as Walsh-Tapiata (1998) suggests, can also benefit the research, providing a sense of security and safety for participants.

As representatives of the case-study business or organisation, key research participants were given the opportunity to recommend or nominate other participants who could provide insight into the tikanga and business practices of the business or organisation; these research participants could be located either internally or externally to the case study. Therefore, a mixture of purposive (Patton, 2002) and network (Gillies, Tinirau & Mako, 2007; Te Pūmanawa Hauora, 1996, 1997) sampling techniques were used to select key informants for "information rich" and "illuminative" information, the aim of which was to gain insight, uniqueness and meaning from the information rather than empirical generalisation or comparison to the population (Patton, 2002). Participating case studies extended across a range of industries and locations and operated in different contexts, and can be categorised as follows:

Table 1
Categorisation of Participating Case Studies

Categorisation	Description of participating case studies
A: Whānau/hapū business or organisation	▪ Whānau harvesting operation ▪ Chartered accountant and practice ▪ Consultant on Māori development
E: Iwi business or organisation	▪ Mandated iwi authority ▪ Tree and plant nursery ▪ Health and social service provider
I: Pan-tribal/Māori business or organisation	▪ Education trust ▪ Finance company ▪ Communications organisation
O: Māori land-based business or organisation	▪ Whānau land trust ▪ Māori reservation trust ▪ Māori land incorporation
U: International Māori business or venture	▪ Merchandise company ▪ Māori performing arts venture ▪ Language software business

Interviews were conducted kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) at times and places convenient to research participants. Information obtained was organised and analysed using thematic analysis, which focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and/or behaviour. This part of the research

process resonates with the worldview of the community by involving the community in the analysis (Gillies et al., 2007; Tinirau, 2004).

Tikanga Māori was embedded throughout the research process, through mihimihi (greeting), and the presentation of koha (gifts) as a symbol of gratitude for a research participant's time and sharing. Often, kai (food) was shared, either before or after the interview and in accordance with the research participant's tikanga. Participants were invited to define themselves as a Māori business or organisation, and to qualify their definition, based on their own view, knowledge and ideals and therefore on their own tikanga.

Because of the nature of the project, and the fact that tikanga Māori was the core element, the support and guidance of pāhake (elders versed in tikanga Māori) was integral. The lead researcher, through his involvement with and membership of the Rānana Māori Committee, is also a mokopuna (grandchild) of pāhake that serve on the committee and maintain the ahikā (ancestral flame, continuous land occupation) as residents of the rural community of Rānana, Whanganui River (Tinirau, Gillies & Tinirau, 2009). The research was reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (Southern B), and further ethical and professional advice was provided by the research associates of Te Au Rangahau.

Literature Reviews

Two literature reviews were completed to inform the *Tikanga Pakihi/Tikanga Māori* research project. The first review (Warren, 2009) incorporated literature that discussed the role of tikanga in Māori economic activities from pre-European times to the present. This review drew on Māori-medium literature of the late 1800s and early 1900s in particular, including commentary and analysis from scholars and researchers of Māori economic activity and history. Early Māori economic activity was based primarily on the use of natural resources, and everything tūpuna (ancestors) did was based on tikanga, including their early commercial enterprises. They developed an intricate system of appropriate practices and behaviours or tikanga, which included relationships, knowledge, resource acquisition and maximising benefits for whānau, hapū and iwi. Furthermore, tūpuna had the ability to adopt and modify tikanga as circumstances changed, and there is evidence they were involved in economic activities on a massive scale, penetrating both domestic and international markets. Due to the effects of colonisation, legislation and subsequent alienation from their lands and resources—their cultural and economic estate—their entrepreneurial efforts and related tikanga were severely undermined, and a noticeable reduction in post-colonisation Māori economic activity is evident. However, this did not prevent nor discourage them from addressing such issues with the colonisers, and their ability to work within the constraints of Western legal constructs and business structures to re-establish economic bases to assist with whānau, hapū and iwi development continues.

The second review (Yates, 2009) focused on research that illustrated what business practices were currently employed by Māori businesses and organisations, and what impact these practices had on Māori communities and stakeholders. Very little research has been conducted into Māori business, necessitating and justifying the need for the *Tikanga Pakihi/Tikanga Māori* project. The review identified that a unique set of beliefs, expectations and distinct values are shared by Māori people in business, even though some have been raised away from their Māori heritage and without the Māori language. An example is the importance held by Māori business people of whakawhanaungatanga and networking, for which Māori are deemed to be experts. The role of whānau support and placing people at the centre of one's business—whether they are employees, clients or the community generally— were highlighted as important features of Māori business. On one hand, tikanga can mobilise Māori business development; on the other it inhibits commercial activity. Furthermore, Māori are not only poorly represented in certain professions and industries, but they are also not appropriately acknowledged or recognised for their entrepreneurial efforts in some sectors.

Preliminary Findings
Place of Māori Values and Practices in Business
The research highlighted that most, if not all of the case studies, have embedded elements of tikanga, including both customary and contemporary practices. In some cases, tikanga is so embedded that it is not recognised as a unique and distinguishing factor of a business. This is because the tikanga surrounding the business has been in place for some time and is likely to continue with future generations. Most notable is the ease with which organisations are able to blend customary and contemporary management methods, and at the same time entwine tikanga Māori practices in the way they do things. For example, one case study business uses modern transport to access harvesting areas, yet upholds the custom of offering the first catch of the season to Tangaroa (God of the sea). In this specific industry sector, whakapapa in terms of blood quantum is essential for access to and ownership of the operation, though provision is made for spouses to participate in this activity.

Different forms of tikanga Māori are apparent in many businesses and organisations, some of which are practised daily, such as manaaki tangata (caring for people), where employees are provided with opportunities for upskilling, training and mentoring, as well as adequate remuneration and safe and secure working environments. Clients are treated with respect, suitably welcomed and attended to, and stakeholders are appropriately informed and consulted. Formal tikanga Māori practices in these businesses are most apparent when manuhiri (visitors) arrive, and less formal for internal hui (gathering, meeting) or wānanga (forum to discuss and develop knowledge). Even so, depending on the formality of the kaupapa (purpose) or the informality of the hui or wānanga, the level and intensity of tikanga practices differ. Often these aspects are also influenced or varied by the tikanga of iwi and/or hapū. On the other hand, organisations and businesses may develop a tikanga of their own to cover various iwi affiliations that may be present within the organisation. In such instances, tikanga often included karakia (prayer), mihimihi, whakatau (welcome), harirū (shaking of hands), hongi (pressing of noses), hākari (feast) and koha.

The tikanga around the giving and receiving of koha, whether monetary or non-monetary, from or to the business, is applied and varied in terms of the kaupapa. For example, most Māori organisations provide koha on a regular basis for tangihanga (funeral) and this can be in the form of money, voluntary work or providing food items in the case of some Māori land-based businesses. Koha may be given for reasons other than tangihanga, such as hui, marae (traditional gathering place) purposes or for wider community projects, and may be presented publicly or privately. For one overseas venture, applying tikanga Māori practices in a foreign country occurred naturally and respectfully. The loss of a loved one, while so far from home, provided the impetus for the group to carry out a number of tikanga, such as ruruku (traditional invocation) and whakamoemiti (thanksgiving), as if they were present at the tangihanga thousands of kilometres away. Such tikanga helped them to grieve and deal with the loss and at the same time make a commitment to adhere to other iwi-specific tikanga, such as upholding the tribal dialect, and appropriate conduct to keep themselves culturally and spiritually safe on foreign soil.

Influence of an Individual's Upbringing and Life Experiences on Business Practices
It was evident in the research that upbringing and life experiences not only influenced current business practices but also reinforced the values maintained by whānau, hapū and iwi. Childhood experiences, observations and memories of the way tikanga and values were applied at the marae, in family activities and other Māori-based organisations, are actually being applied, continued or replicated in current operations, management and activities. In some instances, ensuring whānau control and participation would endure well into the future meant that all descendants of specific whānau were exposed to and indoctrinated into the operations from an early age and the various tikanga upheld.

Other organisations had adopted the tikanga and protocols they had seen practised on the marae, to the extent that they applied the same principles and values into their organisations, such as induction and maintenance processes through pōwhiri (welcoming rituals), whakawhanaungatanga and manaakitanga (hospitality). When a person is welcomed onto the marae they are welcomed by people of the highest calibre, often senior kaikōrero (orator) and kaikaranga (female who issues a call of

welcome). After the welcoming process they are encouraged to participate in marae activities with the tangata whenua (people of the land, hosts). Applying this in a business sense has become normal practice for many organisations; new employees or visitors are welcomed by owners and senior executives, they mingle and meet colleagues and executives and are encouraged to think of their organisation and the people in it as one whānau. (This is not usually the case with non-Māori organisations where it can be months or years before one meets senior executives; one's place in the organisation can remain obscure and sometimes alienating.) In another sense, and taking on board the analogy of excellence, only the best people with the right qualifications and experience are employed for specific positions within organisations. Here there is a strong ethos among organisations to pursue excellence in decision making and operations—based on what was observed when growing up, that only the best kaikaranga and kaikōrero could deliver on the marae.

There was a strong sense from case-study participants that strategic planning, vision and aspirations for the future are not new phenomena for Māori organisations and businesses. Growing up with kuia (elderly female) and koroheke (elderly male), taught many participants the value of planning, albeit at a basic level; preserving kai (food) in season for periods when food would be in short supply or out of season, for instance, or knowing the right time and weather conditions for gathering kai or the correct pathways through a forest, river or ocean, were all noted as providing not only a hugely educational experience, but also the ability to prepare for the many and varied contingencies that life throws up. Such skill sets are integral to business success. Always there were certain karakia and/or waiata (song) to accompany these activities. Keeping in mind what had been learnt from kuia and koroheke continues to influence individuals in their business careers and organisations.

Role of Whānau, Hapū, Iwi and Māori Community Support and Engagement

Interestingly, some Māori businesses, organisations and operations were uniquely inter-generational with traditional elements of tikanga clearly taking precedence. In the past, tūpuna have identified specific mokopuna and passed on certain knowledge to them, and many of these people have become experts in, for example, whakairo (carving), waiata and whaikōrero (oratory). These skills are passed on to *their* children and mokopuna, ensuring that knowledge and tikanga not only endures but stays with the whānau. Again, some operations were intergenerational activities in themselves, with particular activities allocated based on the age and skill base of those involved.

While not always clearly apparent, there was a view that the glue that binds an organisation or business together is whakapapa. Consequently, whakapapa is the ultimate, binding infrastructure for a Māori business or organisation. In this sense, whether the organisation is large or small, whānau-, hapū- or iwi-based, pan-tribal or based on western lines, Māori understand and have respect for each other's whakapapa and mana (authority), and value the connections that can be made through whakapapa.

Almost all case-study participants emphasised the value of pāhake support in their business or organisation. Asserting that these individuals are important not only in helping an organisation to meet and carry out appropriate tikanga Māori elements but also to provide guidance, advice and support, and to be stern when required. It was noted that a lack of pāhake participation in the business planning and implementation processes for most of the case studies could lead to business failure, culturally and economically.

Often whānau, hapū and iwi, individuals and groups, play a major role in business ventures. This was particularly relevant for one of the international ventures where delegates were selected based on their iwi/community connections and cultural competencies. It was important that iwi-specific tikanga prevailed on the international stage at all times, and respect for their host country maintained. In this example, financial and non-financial support was sourced from whānau and Māori land-based organisations here at home.

Conventional Business Practice, Legislative Requirements and Compliance
Case-study participants were able to describe their ability to apply cohesively tikanga and conventional business thinking into their operations and ways of doing. However, in some instances business practices have taken precedence over tikanga Māori, or tikanga has not been considered at all in the decision-making process. Here, the opportunity was often lost or things did not work well and, in hindsight, non-adherence to cultural values and principles was often identified as the cause of dysfunction or failure. In one case, although the business had adopted a number of Māori values and principles, the governing board and senior management had not yet considered the ways these could be operationalised, and it was felt this was a low priority for the organisation, given the industry within which this business exists and competing stakeholder interests.

Many of the case studies are obligated to adhere to legal and financial reporting requirements, and in some cases, the very structure of their business or organisation is determined by legislation. Some feel such requirements are counter-productive and impede growth and advancement, simply because legislation that affects Māori authorities and organisations has not kept abreast with developments in general or international business contexts. Māori land-based case studies expressed concerns that mana whenua (territorial rights) became distorted when land ownership was determined through the activities of the Māori Land Court. Then, through shareholding, those that held mana whenua were further removed from their ancestral land base and some disenfranchised altogether through legal processes, leaving those affected with a sense of alienation and loss. Others have learnt to work within existing legal constraints; they have become innovative and creative in their operations and enjoy the challenge of using legislation and current business ideology to their advantage. Smaller ventures that lack a formal business structure feel uninhibited in their operations, and liberated because they believe that they have greater control over their lives and destinies. Research participants that have been or are also employed in non-Māori workplaces identified challenges in maintaining tikanga outside their normal working environments, indicating that participants consciously have to choose and plan for their participation in whānau ventures and te ao Māori (Māori society) generally. New Zealand, and indeed Western, business ideology fails to allow for other cultures to flourish and Māori find it difficult to "be" and "remain" Māori in many instances.

For businesses relying on certain environmental conditions to operate effectively, increased compliance costs was raised as an issue, as well as the effects of global warming and unusual or severe weather patterns. These things impact on customary practices, and new tikanga are emerging to deal with these. Given that environmental issues have implications for humankind generally, there was an acknowledgement from participants that they, or indeed indigenous cultures around the world, may have the answers and possible solutions for many global problems, and should be encouraged to participate actively in and explore traditional and customary practices of tūpuna. As it stands now, participants agreed that conventional business practice negatively impacts on the land and waterways, not just here in Aotearoa New Zealand but also in the global arena.

Concluding Comments
The research has shown there is a wide variety and diversity of tikanga currently practised by Māori businesses and organisations. In most instances tikanga Māori blends comfortably with conventional Western practices, but where there is a clash tikanga Māori is almost always forced to make the compromise. Tikanga is influenced by upbringing, teachings, understandings, history and context, as well as environmental, social and political factors. Furthermore, in some instances, tikanga thrives because customary social structures, such as whānau, hapū, iwi and marae, have endured and are imbedded in the fabric of Māori society and the psyche of Māori businesspeople. Some businesses, however, have difficulty balancing stakeholder expectations and operationalising Māori values and, as a result, stakeholders may have difficulty reconciling or understanding the decisions, actions and activities of these organisations and businesses. This is in part due to legislative and legal compliance requirements, "normalised" Western business practices, and in some instances a lack of understanding and motivation to apply tikanga Māori. Generally, tikanga Māori was embedded in different ways and at different levels in most participating organisations and businesses, even where participants felt their business or organisation did not seem to practise tikanga from their perspective. Finally, the research

has provided opportunity for self-reflective praxis, and to consider how current practices might be perceived by future generations. As coined by one participant, "What we do now in terms of tikanga becomes a tradition of tomorrow."

Glossary

ahikā	ancestral flame, continuous land occupation
hākari	feast
hapū	kin-based group, sub-tribe
harirū	shaking of hands
hongi	pressing of noses
hui	gathering, meeting
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kaikaranga	female who issues a call of welcome
kaikōrero	orator
kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	face-to-face
karakia	prayer
kaupapa	purpose
koha	gifts
koroheke	elderly male
kuia	elderly female
mana	authority
manaakitanga	hospitality
manaaki tangata	caring for people
mana whenua	territorial rights
manuhiri	visitors
marae	traditional gathering place
mihimihi	greeting
mokopuna	grandchild
pāhake	elders versed in tikanga Māori
pakihi	business
piki amokura	prized plume
pōwhiri	welcoming rituals
ruruku	traditional incantation
Tangaroa	God of the sea
tangata whenua	people of the land, hosts
tangihanga	funeral
te ao Māori	Māori society
tikanga	customs and practices
tikanga Māori	Māori customs and practices
tūpuna	ancestors
waiata	song
wānanga	forum to discuss and develop knowledge
whaikōrero	oratory
whakairo	carving
whakamoemiti	thanksgiving
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatau	welcome
whakataukī	proverb
whakawhanaungatanga	the act of relationship building
whānau	family

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What's the Difference?
Mother Earth, Mortality and Maternities

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Abstract

This paper addresses differences that contemporary indigenous scholarship needs to consider, to understand the coexistence of biological notions of reproduction with socially constructed notions of gender and critical feminist approaches to analysing pregnancy and childbirth in out-of-the-way places. It reads feminist ecological discourse against standard demographic and health analysis from a critical population perspective. This discussion is based on empirical research in a remote area of Papua New Guinea (PNG) where the author is connected through close family ties, although her own heritage is from the Cook Islands. Consistent with feminist scholarship, the paper demonstrates how careful personal and intellectual positioning is critical in contemporary indigenous scholarship.

Kia orana tātou katoatoa, kia ora and welcome. I warmly acknowledge the lands upon which I stand today—lands my Pacific ancestors also reached by sea and were welcomed onto, lands on which my ancestors now also respectfully rest.

I was born in the Cook Islands, raised in Porirua, lived for many years in my partner's country of Papua New Guinea, and have lived now in Auckland for about 6 years. My name is Yvonne Jasmine Te Ruki Rangi o Tangaroa Underhill-Sem. I am humbled by being able to present my thinking today—it crosses a number of boundaries and in that way reflects my life and that of many others.

Introduction

When a mother dies giving birth, it is a trauma felt by too many people in too many parts of the world. The effects are sometimes similar to that of a tsunami; everything progresses in a routine way until a major shock unleashes a devastation for which no one is prepared. Sometimes the effect is similar to a slow-forming tropical cyclone; there are warning signals and some preparation but the devastation of the eventual event is totally underestimated. Sometimes, however, the effect of a mother dying in childbirth is like an unusually high tide; unnerving but quietly absorbed into the rhythms of life and death.

The connection I make here to devastating natural events is purposeful. Like natural events that occur in our physical environment, pregnancy is closely associated with nature, and with this association comes troubling, essentialist notions of women: in particular, hetero-normative and biologically determined ideas that it is natural for women to be pregnant. Yet, it is well documented that too often women are not able to control their own fertility and become pregnant, or not. Not having this control means that in many parts of the world women face higher risks of death from illegal terminations or inadequate delivery practices. Most, if not all, maternal deaths are preventable. I argue, however, that this requires reproductive and sexual health services that pay attention to more than the biomedical understanding of pregnancy and childbirth. It is also critical to understand the cultural construction of gendered interpersonal and sexual relations.

In the wider project of which this paper is a small part, I am interested in understanding the coexistence of biological notions of reproduction, indigenous understandings of maternities (Margaret Jolly's and Naomi Simmond's work in particular) and critical feminist approaches to analysing

maternities. I am particularly interested in how this unfolds in out-of-the-way places (Underhill-Sem, 2001), how life and death are entwined when a mother dies during childbirth, and how maternal health polices need to be widened. In this paper I focus on eco-feminism and pregnant embodiment in relation to the precarious nature of pregnancy and childbirth.

According to the World Health Organisation (2007), "Every day, 1500 women die from pregnancy—or childbirth-related complications. In 2005, there were an estimated 536,000 maternal deaths worldwide. Most of these deaths occurred in developing countries, and most were avoidable."

During fieldwork in Wanigela, Papua New Guinea (PNG)—another place I call home—I learned from a clan sister of her embodied experience of giving birth to 12 children. Once she delivered a child at the same time one of her sons was dying. She herself had been close to death on the birth of her last child. I heard from a father of five of the night his wife died in childbirth, even after they carried her across a swollen river to the nearest health clinic, and I continually hear from the grandparents of the children whose strong healthy mother died giving birth, at age 32.

These stories are embedded in my life, both when we visit and from a distance, because they were all preventable. My point is that childbirth is still a matter of life and death in many places, and so deserves careful and urgent attention. This attention needs to be carefully framed so we don't slip into policies that avoid wider issues of sexuality, which is where the "private body" meets the "body politic" (International Council on Human Rights Policy, 2009, p. 2).

Conceptual Guidance
In the wider study I draw on the conceptual work of geographers Robyn Longhurst (2008) and Gabriela Valdivia (2009) in their analysis of embodiment and indigenous subjectivity. Longhurst (2008) draws attention to "the body" as an important "coordinate of subjectivity and as a way of understanding further relationships between people, place and space". She does this through one of "*the* most important of all bodies—bodies that conceive, give birth and nurture other bodies."

Valdivia (2009) explores how perceptions about bodies and interpersonal exchanges contribute to the production of indigenous subjectivities. In order to provide insights into the workings of indigeneity, she focuses on how indigenous subjectivities are produced and engaged through reflections on interpersonal exchanges and bodily experiences.

These scholars are geographically miles apart, basing their work respectively in Hamilton, New Zealand and in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Yet the concepts of embodiment, subjectivity and indigeneity lie at the heart of their work and my own in Papua New Guinea.

My work concentrates on understanding maternities in out-of-the-way places as a way to neutralise mainstream but often narrow biomedical and demographic analysis of maternal death. In the process my intention is to advance discussions about the critical role of understanding sexuality in public policy debates about maternal mortality.

The Problem: Globally, Regionally, Locally
In doing this, however, my work often runs up against essentialist eco-feminist arguments, which then converge with uncritical indigenous notions of women's distinctive connection to nature. The problem in this is that the possibilities for change are immediately extinguished, since it is argued we can't or shouldn't mess with nature. Moreover, sex is understood as naturally occurring between men and women only.

While I focus in my work at the local level, the effects of the convergence can also be seen at the global level. President Evo Morales from Bolivia (the first indigenous president in a country with an indigenous majority) on the one hand promotes International Mother Earth Day (April 22), adopted by a UN resolution of the General Assembly in May 2009, while maternal mortality in Bolivia is one of the highest in Latin America. Recent analysis from midwives in Bolivia (UNICEF, n.d.) suggests

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this is because of a "traditional misogynist culture ... where women are assigned a subordinate, traditional and dependent role, mainly the roles of reproduction and care of the family."

The response is a call for more qualified, including traditional, midwives. Although undoubtedly important, the more complex question is how to transform a traditional misogynist culture. In the Pacific region, the response, the 15-year review of the rights-based report of the International Conference on Population and Development, was also a call to bring family planning and traditional midwifery back to centre stage. But the same question must be asked about what kind of social transformation is necessary to redress the growing evidence of gender inequality.

Positioning

I became engaged in this work in several different ways: through the richness of ethnographies of people in their places in PNG, on which rests my own ethnographic work in Wanigela, Oro Province; through my negotiation as an in-law in a country where my grandfather was born (to a Cook Island and Niuean missionary couple) and where my children are clan members through their father; and finally through my own politics of gender justice that reels at the needless frequency of mothers dying in childbirth unnecessarily.

Here I focus mostly on the first pathway, and especially on the co-existence of indigenous understandings of maternity and eco-feminist arguments.

Eco-feminism and Pregnant Embodiment

This pathway into my project allowed me to learn a great deal from both written ethnographies and interviews with women of Wanigela, Oro Province. I have read about the various ways reproduction is understood and practised. There is a strong emphasis on the primary connection of mothers to biological reproduction, in contrast to the ways in which those who can't or don't produce biologically. There is an equally strong recognition of the critically supportive role of family and clan members, mostly husbands, fathers and brothers, who provide the food and warmth to feed families. Women who for various reasons are not mothers, and women who are currently not pregnant also play an important role, most often at the time of birth but also beforehand in easing domestic loads.

There is also a strong emphasis on other ways other people contribute to social reproduction once a child is born. This includes the nurturing of one's own biological children, one's "adopted" children, the children of siblings and clans folk and the children of deceased sisters—of which there are unfortunately enough to have particular cultural practices for reassigning primary parenthood.

My reading of these ethnographies has some resonance with eco-feminist arguments, but with important tensions. Earlier eco-feminism was about "embracing the body", "bonding with our mothers" and "remaining in subsistence farming" (Jackson, 1995, p. 129). They continue "because of their reproductive capacity, women were naturally closer to nature and therefore, the exploitation of nature leads to the exploitation of women". Further, "if we can stop the exploitation of nature, the exploitation of women would also stop" (Jackson, 1995, p. 129). This is a simplistic argument that has been powerful in its uptake. Clearly missing here though is the recognition of indigenous subjectivities, especially as this relates to the often unequal power relations in the representation of sexuality. By this I mean the ways in which we become subjects in other people's eyes. So, despite our own personal struggles and pleasures in coming to our own sexual identity, our sexual rights are being defined for us—and mostly based on not being able to control our sexual desires!

The ethnographies I have read, mostly from the southern part of the island of New Guinea (Oro and Milne Bay areas), present this differently. Pregnancy and childbirth are not so much about women being closer to nature, because men are also "close to nature", specifically in the ways that they grow food, fish and hunt et cetera. Rather, the distinction is made between women having one means of reproducing society and men having another. Both are close to nature: women through their own bodies (carrying, delivering and breastfeeding babies), and men through theirs (gardening, fishing and cooking for their family). Anthropologist Miriam Kahn (1986) argues that the Wamira people (living

about 200 kilometres' walking distance from Wanigela) understand this difference in relation to the flow of different kinds of energy.

Everyone has some intentionality over how they muster and use energy, so that pregnant women remain pregnant (if they want to), deliver the child safely and nurture the newborn child by eating "proper" food. This does not mean just nutritious food in terms of iron rich et cetera, but also paying attention to clan-sensitive food taboos. As a result, careful attention is paid to who grows and cooks food. In this way, many other people become intimately connected to the child; for example, grandparents, siblings and clans folk.

My analysis of maternities in out-of-the-way places in PNG shows that indigenous notions of pregnancy and childbirth are part of the daily rhythm of life and death. Although pregnant women are encouraged to visit the health centre to assess their risk, and families make preparations for a delivery at home, rarely do health policies acknowledge the wider reproductive processes—or the range of people involved. It is more than family planning and more and better skilled birth attendants. But it is not about unsafe cultural practices.

Standard Demographic and Health Analysis Prevails

I have felt the profound sadness that accompanies the death of a baby or mother during childbirth. Rationalising this as natural, or as the result of cultural transgression and therefore outside our control, is unacceptable. Hence I support efforts to deal with preventable maternal deaths. Along with the fathers, mothers and siblings of those who have died, a maternal death is a statistic that is tragically relived in many ways.

To deal with this, we see incredible efforts into getting more development funds in maternal health. Last year the Open Hearing on Maternal Health in the Pacific from New Zealand Parliamentarians' Group on Population and Development was held. After some insightful discussions, the major outcome was to advocate for more and improved training of the medical workforce (Family Planning International, 2010). This is where mainstream biomedical and demographic understandings of maternal mortality coalesce.

On the one hand, I welcome this. It provides potential for improving the options available to women who want to choose the number and spacing of their children. It can also allow more people to have the means to support birthing practices that reduce the risk of infection and allow for the nutritious feeding of mother and newborn baby.

On the other hand, I am concerned that this approach avoids the cultural construction of gendered interpersonal and sexual relationships. When I was inadvertently involved in the early delivery of a niece in Wanigela, I was terrified, as this was my sister-in-law's fifth child in 9 years; she had an enlarged spleen and we were about a thousand kilometres from advanced medical care. But, even more terrifying for me, was dealing with the unknown cultural implications if my sister-in-law or her newborn child were to die.

I have been challenged before by scholars from the western Pacific about my understanding of a place I am not from. I have felt comfortable in meeting that challenge with the quiet knowledge of the connections I have with other women and men who have shared the experience of giving birth or intimately assisting in a birth. However, in case of something going wrong, I would need the support of all my in-laws. Looking back, I realise I was not 100% confident I would have this support; such is the nature of negotiating intimate relationships with in-laws—another time when the private body meets the body politic.

As it happened, my niece and sister-in-law were both fine. For a number of days and nights after the birth, while the new mother and baby rested around a fire inside, everyone in the household was on friendly but constant alert outside. The wastes of the birth were carefully collected and protected and in-laws and clan cousins stayed cheerfully awake all night. All this was to ensure that at their most

vulnerable but also powerful time, no harm would come to this mother and child or to the clan. Up until the birth, although pregnant women continued as usual in their domestic tasks, at this crucial time and among a community that welcomed Christianity more than 100 years ago, concern over sorcery was still paramount.

Mainstream biomedical and demographic understandings of this practice of maternities fail to capture its intimate workings. While eco-feminist perspectives and indigenous understandings of maternities capture spiritual and symbolic dimensions of childbearing and childbirth, they need to also recognise the materiality of maternity. This begins with the acknowledgement that while women's bodies are sexually marked, they are not just child-bearing bodies. They are also hardworking bodies, but they are not invincible—they can be broken—and when they are, it is a tragedy.

Working Concepts

In this paper I invite critical scrutiny of the epistemological position I am working towards. To begin this process I have purposely appropriated the concepts "maternities" and "out-of-the-way places" from feminist cultural anthropologists. Margaret Jolly (1998, p. 2) explains that maternities, "the seemingly natural processes of swelling, bearing and suckling, the flows of blood, semen and milk, are constituted not just by the force of cultural conceptions but by political coagulations of power." This concept emerges from a long stream of often divergent interests in conceptualising maternal embodiment in anthropology (for various perspectives which review this work see Harcourt, 1997; Hartmann, 1995; Lutkehaus, 1995; Strathern & Lambeck, 1998). This not the place to do justice to this rich debate so I accept Ram (1998, p. 277) when she notes, "just what anthropology means by 'the body' or for that matter 'culture' can no longer be taken for granted." Thus even pioneering works such as Jordan (1993), followed by Davis-Floyd and Sargent (1997), are problematic in their ethnographic ambitions of providing complete accounts of childbirth in different cultural settings. Instead I argue that in the process of documenting the many different cultural interpretations of the universal process of birth, consideration be given to the possibilities that childbirth is as different as the overlapping and frequently contradictory discourses used to describe it. Yet there is clearly a privileging of knowledge and some discourse over others.

I am aware of the easy criticism of work such as mine takes with such an obvious heterosexist focus of study as pregnancy and childbirth. By talking about maternities I am also encouraging readers to think about more than the outcome of heterosexual copulation. Many different people are intimately entangled in the coagulations of power that constitute the processes of pregnancy and childbirth. Rather than participating in an additive exercise, which seeks to insert new categories of people to the discussion, I argue for an approach that actively seeks to understand the dynamics of power between a range of individuals differently involved in birthing.

My reference to out-of-the-way places is from another anthropologist, Anna Tsing (1993). This concept purposely signals my dissatisfaction with the more ubiquitous terms "developing countries", "the third world" and "the economic south". Although these terms enjoy wide circulation in scholarly, institutional and activist discourses, their meanings are politically sensitive and as often strategically specific as they are naively nonsensical. I therefore use a less politically loaded term that, in addition, provides for the possibilities of focusing on marginalisation processes and relative positions rather than essence.

The problematics of place is an area of rapidly expanding scholarly inquiry in geography, anthropology and cultural studies (Escobar, 2001; Feld & Basso, 1996; Massey, 1994, p. 5). Place is an important part of any geography but as a concept it cannot be taken for granted. I work with a concept of place that not only involves consideration of fixed and physically bounded areas but also exists as a process of social relations. The former is necessary because of national and regional political activities. The latter is equally important because it recognises the multiple meanings and fluid identities of places. This allows for an understanding of dynamic processes of differentiation, in contrast to static description of differences. Furthermore, in PNG, the modern nation state is a recent introduction and its institutions still do not reach all corners of the country (Larmour, 1995).

Many notable regional geographies consider places as areas bounded and fixed by physical regions, then overlaid by cultural, social and political features. Although it is clearly important to recognise places as absolute locations (McDowell, 1996), I want to extend my reconstruction of Wanigela by paying attention to what Massey (1994), terms "the specificities of the links and interconnections to that 'beyond'" (p. 5). These places may also have an absolute location, but by understanding the links and connections as simultaneously physically and socially constructed it is possible to work with other places that are not physically known by some people in Wanigela or by me. These include ancestral places never visited or sighted but which exist in genealogies and are recreated regularly in contemporary storytelling. It also includes historical places that exist in shared memories but are never physically visited.

Working with this concept of place, different people can understand Wanigela differently; from their relatively different geographical positions (such as Port Moresby, Samoa and New York), their relatively different interests (such as academic, administrative and or familial) and how their own embodied interpretations and experiences respond to their understandings of, for instance, weather conditions, childbirth and access to social services. These understandings in turn constitute the ways in which Wanigela is represented in this paper, mediated as always through my initial authorial privilege.

The understanding of any place changes in many unanticipated ways over the time a place comes to be known (Tsing, 1993). These changes are the points at which negotiations with the meanings of local commentaries begin. For instance, after a close-to-tragic incident when my mother-in-law's leg was broken by a falling branch while we were collecting firewood on a routine garden visit, the garden and the path leading to it took on quite a different meaning as I ran barefoot and breathless to get help. On our way to the garden my mother-in-law had been pointing out the old gardens and garden houses. Subsequent reconstructions of the incident took on many and varied other interpretations to the extent that that particular place is now imbued with a wide array of meanings for me and others. All places are likely to be known in similarly complex ways due to other specific historical happenings and multiple interpretations.

Although these phrases, maternities and out-of-the-way-places may appear somewhat clumsy relational terms, this is part of what another anthropologist, Arturo Escobar, argues is the "liberation of the discursive field so that the task of imagining alternatives can be commenced" (1995, p. 14). This is critical for establishing an epistemological position that encourages access to a wide range of methodologies, while at the same time does not overlook the character of the ambivalence and tension that comes with combining certain methodologies.

Conclusion

Contemporary indigenous scholarship is well poised to work with the co-existence of biological notions of reproduction with socially constructed notions of gender. This paper has shown how critical feminist analysis assists this work through its examination of concepts of maternities, power dynamics, and out-of-the-way-places. Mediated through an embodied practice of research, this paper has also attempted to point to the need to work through the differences between the trope of Mother Earth and the materiality of a woman dying in child birth.

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Whaia Tō Te Rangi

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Abstract

Historical mistrust between colonised and coloniser has not been without foundation, nor is it unique to Aotearoa. According to a United Nations report published earlier this year on the State of the World's Indigenous Peoples, "indigenous peoples all over the world continue to suffer from disproportionally high rates of poverty, health problems, crime and human rights abuses" (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2010). Precisely because of such circumstances, new ways have to be found to move out of victim mode, to look for "bigger pictures" and to take better control of ways to move our peoples forward. But resources are limited, and we need to work smarter not harder. This paper asks if one opportunity for Māori is to make greater use of the skills of non-Māori who support kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophy, Māori concerns) is it time to stop the "Pākehā clobbering machine"? Or is the risk of "new-age colonialism" by Ngāti Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) too great?

Keywords

Māori, Pākehā, mistrust, colonialism, ongoing education, Māori-led projects, utilising skills

Introduction

> Ko Hikurangi te maunga (Hikurangi is the mountain)
> Ko Waiapu te awa (Waiapu is the river)
> Ko Hiruhārama te marae o ngā tūpuna (Hiruhārama is the marae of the ancestors)
> Ko Ngāti Porou te iwi (Ngāti Porou are the people)
> Engari, ko Otautahi taku kāinga (but Otautahi is my home).

The Tai Rawhiti (East Cape) is the land of my Māori ancestors; but I also whakapapa (have genealogical links) to ancestors in County Limerick in Ireland and County Caithness in Scotland. These people have made me who I am; they all stand behind me.

It can be argued that the anti-Māori/anti-Pākehā impasse is the greatest hindrance to New Zealand's maturity and development as a nation. At a personal level, it can also be a source of embarrassment. As a New Zealander of mixed Māori and non-Māori heritage, I never know which part of me should leave the room. On a national scale, it squanders the nation's talent, energy and expertise.

Accordingly, this paper addresses the conference theme of "seeking understandings beyond first impressions" and goes one step further, to "recognising, engaging, understanding difference". This study seeks positive strategies to generate a better future through better understanding of the differences among indigenous and non-indigenous communities. It follows the ancestral practice of looking again to the past for increased understanding, at familiar material, in the hope of avoiding repeating the same mistakes. Some ideas might be considered contentious, but nevertheless the paper identifies three strands that might be helpful in building stronger, more productive race relations between Māori and non-Māori at this time.

Historical Context

Historical mistrust between colonised and coloniser is not without foundation, nor is it unique to Aotearoa. In 19th-century Britain, the industrial revolution instigated major developments in agriculture, manufacturing, mining and transport. The outcome was a devastating effect on the social,

economic and cultural norms in the everyday lives of ordinary working people. As the economy based on manual labour and draft-animals changed to one of machine-based technology, the British workforce was destabilised and crowded into cities in search of alternative employment.

Overcrowding, with poor living and working conditions, became a growing problem, yet at the same time England was already extending its overseas empire. Between 1750 and 1851, the British population rose from 6 million to 21 million, and the population of London alone rose from 500,000 to 3 million. Families engaged in agriculture decreased from 65% to 25% of the population. In the so-called "imperial century" between 1815 and 1914, the British Empire acquired a further 10 million square miles of territory and roughly 400 million people (Parsons, 1999).

During this period of growth, emigration began to be seen as a possible solution to the increasing urban problems in European cities. During the 19th century, approximately 70 million people left Europe for foreign shores, resulting in widespread settlement and the founding of the largest cities in both North America and Australasia (*Migration News*, 1996). Colonising nations exploited other nations and developed trade for their own benefit. As the leading European colonial power, by the mid-19th century, Britain held the dominant position in world trade. The Great Exhibition that opened in 1851 was designed to show Britain's industrial, military and economic superiority; invitations were extended to most of the colonised world to show British achievements alongside those of "less civilized" countries. Although he was speaking about America, the prevailing mindset can be summarised by Benjamin Disraeli (1863): "Colonies … do not cease to be colonies because they are independent."

World trade dominance can only come at a cost. Around the Pacific, through the Americas, Asia and Africa, the colonised peoples of our world continue to experience the deleterious legacies of colonialism. Mistrust of the coloniser is an inevitable consequence wherever one nation seeks to overrule other nations and develop trade for its own benefit. And in New Zealand, despite the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi by Māori and representatives of the British Crown purporting to guarantee Māori protection of their resources, over subsequent years the reality proved to be very different.

Māori Mistrust

The Treaty contract opened the way for successive waves of British migrants with little or no understanding of the Treaty, and even less interest as Māori rangatiratanga (authority, self-determination) was progressively eroded. Despite the explicit instructions of James Stephen (Colonial Office) to William Hobson, and the written directions to him of the colonial secretary Lord Normanby, before 1840, it was soon apparent that the representatives of the British Crown were not playing by their own rules and Māori mistrust was an inexorable consequence. As Māori attempted to retain their lands, years of wars between Māori and British forces demonstrated that the Colonial Government was not honouring its side of the bargain.

The situation was exacerbated as the British Empire grew increasingly powerful and ever more dominant around the world. Māori attempts to have grievances addressed, even in England, were unsuccessful. The consequence was the development of deep distrust and even hatred of Pākehā as suspicion of European institutions inevitably grew; meanwhile the Eurocentric settler government of New Zealand remained intent on maintaining white, Christian, patriarchal rule.

Pākehā Mistrust

Many British migrants had escaped poor conditions in England, to arrive in what they perceived to be an open and sparsely inhabited land. Lacking an understanding of Māori culture, or of the deeper implications of the Treaty of Waitangi—if they even knew of it—and unaware of differences between English and Māori versions, colonial settlers saw little need to consider Māori as equal partners in the interests of the land in which they intended to make their homes. (Pākehā are here defined as the white non-Māori population of European heritage). This generation of settlers were products of their age and experience, with some holding strongly racist ideas such as:

Europeans are superior to non-Europeans;

whites are superior to non-whites;

Christianity is the only true religion;

(in a variation of social Darwinism) white Europeans are more fitted in the struggle for survival; and

white men have the burden and responsibility of bringing the wonders of their superior civilisation and intellect to the savages of the world.

These ideas strengthened during the time of the land wars. A key example of this thinking is exposed in some of the 19th century education policies imposed on Māori.

Pākehā mistrust seems to have stemmed from racist ideas that non-Europeans were uncivilised, perhaps less capable of honourable concepts. It might be argued that early Pākehā misconstrued Māori manaakitanga (hospitality, kindness) as evidence that Māori people saw the white race as being superior. White European "superiority" could be interpreted as some kind of justification for treating non-whites as inferior. Successive waves of immigrants have often brought their own racial and colour prejudices with them, for example, from post-war Britain in the 1950s when British families were still predominantly "white", to more recent arrivals from post-apartheid South Africa in the 1990s. Like their predecessors, these settlers seldom had any significant knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi or its relevance.

Subsequent Pākehā scepticism of Māori began to grow in response to Māori protest at the institutionalised injustices they continued to experience. Some Pākehā still perceive Māori as complaining and wanting "handouts". Largely an indication of general public ignorance, this form of Pākehā mistrust can be seen as the product of a continuing diet of unbalanced information and short-truths[1] along with the failure of the New Zealand education system to adequately address these issues. Willie Jackson (2010) has it right when he says that if Māori get a "fair go", Pākehā will not lose anything except their ignorance of the Māori world. Unfortunately, New Zealand's population still includes a number of people with racist attitudes. Nevertheless, regardless of race, creed or colour, describing anyone as "ignorant" is guaranteed to be counterproductive.

Placing these details in their historical context clarifies that lack of understanding of the Treaty was a significant factor in previous failures to understand differences between indigenous and settler communities.

Pākehā-Māori

When Māori was still the dominant society, not all early Pākehā were racist or disparaging of Māori culture. For their own varied reasons, early settlers included some who settled among Māori, adopting their ways of life and becoming useful members of indigenous societies. Identified as Pākehā-Māori, it is noteworthy that history has typically branded these 19th century individuals who worked together with Māori as "renegades". *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (1966) states that: "A Pākehā-Māori was a European, often a deserter, shipwrecked seaman, or runaway convict, who fell into Māori hands and escaped death or slavery by becoming a tribal member" (*Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 2009).

The popular press commonly describes perceived adversaries of the conventional British/American lifestyle in negative terms, rather than reflexively acknowledging part of a different society. For example: "Rauparaha cunningly fanned the flame" (Carkeek quoting Wakefield, 1960, p. 13); "the wily Te Rauparaha" (Pybus, 1954, p. 46); "the wily Rommel" (*Palm Beach Post*, 1942, p. 1).

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[1] For example, under the 1867 extension of the original 1858 Native Schools Act, the Government offered state village schools to Māori communities who so wished. In return, if the Māori community provided a suitable site, they would receive a school, teacher and books. A similar requirement of Pākehā to supply land seems not to be specified (New Zealand in History, n.d.).

It is significant that negative terms from 19th or 20th century viewpoints are still accepted without question, in an age when people are accustomed to comparative choice about what they do with their lives. If we think about the harshness and often injustice that these so-called "disreputable" characters sought to escape, we might wonder what we ourselves would have done in such circumstances. While history records only the names of a few, rare individuals, such as John Rutherford, Amukete aka John Rodolphus Kent, James Caddell, Jacky Marmon, Kimble Bent, is it not possible that some were brave and thinking men who chose to support a Māori way of life for positive reasons?

Pro-Māori = Anti-Pākehā?

Being pro-Māori does not mean being anti-Pākehā. Te Puea Herangi made this plain. She had been steadfast in her opposition to Tainui people joining the New Zealand armed forces during the First World War, while the government continued to disregard Waikato land grievances. Her resolute attitude led to accusations that she was a German sympathiser. Some such sentiments surfaced again in 1940, but she clarified her position when she told Prime Minister Peter Fraser in 1941: "Look, Peter, it's perfectly simple. I'm not anti-Pakeha; I'm not pro-German" (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2008).

Neither does being Pākehā mean being anti-Māori. In the last century, the rugby field and the New Zealand/Springbok tours forced New Zealanders to wake up to a range of racial issues in our own country, of which many had not been fully aware. In Napier, where the Springboks only narrowly defeated a Māori team in 1921, the experience of Pākehā enthusiastically supporting the racially selected Māori team had appalled the South Africans. South African correspondent, Charles Blackett's post-match cable to Capetown read:

> Most unfortunate match ever played. Bad enough having to play team officially designated New Zealand natives but spectacle thousands Europeans frantically cheering on band of coloured men to defeat members of own race was too much for Springboks, who frankly disgusted. (quoted in Mulholland, 2008, p. 18)

New Zealanders were still a conservative people in 1959, but that year, 150,000 members of the public signed a petition advocating "No Maoris, No Tour", to demonstrate opposition to the exclusion of Māori from the All Black team scheduled to tour South Africa in 1960. During the next decades, the Vietnam War, French nuclear testing in the Pacific, and local anti-nuclear policies saw New Zealanders develop a growing political awareness. Racial tensions in South Africa exploded onto the world stage with uprisings in Soweto, providing a catalyst that divided Kiwis on the forthcoming 1981 Springbok tour. New Zealand Rugby Union officials were determined the tour should go ahead; anti-tour supporters were described as "stirrers" and "troublemakers". The outcome subsequently stimulated debate on New Zealand racism and thrust the place of Māori in New Zealand society into the public eye. Increasingly, some Pākehā began to recognise the injustices of the past and acknowledge Māori rights.

By Māori for Māori

The decade of the 1970s saw a driving force thrust issues of Māori rights into the public spotlight. Ngā Tamatoa (The Warriors), a Māori activist group, began to fight for recognition of Māori cultural identity, ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi and against the ongoing loss of Māori land and language. Major achievements include the 1974 Māori Affairs Amendment Act, the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1977 to begin the process of investigating legislation, policy or practice which Māori considered to be a violation of the Treaty of Waitangi. In 1981, the Kōhanga Reo (language nest) programme officially came into being. Created and administered by Māori educators, it became an icon for Māori self-determination through the use of indigenous language, values, and culture that are key to the programme's approach.

These policies of "by Māori for Māori" have succeeded in achieving positive outcomes for Māori, but still face the considerable Pākehā lack of knowledge of the history that underpins Māori grievance. However, one small example of increasing Pākehā knowledge and respect for things Māori has been achieved through arts projects led by Māori, for Māori (but ultimately for the benefit of all New Zealanders). Ngā Puna Waihanga was the pan-tribal, national body of Māori artists and writers. Over the years, the organisation mounted exhibitions and published books, hosted annual national hui and regional wānanga or workshops.

At provincial level in Canterbury, Ngā Puna Waihanga Waitaha Tai Poutini was led by the late Ngāi Tahu artist and teacher Cath Brown. Where North Island regional membership could be exclusively Māori, lower numbers in Christchurch meant the rōpū (group) was significantly smaller. Rationale for membership became one of "supporting Māori arts" rather than restricted to those with whakapapa. Under Brown's leadership, regular wānanga were held covering a range of art forms. One community art project in 1995 created a multi-media mural at Burnham School; a second work was produced for Hagley Community College. In 1998, a series of whāriki panels was woven for the then Māori Department at the University of Canterbury. Three years later, the creation of 19 tukutuku (ornamental lattice work) panels for the Māori Centre of the Christchurch Central Library was a continuation of this practice of creating Māori art works for the community of Christchurch.

These projects introduced many people, including Pākehā, to a number of traditional practices and values of Māori. The tukutuku panels alone involved months of preparation and entailed some 900 hours work by more than 180 volunteers. Between two-thirds to three-quarters of these were Pākehā who registered, paid, gave time and energy to learning and helping create Māori art works, and enjoyed the privilege of doing so.

Three Possible Strands

Three possible strands that might provide useful strategies for generating social, educational and intellectual opportunities to build co-operative affiliations come out of this paper: ongoing education, projects led by Māori for Māori (and others), and utilising the skills of modern-day "Pākehā-Māori".

Ongoing Education

To address areas of mistrust, we need to keep improving education. History shows that colonial settler lack of Treaty knowledge contributed to problems in the past. Treaty workshops provide some remedy but racial ignorance still prevails. Ongoing education of New Zealand history is needed, but "Joe Public" will resist if he feels he is being force-fed. Entertainment provides an alternative solution.

Education Through the Arts

The 1977 television series *The Governor* broke important ground, introducing mainstream Pākehā to part of their history which most Māori know better than they do. Barry Barclay's earlier work *Tangata Whenua* (1974) and *Ngati* (1987), plus Merata Mita's *Bastion Point: Day 507* (1979) and *Patu!* (1981) showed the potential impact of such work. Recent documentaries such as *Frontier of Dreams* and *New Zealand Wars* have a role to play; but we need more post-Treaty history education in entertainment format so that viewers can begin to learn the kinds of impact colonialism had on Māori lives. Former Prime Minister Helen Clark was on the right track with policies supporting cultural and heritage arts.

Treaty Education

Moreover, meaningful Treaty education of migrants to this country is essential. According to the Minister of Immigration, Te Ururoa Flavell:

> Briefly, migrants are not obliged to acknowledge the Treaty of Waitangi, or otherwise required to learn about Te Tiriti in any way. However, Immigration New Zealand does provide information about the place of Te Tiriti to assist new migrants in adjusting to their new home. Acknowledgement of Te Tiriti is not required when going through the process of becoming a New Zealand citizen, either. (personal email communication, June 1, 2010)

How disingenuous that New Zealand citizenship ceremonies typically engage a kapahaka (Māori performance) group to perform at some point during the formal procedure as the newcomers swear their allegiance to the Queen. How convenient for Government to tie up Māori energy fighting the same old battles. Small wonder that immigrants see little need to take Māori issues seriously. Isn't it time for Māori to learn from the past and stop "taking the Queen's shilling" in supporting tokenism? Isn't it time that Government stopped repeating the same mistakes of allowing increasing numbers of settlers here with little or no understanding of the Treaty's relevance? How else can anything be changed?

Projects Led by Māori for Māori

"By Māori for Māori" has been an effective policy, but Māori have to compete on too many fronts. Increased numbers of personnel would be a positive move. So what are the risks associated with extending to formalised projects that are "led by Māori for Māori"? Is the risk of "new-age colonialism" by Ngāti Pākehā too great? Is Māori culture so fragile that Pākehā participation is a real threat? If this is true, why is Matariki being increasingly promoted nationally?

Developing the "by Māori for Māori" kaupapa, with the addition of more formalised collaborative projects where possible, into "led by Māori for Māori" could be productive. Where such leadership is not possible, greater collaboration with carefully chosen partners could aid in continuing to build Māori capacity.

Utilising Skills of Modern-Day "Pākehā-Māori"

Despite frequent claims that Pākehā only want to "take" from Māori, plenty of thinking, non-Māori support kaupapa Māori and are keen to give something back. Pākehā New Zealand historians, Robyn Anderson, Angela Ballara, Ann Parsonson and Richard Hill have been important contributors to the Waitangi Tribunal processes. Joan Metze, Ann Salmond, Pat Snedden, Bill Pearson, Michael King, Mick Prendergast are but a few of the well known names that come to mind. There are others, less well known, who see the injustices of the past and are also committed to upholding the Treaty. Why not work towards increasing the number of such people? Why not adopt the Treaty model and work in partnership with such modern-day Pākehā-Māori instead of abusing them?

The Pākehā-clobbering machine is still out there. Sometimes Māori mistrust appears so deeply entrenched it seems irreversible; perhaps other individuals resort to the practice for reasons of their own. For some Māori, whatever Pākehā try to do will always be wrong, particularly if they demonstrate an ability to do it well.

Some years ago, in one wharenui (Māori meeting house), a Pākehā member of our rōpū endured a torrent of abuse from a young Māori male for daring to speak in te reo (the Māori language); the irony of this situation was that this rōpū was a language class travelling with kaumatua (respected elder) Huirangi Waikerepuru. On occasion, Māori weavers have been observed to show a distinct lack of aroha (love) for non-Māori who learn to weave too well—even if they have Māori children. Elsewhere, a form of "ethnic cleansing" has been used to eliminate highly qualified Pākehā teaching staff despite their years of commitment to ensure survival of a Māori studies programme when few Māori staff were available.

Non-Māori can work towards positive outcomes for Māori; and if we truly want change, surely the more people Māori can get on their side the better. It is counter-productive to alienate people, and much easier to convert their thinking through education and entertainment rather than through confrontational exchanges. We need to make better use of resources and recognise there are Pākehā who could be considered a "resource". Collaboration appears to be a dirty word, but greater cooperation could help build Māori capacity.

Conclusion

Māori have clearly been victims of Pākehā power-holders; but perhaps it is worth remembering that some migrants have themselves been victims of colonisation. We live in an increasingly complex

world, in an increasingly diverse community, and with immigration policies that have potential to put Māori further down the list of national priorities. Unless New Zealanders recognise that what happened to Māori in the 19th century, how can they comprehend the need for the healing processes occurring today; new beginnings need to be under-pinned with sound foundations.

The past should not be forgotten, but Māori can choose to move forward and stop perpetuating the "injured-party thinking", or risk internalising it and remaining victims indefinitely. We don't need to reinvent the wheel. We need to make better use of available resources. Those resources include ongoing education, cooperation and non-Māori who have commitment to the principles of the Treaty and to kaupapa Māori.

The title of this paper is "Whaia tō te rangi". Back in the 1950s, it was the motto of my school, probably the only one in Christchurch with a Māori motto at the time. As a church school in those days, this motto was translated as "seek the heavenly things". Today they translate it as "the sky's the limit". Back then, there were no classes in te reo. Today their kapahaka group competes at the national Polyfest.

The message is clear. The sky *is* the limit if we really want to make positive changes in moving relationships forward in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Working together has the potential to enable development of positive strategies that can overcome the past adverse effects we have experienced from failure to understand differences between indigenous and non-indigenous societies.

Glossary

aroha	love
kapahaka	concert party, Māori performing group
kaumatua	elder, recognised authority
kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology or philosophy, based on the knowledge, skills and values of Māori society
Kōhanga Reo	language nest
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness
Pākehā	the white non-Māori population of European heritage
rangatiratanga	authority, self-determination
rōpū	party of people, association
te reo	the Māori language
tukutuku	an ornamental pattern of lattice-work
wānanga	conference, forum, an institution for Māori learning
whakapapa	genealogical links
wharenui	meeting house

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Poutama o te Ao Hou: Paradigm of the New World

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Abstract

Visionary 20th-century Māori leader Apirana Ngata exhorted us to make use of the "tools of the Pakeha" in te ao hou, the new world to come. Unimaginable at that time, information technologies (IT) have become the Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) tools of the 21st century. Few people worldwide master IT, and in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Māori are the minority of undergraduate IT students. This paper reverses negative discourse with a positive view of Māori academic success in the virtually monocultural IT disciplines of te ao Pākehā (the European world). Kaupapa Māori (Māori-centred) research found the ways some Māori became qualified in IT from 2004–7. Traditionally, Māori represented the pursuit of knowledge with a stepped pattern called poutama. Artworks created with computer graphic technologies re-present poutama with different elements from both our indigenous and non-indigenous world views.

Keywords
kaupapa Māori, information technologies, poutama

Poutama o te Ao Hou: Paradigm of the New World

In traditional Māori knowledge, the pursuit of learning is represented by poutama, a stepped pattern found in tukutuku (woven panels), cloaks and baskets. Poutama portrays the foundations of the Māori world view—wairuatanga (spirituality), whenua (land), tangata (people) and whānau (family)—and can be used as part of holistic Māori thinking about academic success in IT. Of the five steps on a learning poutama, the first steps lead to enlightenment that, with increasing confidence and working with others, result in greater knowledge and the completion of the qualification.

The authors collaborated to express this contemporary interpretation of traditional knowledge through original artworks created with computer graphic imaging technologies. One image, "Te Ao Hou: The New World", portrays a Māori world view that imposes symmetry on aspects of the Pākehā world and is used with other digital images, animation and sound to present research findings. Reversing negative discourse with positive images normalises Māori academic success in the virtually monocultural IT disciplines of te ao Pākehā (the European world).

I apply traditional Māori knowledge of poutama as the theory behind my PhD thesis, *Te Taumata, Te Tīmata: The Pinnacle, The First Step*, which explores a Māori view of success by those who achieved degrees and other IT qualifications. In the thesis I re-present the stepped pattern of the poutama that traditionally represents our whakapapa (genealogy) and is a metaphor for the pursuit of knowledge. Artist Brian Samuels has created original artwork using advanced IT tools to illustrate my thesis. Here, we re-interpret a five-stepped learning poutama to describe the collaborative journey we took to create the multimedia presentation for this *4th International Traditional Knowledge Conference 2010*.

The music we used in our presentation is titled "Aria", performed by Lisa Gerrard. There was no breach of copyright when the music was used for a research-based academic session at a conference with no commercial intention. However, to present the music to broader global audiences requires permission. "Aria" is from the soundtrack of the 2004 movie, *Layer Cake*, and we are presently seeking permission to use it.

The poutama images shown in my PowerPoint presentation for the conference have a background of fibres scanned from harakeke (native flax) from our real, natural world. The virtual flax strands were then woven and painted using open-source software into images of three poutama. The first is "Poutama o te Ao Māori", which portrays 10 strands of colour and texture to represent the values and elements of a Māori world view. The second complementary image is "Poutama o te Ao Pākehā", which shows elements of a European world view. The third image, "Poutama o te Ao Hou", is a fusion of the two world views, which I use to analyse factors in the success of Māori IT graduates. When asked to translate the term "poutama o te ao hou" into English, I could not think of a single English word to encapsulate the concept of poutama. In the end we agreed that this presentation would translate poutama o te ao hou as "paradigm of the new world". The first image behind the title is a magnification of the light representing wairua (spirit) and mauri (life force), which are part of each of the strands in "Poutama o te Ao Māori". An animated sequence takes the viewer on a flyover of this poutama at an angle above each strand. Details of the meanings attributed to each strand are given at the end of this paper.

A slow fade presents "Poutama o te Ao Pākehā", highlighting coloured strands representing the PhD research: the pathways IT students took to complete their Bachelor degrees; the constraints of student life; the policies in operation in Aotearoa/New Zealand tertiary education environments; the frameworks of learning in the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the composition of IT degrees; teaching and learning in Institutes of Technology and Polytechnics (ITPs); the relationships between Māori students, other students and staff; and the relationships between the ITPs and Māori as tangata whenua (people of the land), particularly as local iwi (tribes) and more generally as indigenous people of Aotearoa.

The next image, "Two Worlds", shows two poutama side-by-side to portray the reality for many Māori and other indigenous peoples globally, particularly those who have been colonised, that has us living in two worlds and experiencing both. We created the image to separate these worlds artificially, using the double poutama as an heuristic tool to explain elements of difference in Māori and non-Māori world views. Both poutama, or worlds, are on the same flax-fibre background, and that is a subliminal point.

The next sequence is an animation that moves "Poutama o te Ao Pākehā" from the left side of the image to fit behind "Poutama o te Ao Māori" on the right side. When the two are merged, "Poutama o te Ao Hou" appears for the first time. Significantly, the composition and colours used in "Poutama o te Ao Pākehā" were selected to fit behind and complement those used in the central stepped pattern of "Poutama o te Ao Māori". The research for *Te Taumata, Te Timata* followed a kaupapa Māori (Māori-centred) philosophy and methodology. A Māori world view is the filtering lens that imposes a structure onto the colonising Pākehā world view found in tertiary education, in ITPs, and in IT degrees.

The next part of the presentation focuses on the five strands or steps in te ao Māori. These are the five steps of a learning poutama, shared by members of the Waitangi Tribunal and tohunga Ringatū (Ringatū learned expert), Joseph Tuahine Northover (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Kahungunu). With his consent, I quoted from a personal email of 2008 in the preface to my thesis. Based on his description, I list the five steps of the learning poutama students should aim for:

1. Kua tīmata (the first step).
2. Kua mārama (enlightenment).
3. Kua kaha; kua pakari; kua tino mātau (confidence).
4. Kua mōhio (knowledge).
5. Ko te taumata; te tihi o manono; te tohungatanga (the pinnacle).

I used this learning poutama as a starting point to structure and analyse the steps Māori graduates went through in their IT studies. Tuahine Northover had observed that his own students of

advanced te reo Māori (the Māori language) grew their knowledge of the language and were later confident to demonstrate and apply that knowledge. The element of confidence can be assessed using the video Northover made of his students standing, speaking and sharing their knowledge with others. My research found that Māori graduates spoke of gaining confidence as learners in ITP environments before they gained knowledge of IT. Tuahine Northover (personal communication, 2008) suggests that the five steps can be applied in other disciplines: "These can be applied to whatever the kaupapa, such as: Mōhiotanga (Knowledge), Whakaputa Whakaaro (Communication), Rangahau (Research) Te Hangatanga, nāna ake (Creativity), Whakahaere (Management) and others". The learning poutama is used to describe the aspects of our collaborative process which have resulted in this conference presentation.

On screen, te tīmata or the first step is the yellow of kōwhai, the tree native to Aotearoa, the blooms of which herald Spring. For many Māori in academic study, learning the protocols to ask for help is a major turning point in their progression. To create this artwork and presentation, my first step was to ask for help from an artist with IT skills. With print copies of simple poutama sketched by hand, and later using Microsoft Paint to illustrate my thinking, I asked artist Brian Samuels for help. We met to discuss core concepts, the purpose of the collaboration, the proposed use of the artworks, and the form of the end products. To animate the fly-through of the poutama artworks at the end of the project, the images were created in layers using 3D graphic software Gimp for painting and Blender for animation and compositing.

Gradually, the intensity of the yellow strand fades to be replaced with a textured pounamu (greenstone) strand. This second step of the learning poutama, te māramatanga, or enlightenment, is where learners "know how much they don't know". Although IT was the subject-matter of the degrees pursued and attained by Māori in my study, as a "digital immigrant" born before the technology was created, I personally am not an IT expert. During my research and in collaborating to make the artwork and presentation, I learned a great deal about information technologies, the potentials and possibilities of graphics and multimedia, and production processes.

A non-traditional māwhero (pink) strand colours the third learning step, for students who are kua kaha, kua pakari and kua tino mātau (strong, capable and confident). Students had become confident in the ITP learning environment, they understood the value of asking questions, and were skilled enough to discuss their learning and uncertainties with others. In our collaboration for this presentation, the artist and I both had specialist knowledge the other did not possess, and we learned a great deal in our discussions and exchanges of questions and answers.

On screen, the hues of the pink strand give way to a cobalt blue nuanced with shadows and light. This fourth step on the learning poutama is kua mōhio, or being knowledgeable. The IT graduates had reached a stage where they were knowledgeable about IT and all were sharing their knowledge with other students, friends, family members and in their workplaces. After a year of collaboration I had learned more about information technologies, and Brian Samuels had learned a great deal more about te ao Māori, kaupapa Māori and poutama.

Seemingly, clouds begin to move across the face of the poutama strand as it slowly morphs into step five, te taumata, or the pinnacle. At the epitome of the learning poutama is a pinnacle—of completion of students' IT degrees, and the presentation of some of our research findings. Painted over a background of woven indigo flax strands, a pattern of stars appears: the Pleiades (known to Māori as Matariki) photographed by the Hubble telescope. The rising of Matariki above the horizon each year in June marks the beginning of the New Year for Māori. As my PhD title indicates, te taumata is followed by te tīmata, the next first step. The technical production is complete and is followed by the presentation of findings for the first time in this multimedia format. Subtly the music begins again, and the image on the screen dissolves into a reverse flyover of the chevron, which is "Poutama o te Ao Māori" on a different angle.
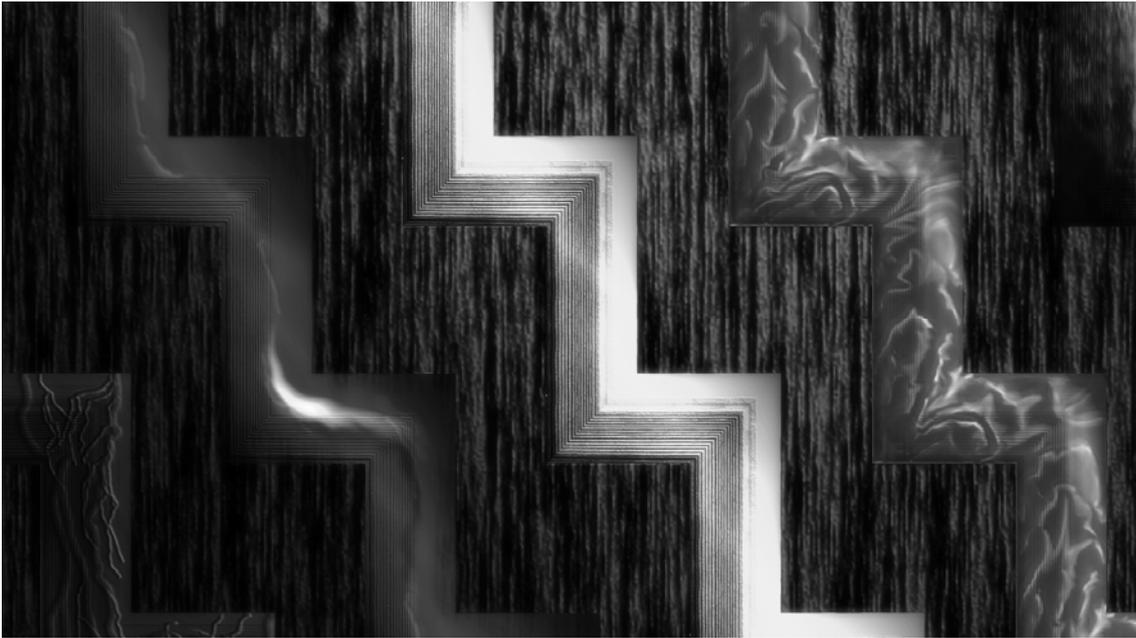
Figure 1. Inset from Poutama o te Ao Māori by Brian Samuels. Beneath the First Step.

A Māori world view is holistic—accommodating and being in many dimensions at the same time. The order of steps is less important than the co-existence of each of the steps at all times. On the fly-through, all 10 steps on the chevron have titles, beginning at the top with Ranginui, the sky father, and moving down through te taumata, kua mōhio, then kua kaha, kua pakari and kua tino mātau, then to te māramatanga and te tīmata. Beneath this "first step" shown above in monochrome on the far right, are the foundations of a holistic Māori world view, identified by the IT graduate students as important parts of their successes in life, and essentially—through our connections—what it is to be Māori. The next layer is kōiwi (human bone), representing whānau, below which is a blood-red strand imbued with mauri, which represents tangata, the people, or iwi—the basis of Māori identity. We are connected to whenua, the land, through our tribal areas, and with Papatūānuku, the archetypal earth mother; the progenitor of humankind.

A final screen shows the integrated "Poutama o te Ao Hou" and acknowledges the support of the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Doctoral Bridging Grant, and thanks the creators of Gimp and Blender software.

The themes of this conference were interpreted as being about seeking understandings beyond first impressions, and recognising, engaging and understanding difference. "Poutama o te Ao Māori" is designed to encapsulate some of the differences between the world views of Māori, who as tangata whenua are indigenous peoples, and Pākehā, who as colonisers and later immigrants to Aotearoa bring other world views. By artificially separating these into two different worlds and then integrating them as one image, we suggest a paradigm where uniqueness and difference can be honoured and understood.

Glossary

harakeke	native flax
iwi	tribes
kaha	strong, able
kaupapa Māori	Māori-centred; Māori ideology
kōiwi	human bone
mārama	brightness, clearness, easy to understand
mauri	life force
mōhio	know, understand

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pakari	strong, muscular
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
pounamu	greenstone
poutama	stepped pattern
tangata	people
tangata whenua	people of the land
taumata	pinnacle
te ao Pākehā	the European world
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tīmata	first step, start
tino mātau	confident
tohunga	learned expert
tukutuku	woven panels
wairua	spirit
wairuatanga	spirituality
whakapapa	genealogical relationships
whānau	family, including extended family
whenua	land

Reference

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Ma Ōku Ringaringa e Whakatū Ōku Whakāro
(My Hands Will Tell You What I Think):
Tāniko and Film Theory

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Abstract

Whatu tāniko is a Māori woven decorative art requiring the utmost concentration, dexterity and expertise in harvesting, gathering and returning knowledge of oral histories and traditions, and how best to visually express them. Practitioners manifest their expertise through a range of geometrical symbols, shapes and colours. They commonly attach their work to the edges of korowai (traditional, commemorative cloaks). Tāniko, along with other mahi toi Māori (Māori arts), are multi-dimensional: conceptual, complex, aesthetic, tangible, environmentally conscious, beautiful and extremely theoretical. Using tāniko as a counterpoint to conventional film theory, this paper builds on Linda Tuhiwai Smith's hypothesis (1999, p. 29) that "writing theory is very intimidating for indigenous students." This paper argues that theory is not intimidating to Māori; rather, it is theory which is not ours that we may find challenging. I argue that the theories found within mahi toi Māori are as intellectually rigorous, if not more so, than conventional film theories. As a means of discussing what Māori film theory can or cannot be, I compare the cinematic works *Once Were Warriors* (1994, dir. Lee Tamahori) and *Boy* (2010, dir. Taika Waititi) with the practice of tāniko.

Keywords
mahi toi Māori, tāniko, film theory, patterning, weaving process, Māori film

Ma Ōku Ringaringa e Whakatū Ōku Whakāro: Tāniko and Film Theory

Currently, the discipline of Film Studies favours theories such as auteur theory, formalist theory, feminist theory, psychoanalytical theory, screen theory and structuralist film theory. Most of these relate to the construction, form and interpretation of film, but have little relevance for indigenous people. At this time, there is no theory devoted to Māori and fiction film. How would we construct a film theory that Māori film students could relate to, and what would it look like? We have a wealth of concepts in our reo (language), kaupapa (ideologies, ways of being, woven foundation), tikanga (customs, traditions) and kawa (protocols, customs of the marae), so do we also need a specifically Māori way of analysing film? I will use whatu tāniko (the art of fine finger weaving) as a framework to refute the notion that we need to construct a Māori film theory using conventional theory. My discussion of tāniko will show the multifaceted structures of Māori, and indeed indigenous theoretical concepts, and encourage their use in the academic environment. At the moment, I am thinking these ideas through.

Using tāniko as a counterpoint to conventional film theory, this paper firstly addresses Linda Tuhiwai Smith's hypothesis (1999, p. 29) that "writing theory is very intimidating for indigenous students." This paper argues that theory is not intimidating for Māori; rather, it is theory which is not ours that we may find challenging. I contend that concepts found within mahi toi Māori (Māori arts) can be related to film. They are as intellectually rigorous, if not more so, than conventional film theory. Secondly, because theory is indistinguishable to praxis in mahi toi Māori, I compare the work of two prominent Māori film practitioners with tāniko as a starting point for a discussion of what a Māori film theory might be.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith has noted that writing from another perspective, especially theoretical writing, is particularly intimidating for Māori students. She has also asserted that the Western academy

formed all the rules for indigenous theory, and that "theorizing our own existence and realities is not something which indigenous people assume is possible" (1999, p. 29). I want to address these contentions through tāniko. Because the Western academy did not form the rules of tāniko, utilising it is essentially "theorising our own concept, existence and realities".

I believe the intimidation Smith describes is more to do with the limitations of conventional theory than our comprehension of theory. As one of very few Māori in an academic department devoted predominantly to European philosophies, I struggled with the way we learned the many branches of film theory by reading, comprehending, (re)writing, and then moving on. There was no engagement with the other senses—nothing to touch, hear, see, taste or smell. I was used to raranga (weaving) and kapa haka (Māori performance, cultural group), learnt as a child, which relied on all the senses—watching each other, hearing, feeling, smelling, singing, moving—and thus I could not fathom why I was being asked to limit myself to reading to understand. Reconditioning my thinking to the university way was a real challenge, but the challenge was more to do with the paring down of the levels of thinking, not with expanding them.

There is complexity and rigour in our concepts and theories using tāniko. These theories were passed down to us, he taonga tuku iho (treasures passed down from our ancestors). While it could be, and often is, assumed that tāniko is merely a weaving technique, Erenora Puketapu-Hetet, tohunga (expert, priest) of the whare pora (house of weaving, weaving school), has stated that tāniko must involve process, technique and patterning for it to be tika (correct, right) or authentic. That is, tāniko is not so without the simultaneous presence of all three. Before I discuss these three elements and how they apply to the films Once Were Warriors (1994, dir. Lee Tamahori) and Boy (2010, dir. Taika Waititi), I want to show some works that use the tāniko technique, and then expand on elements that exemplify the rigour of tāniko.

The majority of early writings on tāniko are devoted to instructing the technique, which meant practitioners learned only one dimension. For example, North American art historian Joyce Smith "mastered" tāniko by making a belt following the instructions in a book by Hirini Moko Mead (1952). Not long after, she began teaching the technique both in New Zealand and in the United States, and went on to publish her own instructional book. However, although Smith used the tāniko technique, she did not use Māori symbolism and her work expressed no clear history. Her wall hangings are inelegant and confusing, and some of the patterns are swastikas. What do these mean? She also used synthetic fibres and thus did not engage in the process of harvesting the harakeke (native flax), which involves gathering, cutting, stripping, washing, dyeing, drying and rolling its fibres. Nor did she partake in the returning and gifting that are essential for tika or authentic tāniko.

Tāniko requires specialist botanical knowledge: how to tell which harakeke is best to use; when it is best to cut it; what parts of it are not to be cut, and why. It requires an environmental conscience: there should never be any waste as a cutting will re-nourish itself if placed back with the parent plant.

In tāniko, the geometrical shapes have meanings that are specific to whānau (family, extended family), hapū (kinship group) and iwi (tribe), and generally commemorate a person and/or an event. Sometimes a weaver will inject their own personal style and symbolism, which other weavers will be able to identify.

An intimate historical knowledge of whānau, hapū and iwi is also fundamental to tāniko. Because the piece of work is most likely to be gifted to someone, the practitioner needs to know that person's whakapapa (genealogy, lineage), the event the gift commemorates, and any appropriate symbolism—sometimes of tribal histories other than their own. Specialist knowledge is also needed of the patterning distinct to different regions.

Tightly knotted into the knowledge of history and whakapapa is important mathematical and symbolic logic. The geometrical shapes—mostly niho taniwha (teeth of a guardian spirit, triangular),

pātikitiki (diamond shaped patterning, flounder) and aramoana (chevron pattern, of the sea)—are precise, elegant and specific. These are visual aids to the oral traditions.

Tāniko is deeply rooted in the spiritual dimension, and there are karakia (invocation, prayer, chant) that should be recited at appropriate times throughout the creation process. Tohunga would conduct a rigorous tohi (dedication rite like a baptism) ceremony, similar to a baptism, when a girl showed promise as a weaver. The ceremony included waiata (songs) and the recitation of karakia. By connecting with the spiritual dimension, the plant, the weaver, and the final article were kept safe.

Knowledge of all of these areas, and more I have not mentioned, is fundamental to the practice of tāniko. There is more to tāniko than merely a decorative art that beautifies the edges of korowai and kākahu (cloak). It has its own theories, but we can also see it, touch it, feel the muka (flax fibre), taste the sap on our fingers, smell the harakeke, and hear the histories and narratives of the person for whom it was made and why it was gifted. Tāniko is multilayered, multifaceted, intricate, complex, beautiful and rigorous.

I will now turn from tāniko to film, where a growing number of Māori are practising their mahi toi. If a Māori film theory is to be established, it is likely that as with tāniko, theory and praxis would be indistinguishable. In following Puketapu-Hetet's whakaaro (thought, opinion) that tāniko consists of process, technique and patterning, I will look at Once Were Warriors and Boy, using these same elements. I will focus on processes in terms of pre-production, techniques through the film-maker's stylistic influence, and patterning as the shaping of characters. I have chosen to look at Warriors and Boy to show the extreme contrasts between the mahi toi of Māori directors Lee Tamahori and Taika Waititi in their use of these elements.

When making Warriors, Tamahori admitted having more Anglo-Saxon tendencies than Māori because, in his words, he grew up in an upper-middle-class, white neighbourhood. It is likely, therefore, that he had limited knowledge of the due process of consultation with elders when approaching Māori. His Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) producer would also have been oblivious to the consultation process, and therefore did not know to encourage it. Tamahori (1994, p. 17) stated that he thought the film would "only appeal to the white, middle-class audience who bought the book"—and here he means the novel, Once Were Warriors, by Alan Duff. The book was written by a Māori, and adapted for screen by a Māori, and Tamahori produced the film consulting only the script. It is highly likely, however, that if kaumātua (elders) were advised, Warriors may not have made it through pre-production because of the distorted image and poor reflection of Māori society.

After Warriors, Māori film-makers focused their energies on making films that showed Māori as we are. The process employed during the filming of Taika Waititi's recent release Boy was very different from that of Warriors. Significantly, there were three experienced Māori producers within the group of five, including the recently laid-to-rest Merata Mita, one of the staunchest advocates for production processes that are sensitive to indigenous peoples. Tino pōuri ō mātou ngākau ki raro konei. Rere tonu koe ki te Aorangi, e te hoa rangatira i a mātou. Moe mai, moe mai, moe mai (Our hearts are very sad down here. Fly away to the world above, our esteemed friend. And sleep, sleep, sleep).

In the production of Boy, it was a given that due processes such as consultation with local kaumātua were an important component. For instance, some scenes were set in an urupā (cemetery), and here the production team followed the recommendation of kaumātua and built a replica to save offence and not draw negative wairua (spirits, souls). While Waititi does not consider himself a "Māori" film-maker, following appropriate Māori processes suggests the opposite. His accountability to Māori elders and producers removes him from total directorial control, whereas some directors consider their interpretation of a culture more important than the actual culture they are representing. This does not happen in Boy.

When we relate tāniko to Warriors and Boy it is easy to identify which film considered the need to engage in time-consuming tasks such as pre-production consultation processes. These

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processes can be likened to the harvesting, gathering, cutting, rolling and dyeing of harakeke before the weaving takes place.

Turning to technique, the major influences on Tamahori's film-making technique and style come from Hollywood. While Warriors does not have white male protagonists with extraordinary abilities, as in most of his other Hollywood films, it does share an excess of violence, and the results of urban decay and cultural disenfranchisement. Ultimately, Warriors is deeply embedded in the typical Hollywood action ghetto narrative. One example of many is the scene where Boogie and Grace approach the Youth Court. Outside, a large group of young Polynesians dance happily beside a ghetto blaster, supposedly waiting for their hearings. In reality this is not common outside the country's youth courts, although it can be seen in Hollywood films set in the ghetto.

In comparison, Waititi does not follow the strictures of an existing genre. Rather, he draws on elements from multiple genres, in a style I like to refer to as "empirical". Empiricism relies on practical experience, especially of the senses. Boy borrows from Waititi's practical experience of acting, directing and writing for television, theatre and stand-up comedy. But most importantly, Boy borrows from Waititi's childhood experiences, so that his style relies on his experience of having been there before. Waititi has said that as a child he had waited in a car, in a pub car park, and this situation is a recurring theme in Boy as well as in Two Cars, One Night (2004). The way that Boy amuses himself with cigarette and doobie butts, and pretends to drive the car, complete with sound effects, are probably drawn from the moments Waititi needed to occupy himself. The subtle nuances of the car scenes are likely to resonate, either positively or negatively, with many in the audience.

Tāniko and film are technically comparable in that the woven kaupapa and film stock are both empty mediums upon which the practitioner imprints their narrative and their particular interpretation. They carefully consider who the piece is being made for and the best ways to picture it. Warriors is a Hollywood-based film constructed, according to Tamahori, for the white, festival audience who bought the book. Meanwhile, Boy revisits monotonous moments in our lives and imbues them with value.

Finally, I am going to discuss patterning in these films, specifically in terms of the shaping of characters. Warriors displays a remarkably stark conflation of Hollywood cinematic "Otherness" and Māori. In the same way that archetypal male Mexicans are generally shown as tattooed, wearing sombreros and with handlebar moustaches and African-Americans are physically threatening, wield guns and deal drugs, in order to be comprehensible to an international audience Māori needed to maintain stereotypical Polynesian exoticism. Thus, the cast were sun-kissed in extra-fake bronzer. The gang were covered in tattoos, and some wore fake dreads. Jake, on the other hand, is made more "Other" as the archetypal "savage warrior". Tattooed, with buzz-cut hair, Jake is often framed in upward-tilted shots to make him look monstrous, depraved and dominating. While these embellishments mean the characters are decipherable as "Other" by an international audience, they have enough Māori markers to localise them as New Zealand's natives. Although people similar to the characters in Warriors do exist—"Hands up those of us whose brother is in the Kawerau Chapter of the Mongrel Mob!"—they are not typical.

In comparison, the central characters in Boy are extraordinarily ordinary. It was not uncommon in the 1980s to see a Michael Jackson glove or fake "Thriller" jacket amongst the rugby socks, stubbie shorts and jandals. Nor was it uncommon to see home-made tattoos, people jumping through car windows Dukes of Hazzard style, and wearing denim tracksuits. The characters' ordinariness is established at their introduction. During his class's "morning news", Boy's voice-over constantly brings the view back to empirical day-to-day reality. An example is in the scene where Boy tells us his brother Rocky thinks he has magic powers. He extends his hand out to the passing school bus, willing it to crash, but alas, says Boy, "he doesn't" (have powers). Thus, viewers know the characters are in no way out of the ordinary.

Typical patterns in tāniko are easily read: triangles arranged in a particular formation become nihoniho taniwha, meaning strength; chevrons represent aramoana (the repetitive course of the ocean), sometimes meaning constancy and vastness; tango pātikitiki are the fly-swat shapes of Ngāti Porou; and so on. If I place J. Smith's wall hangings, with their confusion, lack of elegance and swastikas, next to a piece by Erenora Puketapu-Hetet, it is clear that the tāniko made using customary process, technique and patterning makes sense while the one that relies on technique alone does not. Likewise, the characters in *Warriors*, while identifiable as Māori, have been embellished beyond reality. They are, then, hyper-real Māori, constructed (like J. Smith's tāniko) from synthetic fibre. In *Boy*, the main characters are particularly ordinary, constructed empirically from the elements around them, just as Puketapu-Hetet's tāniko is made on a kaupapa made of harakeke.

I think it is appropriate to conclude with a note on kaupapa. In weaving, the kaupapa is the result of someone harvesting, gathering, stripping, rolling, washing, drying and weaving it. The kaupapa was there before the oral histories were patterned onto it, and its longevity relies on the tension and the dexterity of the weaver's fingers. Just as kaupapa is the foundation of weaving, kaupapa, or our way of being, is the foundation of how we function as Māori people. Kaupapa are learned collectively through whakawhanaungatanga (forming and maintaining connections) with whānau, kaumātua and hapū, and these inform our personal kaupapa. What kaupapa did *Warriors* and *Boy* emerge from? What kaupapa drives Māori film practitioners? I believe that if a specifically Māori film theory were to be established, it would certainly be rooted in our own concepts, and would have a close kinship with mahi toi Māori.

Glossary

aramoana	the repetitive course of the ocean
hapū	kinship group
harakeke	native flax
he taonga tuku iho	treasures passed down from our ancestors
iwi	tribe
kākahu	cloak
kapa haka	Māori performance, cultural group
karakia	invocation, prayer, chant
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa	ideologies, ways of being, rationale, subject, woven foundation
kawa	protocols and customs of the marae
korowai	traditional, commemorative cloak ornamented with black tags or thrums
mahi toi	arts, crafts
mahi toi Māori	Māori arts
Māori	indigenous people of New Zealand
muka	flax fibre
niho taniwha	teeth of a mystical creature or guardian spirit; triangular patterning that symbolises a chiefly lineage
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pātikitiki	diamond shaped patterning, flounder
raranga	weaving
reo	voice, language
tāniko	fine finger weaving
taonga	prized possession, treasure
tika	correct, right
tikanga	customs, traditions, codes, conventions
tohi	dedication rite like a baptism
tohunga	expert, priest
tuku iho	passed down (from ancestors)
urupā	cemetery, burial ground
waiata	songs

wairua	spirits, souls
whakaaro	thought, opinion, understanding
whakapapa	genealogy, lineage
whakawhanaungatanga	forming and maintaining connections
whānau	family, extended family
whare pora	house of weaving, weaving school
whatu tāniko	the art of fine finger weaving

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First Nation Stories: When the Story Comes First

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Abstract

This paper is a focus on the students, teachers and curriculum of a basic sociology course within a university bridging programme. The teaching team, consisting of three Australian Aboriginal people, is positioned in a place where their voices can be privileged: First Nation stories can be heard. But this is also a liberating classroom aimed at a diverse student cohort following both indigenous and Freirian (1972) methods of teaching. In the spirit of reciprocity all stories must be heard and narrative is used for both students and teachers to learn from each other. Blommaert (2005) argues that in order for an identity to be established it has to be recognised by others. Within the method of reciprocity, backed by University of South Australia policy, we hope that the re/cognition of self-identity and of colonisation will enable the students to decolonise and re/make the future of Australian identity.

Key Words

education, indigenous knowledge, Australian Aboriginal peoples, narrative, identity, storytelling

Introduction

This paper will discuss the pedagogy of a University of South Australia bridging course—*Society, the State and the Individual*—taught by an Australian Aboriginal teaching team to a diverse learning cohort. It is written as a multi-vocal narrative (Richardson & Adams St Pierre, 2005) privileging First Nation voices. These voices speak of reciprocity and of understanding the identity of the students to not only enable a generation of students to enter the liberating space of academic learning but to go on and speak for equity for Aboriginal people in Australian society. It is both a method of decolonisation and empowerment, and, through University of South Australian policy, a requirement.

"Old School" View in a New World

Many advantages come from the teaching team we have assembled to deliver our course to students in the University of South Australia Foundation Studies programme. It is a unique situation to have three First Nations peoples of Australia teaching a course that caters to the mainstream. Another interesting feature of our teaching team is the different backgrounds we come from despite being categorised as "Aboriginal". There is enormous diversity among the three of us and this is shared with our students as often as possible; it is also evidence of the different worldviews we have. We have an excellent rapport with our students resulting from this evident diversity and a never-failing memory of what life was like when we were students. Sadly, academia forgets what life was like as an undergraduate and often neglects to have empathy for students (Freire, 1972).

Society, the State and the Individual is a programme aimed at students without the requisite Tertiary Entry Result to enable them to gain admission into university undergraduate programmes. By its very nature, the cohort of students enrolled in Foundation Studies are people who view tertiary education as a privilege and almost as a final chance to engage in institutional tertiary learning.

Teaching our programme in Foundation Studies is not without its challenges. There are a significant number of students who have come from a non-English speaking background and, in the course content, assumptions are made that the post-colonial history of Australia is widely known. Of course this is not the case as many of our students are recent arrivals to Australia and have a limited knowledge of the history of Australia. They have had even less opportunity than Australian-born people to know about Australia's First Nations Peoples. We, the teaching team, are charged with explaining the sometimes painful history of our people to strangers. It is a job that must be done as were it not for courses such as this many people in Australia might not learn the true history of

Australia and of the resilience and strength of First Nations Peoples in Australia. One important characteristic among our students that makes this task a little easier is that, in the main, the students are eager to have this knowledge and are respectful of our struggles. We find that many of our students understand discrimination and oppression as we share our stories and histories.

Equity is a key ingredient in the delivery of our course that leads to a student-centred focus and lends itself to close working relationships with our students. Equity is an ideal that many of our students will not have had much experience of in their countries of origin. There is little likelihood that they will experience this in a place like Australia despite the rhetoric we espouse about Australia being an egalitarian society. It seems the more money and power you have the more "equalness" you receive. Our course really is about removing this veil hiding the true nature of Australian society from the eyes of many of our younger students and new arrivals. This allows us to tell the real story of this country, remove myths and set the historical record straight. In turn, this process helps to overcome myths that are associated with Aboriginal people in Australia.

There are numerous stories that can be told of our students and the particular paths that led them to our lecture theatre and tutorial room; most are not happy stories, but there are undoubtedly happy endings once the students graduate and gain entry to the programmes that will deliver their dream to them—programmes such as teaching, social work and nursing. My favourite part of this process is shown by the relationship I have developed with two of my students. These students come from totally different cultural backgrounds and one of the few common experiences they share is that they are recent arrivals to Australia and see their time at university as being a fresh start. Without naming them, their backgrounds are that one is an Israeli woman and the other an Afghani man. Both share the characteristic of English being a second language and because of this they lacked confidence in their ability to grasp new concepts and the histories and freedoms that might come from their new home. Each, separately, expressed their apprehension of their ability to cope with the subject matter of an often challenging course. I agreed to spend some extra time early in the course to work one-on-one with them to review the weekly topic and their individual understanding of the course content; this was for the first 4 weeks of the course. Now, both students are handing in high quality work and are regular contributors to tutorial discussions, even to the point where they are now sharing their experiences from growing up in Israel and Afghanistan and the struggles they have endured to be in Australia.

They have also helped me rebut the myths that are often held by the mainstream society in my country about refugees and asylum seekers in Australia and the so-called financial benefits they receive. This has also opened the door to similar discussions about myths associated with my people and the false assumptions that we are all welfare recipients. In effect, this creates an opportunity for two-way learning in our course and lends itself very nicely to a concept we have in South Australia that is from the Pitjantjatjara people of central Australia and is called "ngapartji ngapartji", which in simple terms means reciprocity.

In This Course You Use Your Head and Your Heart
It's Friday morning, Week 9, and numerous students voice their anxiety over Assignment 2. But those numbers have halved since first contact; the individuals who are left are reciting the mantras of "stay in the game" or "keep your eye on the prize". Course expectations are very much on their minds and I tell them in this course you use your head and your heart. I tell them to use story in their essays, that personal engagement in theory is just as important as the correct placement of a comma in your reference list.

This is a liberating classroom (Freire, 1972); at the end of most tutorials a question is asked of the whole room along the lines of "What do you want from the world you live in?" Shor states that "in a liberating classroom suggested by Freire's ideas, teachers pose problems derived from student life, social issues, and academic subjects, in a mutually created dialogue" (1993, p. 25). The classroom becomes one of shared storytelling.

Storytelling as an academic method for indigenous peoples is culturally relevant and respectful (Martin, 2008). This method can also be used by students in their papers and essays; this is the way I write and is also the type of narrative I want to read. We teach sociology, not creative writing or another equally imaginative discipline within the humanities. But, as Richardson writes (2005), these boundaries between disciplines are becoming blurred as scholars fit their writing styles with their learning styles. She goes on to add that:

> This new qualitative community could, through its theory, analytical practices, and diverse membership, reach beyond academia and teach all of us about social injustice and methods for alleviating it. What qualitative researcher interested in social life would not feel enriched by membership in such a culturally diverse and inviting community? (Richardson & Adams St Pierre, 2005, p. 965)

What better way is there for preparing a student for a career in the social sciences than by saying it starts with sharing stories and speaking from the heart? When you allow their stories to be placed within this context it privileges their voices so that they can then hear others. The students are enabled to engage in the empowering work of knowing that the land they learn on belongs to other peoples, Aboriginal Peoples, who share their stories.

Always Time for a Yarn at the Kaurna Building

After each lecture, the teaching team stop for coffee and a catch up at the campus café situated at the base of the Kaurna building. The building is named to honour the original owners of the land we sit on, the Kaurna People of the Adelaide plains. The Indigenous college is housed in a building that is named with a Kaurna word for learning and it never fails to make me feel proud to say my office is in the Yungondi building. The Aboriginal culture is here on campus and it is at this table where three Aboriginal scholars sit and yarn or talk.

The three of us take turns in buying the coffee; we talk business, we share stories and we are often visited by current students or past students expressing their enthusiasm and concerns. The traffic of students runs east to west moving from lecture hall, tutorial room and library. But we are very aware that there is another set of traffic moving north to south from chancellery to car park as the senior management come in and out of meetings. Now and again we are joined by Aboriginal elders at the table, people we also consider senior management.

The faces on this urban campus are multicultural; some are here only to undertake study before returning to their home country, some have moved here as migrants or refugees and others may have many generations of family living in Australia. Some cluster together in groups of similarity and form friendships through study. Some individuals stand alone lost in thought cultivating their own narrative—then bring that back for sharing in the lectures and tutorials. We recognise students of the past, present and future. Often, I feel like I am being watched as they too enjoy their coffee waiting for one of us to leave for the tutorial, their cue to follow. It is at this site, the café at the base of the Kaurna building, that I think we do some of our best work, talking, storying, supporting, being inspired and leading the next group of scholars.

Australian Identity

What does it mean to be Australian and how is this reflected in academia? Our current Prime Minister may have apologised to the Stolen Generations (indigenous children removed from their families) but how many Australians have understood the oppression and degradation felt by those who suffered at the hands of those who acted in a narrative of rescuer not as an agent of cultural genocide? An Australian is known as a white, laid-back, sunshine-enjoying, beer-drinking individual from a country that is without a lengthy history. But we do have an ancient history—one that is not recognised because to do so will mean that all citizens will need to understand that other narratives of this colonised country exist for its first inhabitants.

Academia understands this and is cognizant of its First Nation narratives, but does it also become the provocateur of dramatic narrative used to damage its Aboriginal people again by asking them to speak of their experience and also to speak to those who want to resist? And I ask myself is my narrative dramatic or is it aimed at nurturing empathy in those who have already felt oppression and are ready to hear my story. If these students engaging in their first entry into academia can see that Aboriginal names, people and culture still exist and form a story that they can be a part of as an inhabitant of this space then they can begin to understand all narratives and build an Australian identity based on a deep understanding.

A Stranger Sits With us at Table 46

From the very first lecture we are named as Aboriginal People. It is a great opportunity for us to tell our First Nations stories and our storytelling opens the space for our students to talk back and share their stories and disclose themselves. And they are really personal disclosures that the students make public—from family relationships, warts and all, to public self-"outings" of queer sexuality, stories of growing up with limited finances and survival.

It is the day before I am heading to the 4th International Traditional Knowledges Conference in Auckland and I am having coffee at the base of the Kaurna building with a colleague of this teaching team. We are approached by two of our mature-age learners who join us and we talk, eat and sip lattés for about 3 hours. They tell us of their deep satisfaction with the course and of their appreciation for how we structure it—beginning with the First Nations stories and allowing everyone to talk openly while we make our way through the course themes, using story backed up with established social theories. They say they have felt so privileged to be taught by three Aboriginal people and that this has ignited their passion to pursue Aboriginal studies in their undergraduate degrees.

Searching for objective feedback, my colleague asks if this reflects the views of others. We soon discover that not quite everyone feels that way and that some students feel that we are forcing our indigeneity onto them and we are both troubled by this thought. But we are also reminded that the work of decolonisation is not an easy one …

> Decolonisation is political and disruptive even when the strategies employed are pacifist because anything that requires major change of worldview, that forces a society to confront its past and address it at a structural and institutional level that challenges the systems of power, is indeed political. (Smith, 2005, p. 8)

I ponder the question: If nobody is upset by what we do or what we say, are we in any way effective?

Seeing the Self Through Relationship

The time spent talking to students in lecture, tutorial and café becomes a place of learning for all of us. In the course, we look at identity theory and socialisation. We unpack the knapsacks of power and privilege (McIntosh, 1990), coming to know others as we know ourselves. And we perform these identities on many levels as discussed by Sen:

> We are all individually involved in identities of various kinds … arising from our backgrounds, or associations, or social activities. The same person can, for example, be a British citizen, of Malaysian origin, with Chinese racial characteristics, a stockbroker, a non-vegetarian, an asthmatic, a linguist, a body builder, an opponent of abortion, a bird-watcher, an astrologer, and one who believes that God created Darwin to test the gullible. (Sen, 2007, p. 23)

Storying Identity and Building a Bridge

Thinking about the physical space we are in, my colleague and I turn to thinking about the metaphor of the bridge. We notice all of the linking bridges on the campus above us linking the Kaurna building and the Hawke building and the Yungondi building. Then we shift our thoughts to the biggest bridge that links our campus to Piltawodli (Kaurna name for the home of the possum). We reflect on how

Aboriginal knowledge and our stories as Aboriginal peoples are key to teaching within the Western academy and how we must pursue this methodology of storytelling as knowledge.

Society, the State and the Individual is an enabling programme—a bridging course leading to undergraduate courses that stem into career pathways. It is the job of the teaching team to assist in the building of that bridge and our approach is very much through story—teaching social theories in sync with story. We, the teaching team and the students, have discovered through each other's experience that the relationship between skin colour, ethnicity, economic circumstance, geography, sexuality et cetera, and abilities to achieve academically are false. The students have learned that their identities and the identities of others are multi-layered.

We have also learned that universities are spaces built from "White privilege" occupied by graduates of secondary schools of White privilege from economically wealthy schools and suburbs—and that White privilege is what has paved a clearway for most to enter into the Western academy (McIntosh, 1990).

I am excited because it feels that the students are excelling in the basics of sociology and they have mostly been able to achieve this through story and reciprocal learning—and I am hopeful that their life experiences and storytelling continue to be embraced throughout their scholarly journey into career and into life. I see a bright future for them and I would be proud and honoured for them to lead and take their rightful place as agents of social change—to decolonise Australian nationalism.

Embedding Indigenous Knowledge in the Curriculum

This has been a multi-vocal paper and we now introduce the 4th voice—that of the University of South Australia. The First Nation stories appropriately came first, and storied within this were the voices of students as partners in learning. Indigenous people teaching within a colonised space are at times challenging (Fredericks, 2009). It is important to create sites for decolonisation to create a fairer Australia, to re-make its identity by fostering future spokespersons for Indigenous people through the disciplines of communications, health, education, social science and law. We may experience resistance but we are backed by University policy.

The University of South Australia has placed indigenous stories in every programme through the Indigenous Content in Undergraduate Policy and principles relating to ethically working with Indigenous People in its Graduate Qualities (Rowan, 2004). We have been given a challenge; we are spread thin within the university with many claims on our time and knowledge. But we have been given a mandate to tell our stories and keep telling them until our voices run dry and a new generation has been taught to take over from us.

Conclusion

The stories that enable us to be good teachers for equity have existed in both indigenous and non-indigenous spaces for millennia, many times hidden behind a veil to protect those who have the power and privilege to make decisions within our world. In the example of this paper, those with power and privilege—university management—have empowered the voices of those who understand oppression to teach others who have been oppressed. An understanding of good pedagogical practice is used also to create a new generation of graduates who will work towards social justice and equity for all Australians. After the bridging course discussed, the students will go on to learn more about Aboriginal Australians throughout their degrees and they will know that from the first moment they sit in a lecture theatre their voices, their stories, and their narratives will have a place within academia.

It is in the little moments we learn to understand each other; sitting in the campus café, pausing to hear the stories in a lecture theatre, working one-on-one with a student, taking time to notice the environment and history around you. In these moments we find threads of similarity in each other's stories. The Aboriginal elders who stop at our café table would tell us this. Now, if only we could get university senior management to stop and hear the stories that their policies have enabled.

Glossary
ngapartji ngapartji   reciprocity

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TANGIHANGA
SYMPOSIUM

Tangihanga: The Ultimate Form of Māori Cultural Expression— Overview of a Research Programme

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Abstract

Death, observed through the process of tangihanga (time set aside to grieve and mourn, rites for the dead) or tangi (to grieve and mourn), is the ultimate form of Māori cultural expression. It is also the topic least studied by Māori or understood by outsiders, even after televised funeral rites of Māori leaders and intrusive media engagements with more humble family crises. It has prevailed as a cultural priority since earliest European contact, despite missionary and colonial impact and interference, and macabre Victorian fascination. Change is speculative rather than confirmed. Tangi and death rituals have yet to be rigorously examined in the Māori oral canon, or in the archival and historic record that may be discarded or reinforced by current practice. As researchers we are committed to studying tangi, conscious of the belief that such work carries the inherent risk of karanga aituā (inviting misfortune or even death itself) by drawing attention to it. Contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand is constantly touched by aspects of tangi practice through popular media and personal exposure.

This volatile subject nevertheless demands careful and comprehensive scrutiny in order to extend and enrich the knowledge base, reveal the logic that guides ritual, inform the wider New Zealand community and, more importantly, support the cultural, social, ritual, economic and decision-making processes of bereaved whānau (family, including extended family), people affiliated with marae (communal meeting complex) and iwi (tribe, tribal). This paper provides an overview of a research programme that began in July 2009, based at The University of Waikato. The programme is funded by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the Marsden Fund of New Zealand and the Health Research Council of New Zealand.

Introduction

We are Māori scholars with similar iwi and hapū (kinship group) backgrounds, a shared interest, and the desire to continue working together. Each of us is interested in tangihanga or tangi, the complex interaction of rituals surrounding them, the taonga (treasures) or significant objects displayed, the practices involved, the music and chants performed, as well as the conflicts and changes that arise from the passing of loved ones. The subject has brought our individual research pathways together, and has also attracted the interest of others—students, practitioners, and people in the community.

In this paper we present a brief overview of the Tangi Research Programme, based at The University of Waikato. We begin by outlining the rationale for the programme and comment on existing literature and its relative scarcity. We follow this by describing in very general terms the most common process of tangi. We duly recognise that such a process varies according to tribal group, urban or rural setting, and constraints on participants. The general pattern of tangi presents a foundation for further, more specific investigations. These are listed at the end of this paper and are starting points, initial probings, into areas that have received little previous attention. In the current changing environment, these areas demand critical examination in order to provide clarity and direction for future generations, particularly to those seeking to revive and renew traditional practices.

Programme Rationale

Death, through the customary observation of tangi ritual, is the ultimate signifier of Māori community and self-expression. Tangi, the Māori experience of death, has yet to be analysed by social or

academic commentators. Very little has been published; the televisation of high-profile funerals like those of Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu and the intrusive media reactions to more humble family crises reveal the need for informed commentary.

Māori constantly talk about death, spontaneously composing farewell orations and enduring chants but seldom writing anything down. Pre-contact and primary sources such as apakura (lament, song of grief), waiata tangi (lament, song of mourning), family manuscripts, and descriptive, detailed oral accounts (McLean & Orbell, 1975; Ngata & Jones, 1980; Servant, 1973; Te Rangikāheke, 1854), including those by living ritualists, provide rich information for future analysis. Keen ethnographic observation as well as speculative reminiscences (Best, 1924; Buck, 1966[1929]) reiterate or question the variant reporting of earlier times (Cook, 1955[1728–1779]; Cruise, 1824; Fox, 1983; Marsden, 1932; Pollack, 1976; Te Awekōtuku, 2004; Te Awekōtuku, Nikora, Rua & Karapu, 2007; Williams, Williams & Porter, 1974) and require further study. Only one commentator (Phillips, 1954) has considered the impact of Europeans on tangi.

These early historical and ethnographic works culminate in one scholarly monograph by Oppenheim (1973), almost forty years ago. Apart from work on tangi and other Māori gatherings by Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1945, 1946), Metge (1976) and Salmond (1975), commentary has been informative rather than analytical. Māori death practice is explained to concerned others, to the health, religious or social welfare sectors, or to the mortuary industry. Two small pieces stand out: Dansey's powerful narrative (1975) and Paratene (Pat) Ngata's personal and professional insights (2005). Although significant, these are only chapters in books, with Ngata's enhanced by three brief perspectives from Clair, Piripi, and Reid (2005). Ngata (2006) also offers a succinct online guide for health providers on Māori palliative care. Tomas (2008) considers ownership of tūpāpaku (corpse), and Hera's (1996) unpublished doctoral thesis includes interviews with nine older Māori women about tangi. Witana (1997) offers a Māori counsellor's perspective in his sensitively written chapter. Poignant male perspectives are also given by Edwards, McCreanor, Ormsby, and Tipene-Leach (2009). The topic is superficially considered in various books that introduce the reader to customary values and practice in modern times (Barlow, 1991; Dansey, 1971; Harawira, 1997; Mead, 2003; Tauroa & Tauroa, 1986); and, following the Trade Union Education Authority manual (1990), these references are summarised in a recent booklet of instruction and advice by Matengā-Kohu and Roberts (2006). Currently there is no definitive historical or contemporary published account of tangi and the Māori experience of death which captures its fluidity, transformation and effects.

A General Pattern

We know there is a general but increasingly mutable pattern to tangi. Death takes place. Sometimes the ceremony of tuku wairua (sending on the spirit) occurs. Family and friends are alerted, and if required there is an autopsy. The deceased is prepared by an undertaker, often with assistance from family members. He or she then proceeds to the marae, sometimes via the family home, for viewing, mourning, remembering and celebrating. Marae rituals are enacted over a few hours or a few days before burial or cremation and associated rites. These include the performative elements of pōwhiri (welcome ritual), tangi, whaikōrero (oratory), haka (posture dances), waiata (song, dirge), whakapapa (genealogy), poroporoaki (farewell speech) and karakia (prayer). Proceedings are enhanced by the display of significant artefacts, including kākahu (cloaks), rare traditional weapons and jewellery, all of which adorn the casket. Portraits of deceased relatives are exhibited. The casket is generally closed before the final church or memorial service. Takahi whare, or the ritual cleansing of the deceased's house, usually follows internment. Hākari (feasting) completes the process; it releases the family back into everyday life. Sometimes grief is relieved by kawe mate (ceremonial visits following the burial or cremation of the deceased) over ensuing months, and later by the hura kōhatu (unveiling of the headstone).

This is a general pattern that brings order and predictability during a time of critical emotional upheaval, grieving and healing. People know what to do, what comes next, and what counts as doing the right thing—as tikanga (customary practice). It originates in traditional behaviour and time-

honoured values, rationalised in the oral/aural canon, reinforced by repeated enactments, and discussed in historical accounts.

More Complex Patterns

When considering the huge range of issues and interests that might emerge from a study of tangi, it quickly becomes clear that so much more is encompassed than the general pattern described above. The pattern is influenced by a broad spectrum of other possibilities; for example, the health strategies we use to avoid or delay death, the misadventures that might befall us, the extent to which a person is connected within a Māori kinship and marae network, the availability of people skilled in whaikōrero or waiata, the economic resources available to families and marae communities, and the degree to which people subscribe to marae-based tangi rituals. The influences are many and complex. If we are to successfully pursue research in this area, we must take the time to unravel this complexity and, indeed, the aspects of tangi that we as researchers and as members of our respective communities take for granted. Moreover, death is a concern of everyday life for everyone. Much of our lives are spent in the usually unconscious project of survival and the avoidance of death. Mortality is undeniable, and sooner or later we all have to face death—our own and, of course, that of significant others.

Tangihanga as a Field of Study

This topic interests researchers in a range of disciplines, including anthropology, art, classics, demography, environmental studies, history, literature, medicine, music, screen and media, socio-legal studies, social policy, sociology, philosophy, psychology and religious studies. It is also of special interest and relevance to those professionally or voluntarily engaged in the health and caring professions, in bereavement counselling, the funeral industries, and in central and local government. More interestingly, though, is the recent shift in Western thinking about death and the borrowing that has occurred from indigenous peoples to inform therapies, rituals and processes of memorialising. People of the Māori and Pacific diaspora are compelled to engage with the mortuary industry overseas; in this context, whānau experiences reveal the urgent need for more information and cultural guidance.

Through this humble beginning, the Tangi Research Programme has become a safe and welcoming environment for researchers and students, a place where ideas germinate and grow. The project leaders remain profoundly aware of the element of spiritual risk, and the sensitivity and guidance required. Therefore, two tohunga (ritual experts) and an ordained Anglican deacon are involved in all aspects of the programme.

Associated Studies in Progress

Noted below is a list of studies in progress that have emerged from the core project. They are built on collaborative endeavour and cumulative effort. We look forward to seeing these projects through to completion as we ensure that tangihanga as performance, ritual, healing and celebration continue far into the future.

> *Aitua: Death in a changing Māori world*. Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku and Linda Waimarie Nikora (principal investigators).
> *Apakura: The Māori way of death*. Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku and Linda Waimarie Nikora (principal investigators).
> *Kia ngāwari: End-of-life experiences amongst whānau in New Zealand*. Tess Moeke-Maxwell, Linda Waimarie Nikora and Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku (principal investigators).
> *Ngā tangihanga o ngā manukura, 1800–1900: Ngā wā o te pakanga, ngā wā o te tahu maene*. Enoka Murphy (doctoral candidate).
> *Ritual practice and death in the Ringatū canon*. Te Kahautu Maxwell (doctoral candidate).
> *Touching life and death: An exposition of ritual and ritualised materials, objects, and artefacts in New Zealand Māori funerary processes*. Vincent A. Malcolm-Buchanan (doctoral candidate).
> *The final journey, the canoe way: Māori canoe traditions and star lore in mourning practices*. Haki Tuaupiki (doctoral candidate).
> *I muri i te ārai: Ko ngā mōrehu ka toe. Healing processes inherent for Māori women in tangihanga*. Keriata Paterson (doctoral candidate).

Gāpatia i le maliu ma le tagiauē: Examining customs and cultural practices that support Samoan men and their aiga through bereavement. Byron Seiuli (doctoral candidate).

A state funeral and a tangi: Print media representations of the passing of Te Arikinui Dame Te Ataairangikaahu and the Rt Hon Prime Minister Norman Kirk. Karen McRae (master's candidate).

Waikirikiri marae: Shared stories of the whare mate. Hare Rua (master's candidate).

Ngā whakaihonga: Symbols of death. Rangihurihia MacDonald (master's candidate).

Poukai: He whakaaro noa. Tame Pokaia (master's candidate).

Tangi: Dual heritage, conflicts and compromises. Kiri Edge (master's candidate).

Tangihanga and aituā: Symbolism in the Māori moving image. Terri Crawford (master's candidate).

Experiences of young Māori men at tangi. Arana Harmon (master's candidate).

Tangi through the eyes of young Māori women. Hemaima Wihongi (master's candidate).

Communicating the concept of death to children: A Māori perspective. Juanita Jacob (master's candidate).

The first call: Marae communities and change. Vicki Bhana, Heeni Poutu and Ngāmihi Crapp (community researchers).

Acknowledgments

Glossary

apakura	lament, song of grief
haka	posture dances
hākari	feasting
hapū	kinship group
hura kōhatu	unveiling of the headstone
iwi	tribe, tribal
kākahu	cloaks
karakia	prayer
karanga aituā	inviting misfortune or even death itself
kawe mate	ceremonial visit following the burial or cremation of the deceased
marae	communal meeting complex
poroporoaki	farewell speech
pōwhiri	welcome ritual
takahi whare	ritual cleansing of the deceased's house
tangi	to grieve and mourn
tangihanga	time set aside to grieve and mourn, rites for the dead
taonga	treasures
tikanga	customary practice
tohunga	ritual experts
tuku wairua	sending on the spirit
tūpāpaku	corpse
waiata	song, dirge
waiata tangi	lament, song of mourning
whaikōrero	oratory
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family, including extended family

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Dual Cultural Identity and Tangihanga:
Conflict, Resolution, and Unexpected Outcomes

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Abstract

New Zealand has a significant number of dual-cultural whānau (families) which incorporate the identities of both Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) and Māori (indigenous peoples of New Zealand). Little attention has been paid to the bereavement processes that will inevitably impact upon the lives of these whānau/families. As part of the Tangihanga Research Programme based at The University of Waikato, a directed study was conducted with a participant whose family/whānau included two life ways: Māori and Pākehā. An open-ended narrative approach was used to explore the participant's bereavement after the death of his beloved wife. Two central themes emerged within the narrative, which related to conflict and eventual resolution. Decision-making processes and language played significant roles in the conflict experienced by the participant. Communication and compromise helped to resolve these conflicts. Unexpected outcomes included new understandings and strengthened connections between the participant and his wife's marae.

The Tangihanga Research Programme, of which this study is a part, is a collaboration between the School of Māori and Pacific Development and the Māori & Psychology Research Unit at The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Keywords

bereavement, identity, culture, intercultural conflict, resolution

Introduction

Death is a universal experience, yet the responses and accompanying expressions it provokes are not shared across cultures. It has been asserted that grief and its expression are vastly different, among both individuals and cultures (Kalish & Reynolds, 1981; Laurie & Neimeyer, 2008; Neimeyer, 2001; Peveto, 2001; Strobe, Gergen, Gergen & Strobe, 1992). Research in this area has conceptualised grief as a social construction, the variations within which are relative to the differences across societies or cultures (Laurie & Neimeyer, 2008). Culture exerts considerable influence over responses to death and the meanings assigned to this event (Peveto, 2001). Considering bereavement and grief in this way acknowledges the myriad of ways in which it is experienced and expressed around the world. The interacting relationship between grief and culture has started to attract attention. Yet little research specifically focuses on the diversity of grief expressions across cultures (Laurie & Neimeyer, 2008; Peveto, 2001).

In considering grief and culture in the context of New Zealand, two ethnic groups are of particular significance, Pākehā and Māori. It has been noted that Māori and Pākehā often have quite distinct ways of responding to death and grief (Dansey, 1995). The Māori world answers the rupturing of community and disruption to wellness caused by death through the process of tangihanga (Māori death ritual). Tangihanga is the traditional Māori process whereby whānau (kinship group) and community come together to grieve for the death of a loved one. Tangi (funeral) has been a persistent institution and one that has undoubtedly contributed to mourning processes in the Pākehā world. A priority within tangi proceedings is the provision of support for the whānau pani (bereaved family) (Barrett-Aranui, 1999). Furthermore, tangihanga recognises the cycle of life from birth to the return of the spirits to the after world (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982).

There appears to be little literature that examines Pākehā responses to death and grief. However, one article describes a significant gap within Pākehā funeral grieving processes, which are often filled

by funeral directors (Catholic Worker Organisation, 2006). Dansey (1995) offers some descriptions of Pākehā death rituals and contrasts these to tangihanga. Dansey (1995) notes that Pākehā appear to distance themselves from the deceased, who are contained within closed caskets, remaining at funeral homes until interment. Dr Pita Sharples also commented upon the differences in Māori and Pākehā grieving processes in the keynote address to a New Zealand National Loss and Grief conference:

> When we need to express grief, the strength for us is in numbers, in our connections, while in other world views, the expression of grief may be another opportunity to create distance—"we'll leave them alone", "they wouldn't want to see people at this time". (Sharples, 2006, p. 3)

Although the distinctions between Māori and Pākehā responses to death and grief can be discussed generally, for many individuals and whānau/families these are experienced on a more immediate and personal level. Intermarriage between Māori and people of other ethnicities has been ongoing since the first vessels of exploration and trade encountered these isles in the 18th century (Harré, 1966). This contact was further facilitated by Māori migration to urban centres, providing opportunities for Māori and Pākehā to live and work in close proximity (Durie, 2005) and, in the case of New Zealand's military forces, fight alongside each other (Henderson, Green & Cooke, 2008). Data are not routinely collected on rates of Māori and Pākehā intermarriage. The New Zealand 2006 census noted that 42% (or approximately 237,438) of Māori also identify with European ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a). It is possible that some descendants of Māori and Pākehā relationships are also represented in other census groupings, such as the recently created "New Zealander" census category (Statistics New Zealand, 2007b).

The topic of the children of Māori and Pākehā intermarriage has garnered some academic discussion. Moeke-Maxwell (2003) suggested that the values, perceptions and processes of those who identify as being both Pākehā and Māori are shaped by two cultural identities which, for some, do not sit comfortably together. Theoretically, bicultural whānau/families may enjoy the resources of two cultural communities. However, the potential for conflict, tension and misunderstanding cannot be ignored. Bicultural whānau/families may be required to negotiate two sets of values, belief systems and accompanying expressions in their time of bereavement. Inevitably, failure to negotiate these aspects satisfactorily may have a significant impact upon the bereavement experiences encountered by bicultural whānau/families. Despite the relative prevalence of Māori and Pākehā bicultural whānau/families in New Zealand, there appears to be no research that examines how their identities may influence their experience of bereavement. Accordingly, limited knowledge and understanding may be available to effectively support bicultural whānau/families during their time of bereavement.

Objective

The objective of this research was to use a single case study to explore the bereavement experience of one Māori and Pākehā bicultural whānau/family to gain some understanding of how such whānau/families respond to bereavement and grief and move forward in their lives. Critical to this topic is the examination of the points of contact, difference and commonality between Māori and Pākehā cultures. The intention of this research project was to provide knowledge about choices, processes and outcomes including the negotiation of conflict, perspective, and practice.

Methodology

One participant was recruited for this research project. The participant was a male in his late 60s, who identified culturally as Pākehā. The interview focused on the participant's bereavement following the death of his wife, who was of Māori descent. The interview was conducted using an open-ended narrative approach. A semi-structured interview schedule based on five thematic areas guided the interview process. However, the participant's experiences and his preferences in expressing his ideas on these themes determined how the interview progressed. The interview was audio taped and subsequently transcribed. Based on this data, a summary report outlined the key points made in the interview, including direct quotations from the participant. A thematic approach was employed for the data analysis, to identify the emergent themes. A diverse range of themes was identified, although the focus was narrowed to the two key themes that appeared integral to the participant's narrative. These

themes were conflict and resolution. The transcript and summary report were reviewed in light of these themes and information relevant to each was coded and categorised accordingly. The findings are presented in the next section.

Results

The single case study presented in this section depicts some of the issues encountered by a bicultural whānau/family during a significant bereavement. We interviewed Graeme and recorded his experiences and reflections on the different cultural worlds he engaged in throughout his life, and specifically after the death of his wife, Georgette. The focus of this paper is Graeme's experience, perspective, and understanding of a specific event. It is not appropriate or necessary to question the actions of any parties involved, nor do we make any claims upon others who feature in the narrative. The two main themes that emerged from the participant's narrative, conflict and resolution, are the focus of this section. It begins with an outline of Graeme and Georgette's life to provide some context for the issues that are subsequently discussed. The participant specifically requested that his and his wife's real names were used in this research. Pseudonyms have been used for other individuals.

Case Study: Graeme and Georgette

Graeme identifies culturally as Pākehā. Graeme spent his childhood in a major North Island city, within a family from a strong military background. Georgette was of Māori descent and her childhood was based in the East Coast region of New Zealand's North Island. Graeme and Georgette respectively joined the New Zealand Army, which provided the context for their first meeting. Soon after this meeting, Graeme and Georgette began a relationship. Graeme contrasted the perceptions held in the 1960s of Māori/Pākehā relationships in the Army, to those in civilian life:

> It was virtually the done thing in the army, for Māori and Pākehā to be married, either a Māori man or a Pākehā man or vice versa, no one worried, yet out in "civi" street .... That was in 1963 and it was not common but in the services it was quite common. Because, we worked together, we slept together, we fought together, we trained together, we did everything together, and it did not matter who you were.

Graeme and Georgette became engaged and then married against the wishes of Graeme's mother, who tried unsuccessfully to break up the relationship. The wedding was held on Georgette's marae (tribal meeting ground and associated buildings) on the East Coast. Graeme acknowledged that in the early stages of the relationship, he lacked knowledge of Māori culture and he described differences between his and Georgette's respective cultures. Graeme established a good relationship with Georgette's whānau, particularly with Georgette's brother, Haki. Whenever Graeme attended events which were conducted in te reo Māori (Māori language), Haki would translate into English for Graeme. Graeme and Georgette had four children and Graeme supported the whānau/family through his career in the Army. Georgette eventually trained as a teacher and went on to teach te reo Māori at a nearby college.

Georgette's Death and Tangi

After a brief period of illness, Georgette was diagnosed with terminal cancer. As the whānau/family had some notice of Georgette's terminal prognosis, there was an opportunity to discuss with Georgette her final wishes. However, understandably, Graeme was reluctant to have this difficult conversation. Eventually, a conversation did take place, albeit briefly. Georgette requested that the whānau/family bury her in her whānau urupā (family cemetery). Graeme was unhappy with this request, as he believed it would limit his ability to visit Georgette's grave regularly. Graeme actively tried to dissuade Georgette from her decision. Despite Graeme's disapproval, however, Georgette's final wishes were accepted by him.

Georgette's condition swiftly worsened and she was admitted to hospital, where she eventually died. Georgette's entire tangi occurred within three distinct settings: the family home, the funeral home and, finally, at Georgette's marae. Graeme and his children appeared to have a central role in organising the proceedings at the family and funeral home. Graeme recalled that while the events were

occurring at these locations, Georgette's sister liaised with the marae to organise the final proceedings there. Geographic distance and time restrictions may have affected the decisions that were made for the marae-based tangi. It is common for tangi proceedings to occur over several days (Ngata, 2005), whereas Georgette's marae-based tangi would be condensed into a 24-hour period. Graeme was ill-prepared for the way in which the tangi would be enacted at the marae, which had an obvious and profound impact upon him. Graeme's experience at the marae-based tangi was the most significant point of conflict in Graeme's story.

Conflict

Graeme was not involved in organising the proceedings at Georgette's marae but, as he stated, at that point he did not want to be. Instead, this process was undertaken by Georgette's whānau in conjunction with representatives from the marae. Graeme's assumption about the parties involved in this process was that: "they would do the right thing by me." However, the "they" and "me" located in this statement actually belonged to two distinct cultural groups, Māori and Pākehā. It became evident in Graeme's descriptions of the marae-based tangi, that each cultural group had quite a different perception of what constituted the "right thing". Graeme was surprised and hurt by the realisation that the entire marae-based proceedings would be conducted in te reo Māori. For Graeme, this meant that he was unable to understand any of the ceremony, and in particular, what may have been said about Georgette. Graeme described how this affected his experience at the marae: "I was bitterly disappointed over the whole affair and I just could not wait to get home." This experience had a profound and lasting effect on Graeme and prevented him from being able to reflect back on a lovely service, as he simply did not understand it. This aspect was a pivotal point of focus within Graeme's narrative.

The role that language played in Graeme's story raises several issues. Language is central to communication. It can unify group members by reinforcing group identity or, conversely, exclude non-group members from communicating (Samovar, Porter & McDaniel, 2007). Language can create distinct boundaries between ethnic groups (Gudykunst, 2004).Within the marae context, Graeme was thrust into the position of an outsider and excluded from understanding and participating in the event. Although this was not a unique experience for Graeme, Georgette and Haki were no longer alive to translate for him. Consequently, Graeme and his children were alone in a situation where language, as the means of communication, was unfamiliar and disorientating. When exposed to situations such as these, a common reaction is to perceive ourselves as excluded and rejected, subsequently threatening our very identity (Samovar et al., 2007).

Dual cultural relationships, such as Graeme and Georgette's, emphasise the importance of identity in inter-cultural situations. Identity influences and guides expectations of self and others and provides guidelines for our interactions with others (Samovar et al., 2007). We may have multiple identities that are called into play depending on the context we find ourselves in. These identities may be derived from personal aspects, the relationships we have with others and connections to communities such as ethnic, national or organisational (Samovar et al., 2007). Graeme and Georgette shared identities, as husband and wife, parents and as members of the New Zealand Army. Yet upon the marae, language drew a cultural boundary between Georgette and Graeme. It may be possible that Graeme perceived this boundary as a threat to his identity, and to the identity that he had shared with Georgette. The significance of Georgette's tangi to Graeme, and his role in this event, are undeniable. Graeme noted that he was given some respect and status at the marae, which indicates that his exclusion was unintentional; nonetheless, it had a powerful impact upon him. Graeme's reaction to this situation was a very common response (Samovar et al., 2007); he withdrew himself and left the marae immediately after the hākari (feast) which was held after Georgette's interment.

Graeme's experience at the marae depicts a site of intercultural conflict that occurred within this particular bereavement event. Intercultural conflict can occur when the values, expectations, or processes of two distinct cultures are perceived to be incompatible (Samovar et al., 2007). Cultural misunderstandings can occur when there is a lack of knowledge of the culture and needs of those concerned (Peveto, 2001). Furthermore, Ting-Toomy (1988) asserts that conflict can be defined as a

negotiation process within which the situated identities of the parties are threatened or questioned. Aspects of the marae-based tangi hurt Graeme, but he did not perceive this to be due to a lack of respect for him personally. Accordingly, it appears that the values, expectations, and/or processes that occurred within this location were incompatible with those familiar to Graeme.

Resolution

In considering the conflict that arose within Graeme's narrative, an important question remains. Were there any potential means by which a resolution could be found despite the intercultural conflict encountered? Graeme answers this question in his retelling of Georgette's unveiling ceremony, which was held to commemorate the anniversary of her death. Graeme played a central role in the organisation of this event, and he employed several processes that are considered key to negotiating intercultural conflict. These included collaboration, compromise, and continued engagement with the "other" culture (Samovar et al., 2007). In his planning, Graeme collaborated with his children and representatives from Georgette's marae. Graeme appointed a Māori minister to conduct the unveiling who was proficient in performing ceremonies in English and te reo Māori. People with bicultural skills are commonly used to connect two different cultural groups (Yum, 1988). The facilitation of the unveiling ceremony by this particular minister created a compromise that made concessions for both cultural groups involved. Feedback from the unveiling suggested that the ceremony satisfied the needs of both Māori and Pākehā at the marae. Graeme noted that although some aspects did not proceed as planned, these did not detract from what was generally a positive experience. The way in which Georgette's unveiling ceremony was organised and enacted provided an important resolution to the conflict experienced by Graeme at the tangi ceremony. Graeme spoke fondly of the unveiling event and it was apparent that it had quite a positive impact upon him.

Unexpected Outcomes

The resolution that Georgette's unveiling ceremony provided for Graeme also led to some quite unexpected outcomes. These included the development of new understandings and a significant decision for Graeme. Graeme initially disagreed with Georgette's decision to be buried at her whānau urupā. However, this decision subsequently forged a link between Graeme, his whānau/family, and the marae. This has enabled Graeme to establish relationships with people at Georgette's marae, which has furthered his understanding of Māori culture, and also assisted Graeme to take a different view of Georgette's final wishes. Graeme now finds great comfort in the thought that Georgette is buried with her whānau all around her, so that he could say, "I'm totally at peace with it." Initially, Graeme wanted Georgette to be buried in a nearby public cemetery. However, Graeme now describes this public cemetery as "a lonely place; you can stand looking at someone's headstone and not know anyone around you." Graeme initially preferred the public cemetery because he would be able to visit it regularly. However, Graeme was explicit that although he may only visit the whānau urupā a few times a year, each visit will have great meaning and value for him. Graeme looks forward to these visits and he likens his excitement to the feeling of departing on a holiday. Somewhat unexpectedly, this has informed Graeme's own final wishes to be cremated and his ashes placed with Georgette's headstone. Graeme's children are very happy with this decision.

Conclusion

Bicultural whānau/families negotiate differences in perspective and practice within their lives together. Such negotiations are no less significant in the critical process of bereavement that will inevitably be experienced by bicultural whānau/families. The case study presented in this paper provides knowledge about the potential for intercultural conflict but also the creation of resolution. Graeme's experience provided an example of intercultural conflict and perceived threats to the individual and relational identities that were manifested in his bereavement. However, communication, compromise and continued engagement provided resolution and created new pathways to participation and understanding. These also led to outcomes that were unexpected but welcomed nonetheless. There are aspects that are not accounted for within this case study which include the perspectives of other whānau/family members. These aspects may have increased the complexity of this story, and helped to provide a broader understanding of the issues and processes that arose. However, Graeme's experience

stands on its own merit and we are honoured by his sharing of an intimate and emotive story. This study provides but one contribution to a topic that requires much further investigation and discussion.

Glossary

hākari	feast
Māori	the indigenous peoples of New Zealand
marae	tribal meeting ground and associated buildings
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
tangi	funeral; mourning
tangihanga	Māori death ritual; funeral
te reo Māori	Māori language
whānau	kinship group; community
whānau pani	bereaved family
whānau urupā	family cemetery

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Dying to Research: An Autoethnographic Exploration of Researching Māori and Whānau Experiences of End-of-Life Care

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Abstract

The authors critically reflect on the autoethnographic process involved in navigating a smooth pathway towards investigating dying, death and bereavement for Māori whānau (families) in a way that supports and gives voice to their experience. This study, based in the Māori & Psychology Research Unit at The University of Waikato, is supported by a Health Research Council Erihapeti Rehu-Murchie Career Development Award. It explores the "end-of-life" journeys of Māori and their whānau in South Auckland and Waikato, through the dying process and subsequent challenges of bereavement. The researcher's journey from novice to someone fully enmeshed in the struggles and triumphs of conducting research with Māori is examined. There is reflection on the challenges and issues that have emerged since settling on this research topic. These include ethical concerns, and the processes and outcomes associated with negotiating tensions between a shifting academic objectivity and the development of a methodology requiring subjective reflexivity.

Keywords

indigenous, autoethnography, palliative care, Māori, whānau

Introduction

The Reluctant Autoethnographic "Self"
What is autoethnography?
Pieces of thoughts—words, ideas, meanderings, ghosts
Echoes of ghosts, plaited together, randomly
A sense of needing to weave thoughts into
A clean, artistically crafted whāriki—a story.
To tell a story perhaps?
Or to convey a meaningful moment on the way to
Becoming a conveyer of knowledge—a knower?

Am I a scribe—a servant—a facilitator of others' stories?
Re-enacted through my disjointed, misbehaved words
Dis-membered accounts—non-linear passages
(recorded on different pages of different journals and
written at different times in different places?).
This writing—non-trajectory focused, "in the moment" of
my jumbled, disorderly world, where the words on the page
should appear full bodied and full of promise—
Strong limbs and spine
Eloquently delivered through long slender fingers
Knowing palms, like all seeing eyes.

But instead, I feel as though I am in the "limbo space"
Caught between the empty space above the line and below

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Not knowing, not seeing, not thinking, not feeling enough
of anything.
What is "enough" and when do I *know*, I know?
(Journal entry, February, 2010).

As a novice ethnographer utilising autoethnography, I explore in this paper the setting up of the Kia Ngawari: Investigating Palliative Care of Māori and Their Whānau Project. Investigating end-of-life experiences of Māori (New Zealand's indigenous population) and their whānau, this qualitative study includes 30 face-to-face interviews and nine case studies, and relies on whānau to share their stories. Engaging with autoethnography revealed a tension. In this paper I explore the struggle between being positioned as an impartial observer and my natural inclination as a Māori researcher to be empathetically immersed in the research process. I knew I needed to be open and transparent with participants, but my academic and clinical training (I was an ACC-registered sexual abuse clinician from 1998–2007) taught me to be an impartial observer of other peoples' lives. The opening quotation from my journal reveals I was challenged by the introspection autoethnographic reflexivity requires. I felt reluctant to use myself as a research "subject". I asked myself, "Ethically, is it possible to be open, truthful *and* objective?"

Background

It is assumed that Māori prefer to die at home, with the support of whānau; however, research on their actual experiences of dying, death and bereavement has yet to be undertaken (Ngata, 2005). Although Māori have a wealth of information concerning dying, these experiences remain largely anecdotal. Qualitative research will most likely capture the experiences in a methodologically rigorous way, and will enable an in-depth analysis of dying, death and bereavement (Buckle, Corbin Dwyer & Jackson, 2009). A better understanding of Māori needs will inform whānau about what is required at this time. The information will also increase the capacity and capability of the health workforce to support quality end-of-life care for Māori (Ministry of Health, 2001; Schwass, 2005), as it is known that Māori—the largest minority group—underutilise available resources and do not access palliative-care services as frequently as Pākehā (New Zealand white majority population), (Muircroft, McKimm, William & MacLeod, 2010). Papaarangi Reid (2005, p. 45) states:

> Māori whānau often want to provide care for their relations who are terminally ill or have high needs—either at home, or in a hospital or hospice. But there are many barriers still in the way of this, in the kind of state support provided, and in the services in hospitals or hospices. We have to improve the palliative care services themselves, and the flexibility of how and where the services are provided. And we have to ensure that whānau are supported in their care for family members. That's not only providing real choice—it's also meeting needs and rights.

Autoethnography

Auto (self), ethno (sociocultural), and graphy (study), can be defined as "highly personalised accounts that draw upon the experience of the author/researcher for the purposes of extending sociological understanding" (Sparkes, 2000, p. 21). By taking into account the phenomenological world of the researcher and the culture of dying, autoethnographical research provides me with an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of those who are dying and their whānau. It provides an opportunity to explore my "lived experiences" and the abstract conversations I engage in, in relation to the research process (Ballard, 2009, p. 480). Autoethnography provides me with a way of getting to know myself as a researcher, highlighting areas of weakness or vulnerability, and revealing my strengths. These insights raise awareness of the level of honesty and truthfulness needed to strengthen the quality of my engagement, analysis and writing.

Ellis and Bochner (2006, p. 433) describe autoethnography as a genre of writing that "shows struggle, passion, embodied life, and the collaborative creation of sense-making in situations in which people have to cope with dire circumstances and loss of meaning. Autoethnography wants the reader to care, to feel, to empathize, and to do something, to act." For Ballard (2009, p. 480), autoethnography is deeply linked to communication ethics:

Autoethnography is able to show how ethics exist in indecision, how struggles in the midst of phenomenological moments are outside of language, and how communication gives us life through acts of acknowledgement. If you resonate with the story and the calls of conscience, ethical dilemmas, aporias, and communicative moments that define who we are, then you have gone into the heart of communication ethics.

Ellis's (1993) autoethnographic account of her brother's sudden death by air accident provides insight into early autoethnographic "truth"-telling. "'True' stories such as this fit in the space between fiction and social science, joining ethnographic and literary writing, and auto-biographical and sociological understanding" (Ellis, 1993, p. 711). Ellis states the goal of her autoethnographic writing is to:

> reposition the reader vis a vis authors of texts of social science by acknowledging potential for optional readings and encouraging readers to "experience an experience" that can reveal not only how it was for me, but how it could be or once was for them. This experimental form permits researchers and readers to acknowledge and give voice to their own emotional experiences and encourages ethnographic subjects (co-authors) to reclaim and write their own lives. (2003, p. 711)

Auto(no)graphy: Subject/Object Tensions

I encountered two barriers to employing autoethnography. The first concerned my vulnerability engaging my own subjectivity. The reflexive process challenged me to be transparent about my involvement and to share something of my Self within the research process. Going inside my Self was outside my comfort zone. Objectivity left me feeling disembodied. I had been trained to be "in my head"—not my heart. How do I do this research without feeling like a deathmonger—a person who waits for death, watches death unfolding, scrutinises death and its hostages? I felt confused by this academic, objective stance and my natural desire to be fully integrated (emotionally, physically and spiritually) in the research process. How could I be a *detached* observer when my cultural inclination was to feel and behave in a *connected* way?

The second issue involved my academic training, which had taught me how to be invisible within textual representations. As an independent mental health research contractor, I had previously designed and carried out research with a variety of people, including tangata whaiora (Māori mental health consumers), mainstream mental health service users, victim survivors of sexual violation and New Zealand health professionals. However, I did not reference my Self in the design, fieldwork, analysis or textual representations. What I personally experienced remained outside this process—I was essentially invisible. I had always struggled to balance my empathetic style of engagement with being an impartial researcher. Autoethnography brought this tension to the surface.

Making my Self visible within the fabric and text of the research process brought a risk of representation. This methodology called into account claims to "validity and trustworthiness", and required them to be de-centred (Lather, 1995). I felt a sense of uncertainty—writing my Self into the research was not going to be easy. My desire to be fully involved in the research process was juxtaposed with an academic imperative to be impartial and objective. I felt frustrated by these dichotomised standpoints, which behaved more like wrestling conjoined twins. I had spent so long removing traces of myself from my research projects that I was now struggling to write my Self in.

The whakataukī (proverb), "The kūmara doesn't talk about how sweet it is", pointed to the disjuncture between myself as an autoethnographic subject and as an objective researcher. In previous research, whether it used a mainstream methodology or a kaupapa Māori (Māori-centred) framework (Smith, 1999), the lens and focus were always on other participants; my role was to gather and analyse people's stories, and present the narrative data in an informative and unbiased manner. I did not have to appear anywhere, except perhaps on the title page or in the introduction—my "partial perspective" in the process (Haraway, 1991).

My struggle with maintaining objectivity kept me from freely expressing my Self (thoughts, feelings, actions and reactions). What was wrong with me? Why couldn't I move loquaciously from one space (subjective Self) to the other (objective researcher) and back again? Why was it difficult to transport my reflexive insights into the written genre? Yvonna Lincoln (2010, p. 5) asserts that Michelle Fine's idea of "Working the hyphen refers to studying the Self-Other conjunction, that fragile and sometimes fractious splice between ourselves as subject and object and those for whom we work, as subject and object."

Drawing from Richardson (2000, pp. 15–16), I asked myself: Will what I write make a "substantive contribution", have "aesthetic merit", effectively utilise and reflect "reflexivity"? Will it have "impact" and "express a reality"? As Richardson (2000, p. 925) points out:

> we are homogenized through professional socialization, rewards and punishments. Homogenization occurs through the suppression of individual voices and the acceptance of the omniscient voice of science as if it were our own. How do we put ourselves in our own texts, and with what consequences? How do we nurture our own individuality and at the same time claim to "knowing" something? These are both philosophically and practically difficult problems.

Embracing Autoethnography

Two things prompted me to critique my objective positioning, and to work the tension embodied in the subject-object hyphen, reminding me of Ballard's (2009, p. 480) assertion that autoethnography "is able to show how ethics exist in indecision, how struggles in the midst of phenomenological moments are outside of language, and how communication gives us life through acts of acknowledgement". The first involved talking to a kuia (female elder) with a life-threatening illness about her views on the research project. After each meeting I reflected in my journal on what the kuia had said or had not said, and how I felt at this time.

The second concerned a personal event when a close friend was diagnosed with an aggressive brain tumour—she had 4 months to live. Suddenly I felt myself slide from outside the "dying space" to being inside it. No longer did I have the luxury of being an impartial onlooker. I entered a tapu (sacred, restricted) space where someone I loved was dying and was trying desperately to live. Ellis's (1993) story about her brother's death now made sense. Dying is part of everyday life and as a researcher I cannot separate myself cognitively, emotionally, physically or spiritually from this reality.

Further, my father's sudden death 2 weeks ago imprinted an emotion-filled watermark on my life. In this space, claims to objectivity appear inappropriate and disrespectful. The call for research excellence is not about being outside the dying space, but rather, being fully present in it.

Reflexivity: Noho Puku

I knew that karakia (invocation, prayer), whanaungatanga (establishing connections), waiata (chants, songs) and manaakitanga (hospitality, kindness) are important aspects of Māori research, but unless I started to use my emotional, intellectual, spiritual and physical faculties to really listen to people I would miss vital information. Journal entries of conversations with the kuia encouraged me to noho puku (sit with the feelings and tensions inside me). I began to read non-verbal tohu (signs) and they guided me. Her words resonated in my tinana (body), hinengaro (mind) and wairua (spirit). I wrote:

> The kuia taught me that when it is our turn to face our own death we may choose to focus on "living" and not "dying", refusing to give up our hope ... No matter how old, wise or spiritually learned our kuia and koroua [elderly men] are, they too may be afraid of dying. They may not be able to talk about dying or what will happen to their whānau after they die ... She taught me not to think about dying in a linear, seamless kind of way ... but in an ad hoc, disjointed way, like life itself. She taught me that words like "dying" may be just small black and white words on the researcher's forms but these can be terrifying omens to the dying.

Ethical considerations are embedded in these reflexive insights. I need to ensure that I am fully present when I am walking alongside people who are dying. I need to resist the call to objectivity and become fully engaged. I will be interviewing the most vulnerable group of people—the dying and their whānau. I realise that genuine connections need to be established in the recruitment process, which requires strong rapport-building skills on my part. An emotionally distant researcher would be quickly detected and perhaps rejected. An "impartial" researcher would be unlikely to generate an environment where meaningful recruitment and engagement was possible, and which enabled examination of psychological, medical, environmental and spiritual dimensions. The research process, from first contact to final farewell, must be something people enjoy being involved with, and they need to feel safe. Sharing their stories with a researcher who is actively engaged as a listener will hopefully promote a rich and rewarding experience for everyone.

In working the reflexive subject-object space I am obliged not only to embrace my subjectivity but to share these experiences with my readers in order to promote a deeper understanding and awareness of the issues facing those who are dying and their whānau. This has led to a shift away from the academic obligation to represent myself as an empathetic neutral observer to being a Māori researcher, living research and researching living. Weiss and Fine (2000, p. 66) point out that as researchers:

> We have an ethical responsibility to retreat from the stance of dispassion all too prevalent in the academy … analysing, writing and publishing in multiple genres at one and the same time: in policy talk, the voices of empiricism, through the murky swamps of self-reflective "writing stories", and in the more accessible languages of pamphlets, fliers and community booklets .… Reflections on our responsibilities as social researchers must punctuate all texts we produce. Without such reflection in the name of neutrality or researcher dispassion, we collude in a retreat from social responsibility and the academy remains yet another institution without a soul in a world increasingly bankrupt of moral authority.

Autoethnography has opened up a space to develop a methodology for researching the lives and stories of those who are dying and their whānau in a more meaningful and responsive way. As Lincoln (2010, p. 7) reminds us:

> Paradigms and metaphysics do matter. They matter because they tell us something important about *researcher standpoint*. They tell us something about the researcher's proposed *relationship to the Other(s)*. They tell us something about what the researcher thinks *counts as knowledge*, and *who can deliver the most valuable slice of this knowledge*. They tell us how the researcher intends to *take account of multiple conflicting and contradictory values* she will encounter.

Harakeke Talk Tool

One example of an ethical consideration I addressed concerns the vulnerability of the dying. The kuia made me aware that participants may not respond to a traditional interview process (complete with questionnaire sheet and digital recorder). To engage people enough to tell their story, an alternative method was required. I developed a visual tool that draws on the well known harakeke (native flax) whakataukī. The whakataukī reminds participants of their connections to whānau, the physical environment, spiritual realm and continuity of life.

The "Harakeke Talk Tool"—a term coined by Linda Waimarie Nikora, to whom I am grateful— takes the form of a watermark of a large flax bush printed on A3 paper. Each harakeke spike represents a different aspect of a person's life, a timeline, iwi (tribe), person or event. New spikes can be included or artistically decorated as different information is added. Responses are recorded during the interview, or participants may record them between interviews. Encouraged by MacLeod's (2008) words, "to get it right we must ask [Māori] what to do and how to help," it is my hope the "Harakeke

Talk Tool" will give participants support to share safely their stories while articulating their future needs and hopes.

Conclusion

The autoethnographic process gave me an opportunity to critique the academic imperative to be objective. As a novice ethnographic researcher seeking stories from people who are dying, and their whānau, I experienced a much-needed shift from struggling to be an impartial researcher to being fully immersed in a qualitative research process that utilised a reflexive ethnographic methodology.

Autoethnography helped me to develop insight into my own stance as a researcher, which led to a shift from objectivity to working with the tensions produced by the subject-object dichotomy. It enabled me to make some important adjustments to ensure that the research project uses the best research methods to interview vulnerable people. It has contributed to an increased likelihood of engagement, allowing a more meaningful research experience to emerge for participants.

Perhaps most importantly, the autoethnographic journey has helped me to shift from being outside the discourse of dying, death and bereavement to inside it. As Ellis and Bochner (2006, p. 439) comment:

> Instead of being obsessively focused on questions of how we know, which inevitably leads to a preference for analysis and generalization, autoethnography centres attention on how we should live and brings us into lived experiences in a feeling and embodied way. This is the moral of autoethnographic stories—its ethical domain.

I am left with a deep knowing that people who are dying and their whānau will drive this research. It is my job to listen to the dying and their whānau, carefully recording their thoughts, feelings, hopes, dreams and sorrows. At the same time, as a researcher engaging in such moving and tapu work, I need to care for myself while listening at all times to our Atua (Gods), tūpuna (ancestors), kaumātua (elders) and pou āwhina (Māori supervisors) to guide me.

Autoethnography opened up a subjective space, inviting me to be open, truthful and present as a researcher and writer. I happily inhabit this space, with all my confusions, frustrations and contradictions, knowing that I am better positioned to meet the fullness of those who are living with dying, and their whānau. My journal reflects this journey:

Shifting Autoethnographic Landscapes
I am listening to the spaces impregnated with silence
Witness to the whimpering calls from inside and outside my "self"
I try to "know" them
I read them like they are words on a full page
Sometimes they bleed, blur and fade easily.

I listen carefully
I hear the silent spaces joining, fusing
At first I sense a glimmer of something
It emerges, soft, unformed, amoeba like
I listen until the listening becomes a feeling.

The feeling turns into a word and the word becomes a sentence
I listen until the sentence speaks to me the names of its tūpuna
In their names is a knowing that fills the silent spaces
Noho puku—sitting with the filled silent spaces
The places speaking our tūpuna.

Holding their weeping words deep in my belly

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Keeping them warm
Days, nights, weeks pass until they form images
My mind becomes filled with their voices
The bell birds sing from the top of the harakeke.

Their voices are tūpuna sounds
I watch as the words meld and fuse into visions—watery awa
Pathways that trail into the distance
My eyes follow them, scanning the river banks
Periphery landscapes fill with new meaning.

I take the visions and weave them until a whāriki takes shape
At first, the visions are lumpy and uneven but they soften
I roll the whāriki out in front of my supervisors—my pou āwhina
I have become the tabula rasa
The waiting blank slate.

I bear the vision
And listen to the silent spaces
I make the changes I need to make to
Make the
Change.

Glossary

atua	gods
awa	river
harakeke	native flax bush
hinengaro	mind
iwi	tribe
karakia	invocations, prayers
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa Māori	Māori-centred
koroua	elderly men
kuia	female elder
manaakitanga	hospitality, caring for others
noho puku	sitting quietly on an issue
pou āwhina	research supervisors
tangata whaiora	Māori mental health consumers
tapu	sacred, restricted, taboo, respected
tinana	body
tohu	sign (spiritual signifier)
tūpuna	ancestors
waiata	song
wairua	spirituality (personal and collective)
whakataukī	sayings, proverbs
whānau	family (includes extended family)
whanaungatanga	establishing connections
whāriki	traditional woven mat; story

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Waikirikiri Marae:
Shared Experiences of the Wharemate

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Abstract

In Te Urewera, wharemate (shelters in which the deceased receive their final farewells) have traditionally been temporary structures. In the 1980s, a new practice was introduced in the Ruātoki valley with the erection of permanent wharemate facilities. One was erected at Waikirikiri marae (tribal meeting grounds and associated buildings) in 1989. Knowledge and discussion regarding wharemate at Waikirikiri marae have changed over the years, and a whole generation has not been fortunate enough to experience tikanga (correct procedures, customary practices) that prevailed prior to the introduction of the permanent wharemate building that is there today. These changes are recorded in this paper through the shared stories of three kaumātua (elders) from Waikirikiri.

This paper is a summary of Hare Rua's thesis study, the data for which was collected in 2009. This work forms part of the Tangi Research Programme, a collaboration between the School of Māori and Pacific Development and the Māori and Psychology Research Unit at The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Keywords

tangi, wharemate, marae, tikanga, death, Tūhoe

Background

In Tūhoe (Māori tribe) wharemate as permanent marae facilities are dedicated to receiving and sheltering the tūpāpaku (deceased person, corpse) and, usually, the women of the bereaved family while the marae rituals of encounter, mourning and remembering take place. Wharemate—along with whare pōtae and kirimate—is also used in Tūhoe to refer to the bereaved's immediate family and those who, in close proximity to the tūpāpaku, keep vigil, care for and metaphorically "warm" the tūpāpaku. The permanent wharemate structure is a recent development that tends to be specific to Tūhoe marae in Te Urewera; although other Eastern Bay of Plenty tribal groups have also established them. The introduction of permanent wharemate has occurred during the lifetimes of the authors of this article, but a whole generation of Tūhoe young people has grown up without the experience of the previous, temporary, wharemate. This deserves attention as it represents a tribal-specific adaptation to contemporary changing values, beliefs and circumstances, and is a trajectory different from that of other tribal groups.

Early New Zealand ethnographers have described Māori attitudes and beliefs about sickness, death and death customs. Illness was caused by malevolent spirits, and responses to illness involved making appeals for interventon to guardian gods, the use of herbal remedies and activities of appeasement. Best (1926) and Te Rangihiroa (1950) agree that sickness and death brought with them a great sense of danger and risk, and significant measures were taken to avoid being contaminated by death tapu (restrictions). When people were ill and there was a risk they might die inside a permanent dwelling, they were removed to a temporary shelter away from the activities of daily life. This was because the dwelling could become contaminated, which would mean further interruption to facilitate the return of the dwelling to a safe and ordinary state. Should an individual die in a permanent dwelling the consequences were significant. Te Rangihiroa (1950) elaborates on these:

> A death imposed a death tapu over the building in which the death occurred. Though various forms of tapu can be removed by the appropriate ceremony, there was something sinister and lingering about a death tapu. No one cared to sleep on the same spot where someone had died. A former objection to European hospitals was that beds in which patients had died were continued in use. The proper treatment for the removal of a death tapu over a house [was] … to burn it

down. An ordinary house could be burned down or abandoned without much loss but meeting houses were too valuable to allow of being destroyed. The only possible way of saving valuable houses was by not allowing anyone to die in them. Thus when patients became seriously ill, they were removed to a temporary shelter quickly made or, in later times, to a tent. For people of note, the temporary shelter or tent was erected near the meeting house and facing out onto the marae. If they died there, no further arrangements were necessary for the next stage in the proceedings [the tangi]. (p. 416)

The use of temporary shelters and tents as wharemate in the Tūhoe tribal region is captured by the colonial gaze in photography. An image taken at Mataatua in Ruatahuna at the tangi for Te Whenuanui in 1907 clearly shows the tent structure and organisation of the wharemate (Alexandra Turnbull Library, PA1-0-042-42-1). Best (1925, p. 1105) clearly notes that Tūhoe had a "whare potae … a house of mourning for the dead", but this was a temporary dwelling as "no permanent buildings, employed solely for such purposes, were ever erected in the hamlets of Tūhoe." The question that arises is why such a change has occurred.

Kaumātua of Waikirikiri Marae
This paper explores the evolution of wharemate on the Tūhoe marae of Waikirikiri at Ruatoki from a temporary shelter to a permanent building. Three kaumātua, Te Uruhina Akuira Tiakiwai McGarvey (Nanny Uru), Mohi Rogers and Hina Nicholas recorded their reflections and surveyed the history of their wharemate, the tikanga surrounding its use and its evolution as a key part of the tangihanga (rites for the dead) process. Their accounts provide an opportunity for wharemate knowledge, history and practices at Waikirikiri marae to be recorded and shared with whānau (extended family, families) of the community. In their sharing of knowledge and experience, we gain an appreciation of the changes that have occurred, and reconnect to earlier generations to ensure a continuity of heritage and pride for the generations to come. All three participants were interviewed by Hare Rua, the first author of this paper, in 2009.

The topic of wharemate is interesting and important. Of interest also is the way the kaumātua, in telling their stories, move fluidly between Te Reo o Tūhoe (the Tūhoe language) and English, using Māori concepts in Māori and unashamedly appropriating English words as transliterations to serve their purpose. Those accustomed to Tūhoe speakers of this generation will find this familiar and clearly understandable. Others, however, might find this challenging, especially when the "how" of what is being said (eyes, hand motions, facial expressions) is vital to understanding what, to the foreign ear, may hear as incomprehensible utterances. As Tūhoe researchers and writers we are deeply enriched by the content of these conversations and the languages through which they are told. For this reason we have chosen to not translate quotes presented in the text below that are wholly or partially in Māori. Instead, we present the quote, and in the paragraph that follows, we describe and discuss the main issue or point raised in the quote. Context reveals the meaning. The paper, therefore, can be read either with or without the quotes. The non-reader of Māori will not be disadvantaged in this regard.

Waikirikiri marae is in the valley of Ruatoki, a rural Tūhoe community bordering Te Urewera in the Bay of Plenty. The marae is at the southern end of the valley on the banks of the Whakatane River, which flows north. Travelling from Taneatua to Waikirikiri (14 kilometres to the south), the traveller passes five other Tūhoe marae along a 7-kilometre stretch of road. Most have permanent wharemate structures. Shortly after Waikirikiri the road ends, giving way to the riverbed and rugged environment of Te Urewera. This is the domain of horses, hunting, food gathering, respite and reflection. This is the context in which Nanny Uru, Mohi and Hina were raised, and have lived and witnessed their lives and others. They are all elderly. They have Te Reo o Tūhoe as their first language and are active community participants, leaders in their own right and highly regarded for their knowledge, community contributions and gentle yet firm guidance. *Our* kaumātua (for each of them is related in some way to the authors of this paper), were interviewed by Hare Rua, as part of his graduate work at The University of Waikato.

Wharemate of Waikirikiri Marae
The temporary wharemate at Waikirikiri were always erected with the guidance of pakeke (elders). Mohi Rogers tells us that the materials used to build traditional wharemate included four kaponga

(*Cyathea dealbata)* pou, used as corner posts. The structure was to be approximately one-fifth of the size of the marae—about the size of a double garage. Branches of the nīkau tree *(Rhopalostylis sapida)* were woven together in a mesh-style pattern to form three walls of the structure (the back and sides). The front of the wharemate was left open. The roof was made of nīkau leaves and woven together in similar fashion to that of the walls. Roofing iron was sometimes placed on top of the nīkau roof. For insulation, raupo *(Typha angustifolia)* leaves were collected, dried and woven into the nīkau walls. Hay bales were placed on the bare ground and covered with whāriki (woven mats) for comfort and warmth. If hay bales were not available, long dry grass from the raised flats of the river bed would be collected and prepared as bales.

The wharemate was always erected to the right side of the whare puni (meeting house) as one approaches from the marae gate. This allows manuhiri (guests) to see inside the wharemate and for the kirimate (immediately bereaved, grieving relatives) to see manuhiri and observe the marae rituals of encounter. Unlike the other marae buildings, the wharemate of Waikirikiri did not have a name. The location of the wharemate, however, was called "Te Uruurunga", which was often used to refer to the physical structure of the wharemate as well. Nanny Uru tells us:

> Uruurunga—koina te ingoa. Ko te ūrunga hoki, koina tō resting place nērā. Ko te Uruurunga te okiokihanga o te hunga mate—ko taua wāhi rā. Koira hoki te uruhangātu o rātou—it was only a place; you know—te wāhi tū. Mokoe—i ā koe e kōrero ana, I just remembered koina kē he ingoa mo te wharemate. It never came into me, kā mēngia mātou kimihia he ingoa mo te wharemate nei—we never did—we never got a name for it. Always ka mea mai rā "heria atu ki te uruurunga," waihongiatu kē ngā mea ki konā.

While elaborate processes are usually entered into when deciding a name for significant buildings on the marae complex, as Nanny Uru explained above, this was not the case for the wharemate. It was simply referred to as a place on the marae where the temporary structure was erected. When its purpose had been served, it was dismantled. If roofing iron was used, it was often packed away and left behind the marae toilet block for further use. All other materials associated with the wharemate's construction—nīkau, kaponga, raupo and hay—were removed from the site and burned, lifting the tapu from the wharemate and tūpāpaku. The practice of removing tapu with fire is discussed by Te Rangihiroa (1950, p. 416) and referred to in the introduction above.

During the 1940s, Nanny Uru recalls the use of a tent as a wharemate at Waikirikiri. As with the traditional wharemate, hay was placed on the floor and covered by whāriki (woven mats). Whole bales of hay were also stacked along the base of the outer tent walls (excluding the front) to protect the wharemate from drafts, wind and rain. In contrast to earlier wharemate constructed of readily available materials, the tent was not destroyed but stored at a family member's home.

Temporary structures and tents continued in use at Waikirikiri until the late 1980s. The decision to build a permanent wharemate structure for Waikirikiri marae was made in 1989, following vigorous debate among the elders of the marae about how this would benefit the health and care of kuia (female elders), kirimate, and tūpāpaku. Some felt that marae tikanga and wharemate practices would be compromised for the sake of a few comforts. Initially, Nanny Uru opposed the idea of a permanent structure claiming it contradicted or at least challenged the teachings of her kuia. She feared that the tikanga associated with the wharemate would be transgressed, putting people at risk. Not long after these initial discussions a tangi was held for a significant elder of Waikirikiri marae. Wind and rain stormed through the valley during the tangihanga impacting the tangihanga process and those mourners keeping vigil over the tūpāpaku. This incident convinced Nanny Uru to reconsider her position and a few months later the present wharemate was erected.

Te Kawa o te Wharemate: Wharemate protocols

Until very recently, there were strict rules on entering and re-entering the wharemate. Kirimate and the kuia of the whānau and marae were the only ones permitted to enter the wharemate. Children were prohibited at all times as they could become sick or afflicted by malevolent spirits. Tūpāpaku were extremely tapu and children were seen as easy targets for retribution if safety rules, that is, tapu, were breached. Food and water are substances used in the removal of tapu at the appropriate time. Taking

food or sprinkling oneself with water removes tapu so individuals can go about their everyday activities. Tangi and the presence of tūpāpaku among the living, however, are not ordinary activities and the wharemate is charged with metaphysical activity that requires care and dedication to the task of supporting the wairua (spirit) of the tūpāpaku onwards in their spiritual journey away from the living.

The wharemate consisted of the kirimate, immediate whānau of the tūpāpaku including the pouaru or widow, and the kuia of the marae. This group of people was referred to as the wharemate or kirimate; they were exclusively female, and they were the primary mourners who constantly cared for the tūpāpaku. The tūpāpaku was never to be left alone. The role of the kirimate was to sit in the wharemate, head bowed with little eye contact with others for the duration of the tangihanga. Their primary role is to tangi, to mourn. Nanny Uru recounts:

Ko te mea kē (mō rātou) he tangi, kā mutu, he noho ngā kuia, koirā te mahi, he tangi. Kāre koe e pai te titiro mākutu atu (ki) te tangata pēnei aianei—koirā ngā rerekēranga—noho tonu, noho tonu.

Nanny Uru also remembers how kuia from the manuhiri would sit in front of the wharemate and tangi, rather than entering into the wharemate as people do today; she notes that this has changed and laments the current lack of commitment to the behaviours, like not leaving the tūpāpaku, that she had witnessed in her youth.

You know the kuia ka haere ana ki tētahi ūhunga—and this is one thing kua kore... kua kore te ia o ngā kuia ka haramai, a, kua noho mai ki mua tonu mai te wharemate... kua noho ki reira ke tangi atu ai te tūpāpaku, kāre e kuhu ana ki roto i te wharemate. Kua rerekē pea inaeanei. …Inaeanei hoki kāre e roa kua taki rere (ki te mimi). Kāre e whakarere te tūpāpaku (i nga tau o mua) i runga tonu pea i o rātou tau.

Echoing Nanny Uru's sentiments, Hina Nicholas reflects on rarely, if ever, seeing the kuia of the wharemate leaving their positions for any reason.

Kā mutu, mēnā ko koe te pouaru a tērā e takoto rā, a te kāmehameha, mē ko koe tana pouaru, kāre koe e haere ki te horoi, tapu tonu atu tō noho. Kātahi au ka whakaaro ake, ha, must be rā taki haere ai te mimi, ē aua, ko wai hoki kā mōhio, kāre hoki e taki tū te haere ki te horoi. Kaua rā e taki haere te kai maybe i ngaā pō, kāre au e kite ana i aua kuia rā e haere ana ki te kai, te toilet, anywhere.

The commitment by those of the kirimate, their discipline and focus on the tūpāpaku is noted by Dansey (1975), who reflects, "our dead are very close to us in Māoridom. They do not lie alone on that short space between death and burial. We stay with them every minute and talk to them and sing to them" (p. 116). Moreover, the commitment of kuia to their role in the wharemate is highlighted in their abstaining from attending the toilet for bodily relief, and only taking food at night. All three of our informants commented on this, suggesting an intense focus on the immediate task.

At Waikirikiri the sanctity of the wharemate was important, and those who left the wharemate were often prohibited from re-entering, particularly those who had been eating or working in the wharekai (dining hall). This prohibition is discussed below but people could return to the wharemate the following day, after the passing of some time. Nanny Uru and Hina Nicholas both refer to a separation between food and water, and members of the wharemate. Not only were they prohibited from taking food or water, speaking of hunger or thirst was frowned upon. To Nanny Uru's mind, the simple act of talking about food is transgressive and can have significant consequences. Even consuming lollies within the wharemate had consequences.

Rerekē hoki when I was learning. I was staunch ki ngā tikanga and I think ko ahau te kuia te strict katoa kai ngā marae nei. Kaua e mau i āu e mea ana (e hē ana). Iaeanei kua kai rare ki roto (i te wharemate) kua kii ahau "hey, haria o koutou rare", nā, kua kōrero kai, kua kii au "kaua e

kōrero kai. Kai te tānoanoa ē koutou te tūpāpaku". But some of them kua kuia kē wētahi, kāre e mōhio ana he aha tērā kupu. Koira taku kore hiahia [ki] te wharemate.

Nanny Uru uses the term "tānoanoa" with reference to the tūpāpaku to describe the unwelcome onset of decomposition, or more colloquially, to the body "going off" or "going bad" ahead of burial. Tānoanoa of tūpāpaku could occur when people transgressed the laws of tapu related to the wharemate, for example, talking about food or eating lollies. Such were some of the consequences. The tapu on wharemate was paramount and the presence of or even reference to food was a serious breach. In the following excerpt, Nanny Uru reflects on past practices and the present acceptance of comments about the length of the day and satisfying one's hunger, comments that would not be tolerated in previous times.

Kāre e korerongia ana te kai ki roto i te wharemate, kāre e pēnei iaianei—kua mea, "aiiiiiii, te whakaroaroa o te rā ki te tō kia āwai tātou te kai".

Conversation in the wharemate was also limited to the kaupapa of the tangihanga. This was the priority and the tūpāpaku the focus of all of one's attention.

Caring for the tūpāpaku was interrupted only for a short period late into the night and in the early hours of the morning before sunrise. This respite was noted by Te Rangihiroa (1950) who wrote, "Widows fasted during the period of attendance on the corpse, but they were persuaded to take nourishment under the cover of night" (p. 417). Nanny Uru, Hina and Mohi all recalled food being prepared and presented during the late hours of the night, often in front of the wharemate as the kirimate women were prohibited from entering or eating in the wharekai for fear their association with the tūpāpaku would contaminate ordinary activities. To assist with this meal time, a fire was sometimes lit directly in front of the wharemate. According to kaumātua interviewed, the fire was called "Te Mahurehure". It not only provided a light during meals but also comfort and warmth. The type of food, according to kaumātua, was often the finest available to the marae, a point also noted by Best (1906) who writes "near relatives of the dead, who take charge of the corpse, receive the choicest food, albeit they eat but at night" (p. 211).

Many kuia would not wash throughout their time in the wharemate. Nanny Uru recalls a conversation with her mother where she learned that the immediate family of the deceased did not wash. She remembers asking her mother whether the family members smelled. While being firmly reprimanded, her mother explained that they did not.

Me kii pea immediate family, me te pouaru, kāre e horoi. I thought "Farrrrrrrr out kāre e horoi"—but tērā āhua—ka mea atu ano au ki tō mātou māmā:
Nanny Uru: "Kāre e puta ana te haunga?"
Māmā: "Aiiiiiiiiiii, kaua e korero i tēnā kōrero. Karekau (e puta te haunga)!

In the following passage, Nanny Uru suggests that the absence of odour was related to their consumption patterns and the food prepared for them. They abstained from eating during the day thereby limiting their intake. Drinking water was also limited thus reducing the need to pass water.

Ka āta noho ana koe, karekau tērā mea ē puta—you know—then I suppose karekau wēnā momo kai I think (the type of kai that would affect the body in that way—maybe they were very particular about the kai they were fed?)—what they eat nehā—wā rātou kai tonu pea e kai ana, nothing disturbs their stomach or whatever it is anyway. But i āu kua kuia nei kua mōhio au, awwwwwww tō rātou whakatapu i a rātou—you know—they preserve themselves kia kore (rātou) e mea (keha).
Mōhio rātou te whakatapu i a rātou—kua kore e inuinu wai kia kore e hia mimi—so they stay dry all the time. Noho hoki ki te mahara tō mātou whaea rā (Wairimu), kāre hoki e kai—kare e kai aaaaaaaa ka nehua tana tamāhine.

Ngā Taonga o te Tūpāpaku: Treasured Possessions

In the wharemate, taonga (treasured possessions) such as taiaha (wooden fighting staff), mere (nephrite weapon), patu (cleaver), tokotoko (walking stick) and korowai (cloak, usually with tassels), would be placed with the tūpāpaku. Sometimes these were buried with the tūpāpaku. Nanny Uru discusses how items would be placed if they were to be buried.

> Ana kua huri ki tana ringa. Koira te mere ka hoki ki tana taha. Kāre i runga i ā ia, kai tana taha kē, ana, ka heria, always put it on his right hand side, pēnā kai te tuku i tērā mea.

She explains that if the item was a mere, then rather than resting atop of the casket, it would be placed by his right hand side, with the handle turned towards his hand. This signals the intention to bury the object. When considering why taonga would be buried with the tūpāpaku, Nanny Uru recalls conversations with her own kaumātua.

> Ko te whakapapa rā te take ... ana ka pātai ai ahau a muri ake "he aha i tukuna ai?" Reply "Kua mutu te raina o tēnā". I rongo hoki au e kiia mai ana "kua mutu kē te raina a tena—tukuna".

Best (1906) supports Nanny Uru's comments about genealogical lines ending, and refers to this as "peka titoki", that is, the broken branch of a titoki tree *(Alectryon excelsus)*. When broken, it decays and dies and is seen no more, similar to a family line with no more issue. The burying of taonga, prized possessions, while a symbolic act, also serves to remove the object from circulation among the living, and with it, any risks to them.

Nanny Uru also talked about the placement of photos in the wharemate. She explained that only photos of female relatives were placed at the feet of the tūpāpaku. Often even these were restricted to a few photos of immediate family members.

Te Whakamāmā ake o ngā Tikanga: The Easing of Marae Traditions

The kaumātua highlighted the rigorous nature of tikanga surrounding the wharemate and the kawa (protocol) inside the wharemate. They pointed out, however, that there had been an easing of the tikanga in recent decades. The kaumātua of the 1970s had noted the drift of its community members into towns and cities for better jobs and education. This urban drift meant a loss of resource for the marae and its community (Nikora, Rua, Te Awekotuku, Guerin & McCaughey, 2008), putting pressure on those remaining to carry on the traditional practices. The kaumātua decided this was too much of a burden and endeavoured to relax some tikanga.

The kirimate were no longer required to eat out the front of the wharemate. They could now move into the wharekai. The other protocol that was relaxed was the restriction of times for pōhiri (ritual welcome) to daylight hours. This allowed the kirimate to eat at sunset and relieved them from the physical, emotional, spiritual and psychological pressure of staying under tapu for long durations.

Kōrero Whakamutunga: Conclusion

Many practices have changed with the building of the permanent structure for use as a wharemate for Waikirikiri marae. The days of the earlier temporary structures were synonymous with intense tapu practices that were strictly adhered to, practised and policed by the old people of that time. There are challenges in passing on knowledge to the people of Waikirikiri marae. Although the teachings are passed on, the people of today bring with them their own set of values and beliefs. Nanny Uru comments:

> You at a loss pēnā koe kai te noho noaiho te kōrero ki to marae because sometimes wētahi o ngā whānau kai wērā atu marae e noho ana and they come back and bring some of those things through and you've got to repeat [your teachings]—well, kāre hoki au e hōhā ki te kōrero, I always talk.

Many of the people at Waikirikiri rely heavily on Nanny Uru to provide leadership and direction within the wharemate. The succession planning has long been in place for people to assume

responsibilities she carries. She has this to say about those who will continue with this tikanga; the octogenarian matriarch speaks with confidence:

> Ko te tikanga rā mē mōhio wō whāea. They've been taught. Well he pai rātou, kai te kōrerongia rātou kaua e pēnei, kaua e pēnā, he aha atu, he aha atu. But whether you like it or not, ko tō māmā rā, she's really staunch. Pērā anō tēnei kai konei [referring to Julie, her daughter]. I would think Julie will catch what I'm doing. Mea atu au kia Julie, "the worst thing that can happen to you is kā eke ana ki to kotou taima, don't listen to people. If you get a gut feeling you're doing something right, you listen—just whakaakonga ngā tikanga kia tangata whenua ki roto i ā koe". Kai te pai tonu ngā wāhine o Waikirikiri.

Nanny Uru believes that the generation of women that grew up in the 1940s and 1950s are aware of the tikanga and that they have been taught. She is impressed by their willingness to teach others, and indeed, by her own daughter. Of the knowledge she has passed on about the wharemate, Nanny Uru concludes, "kai te pai tonu ngā wāhine o Waikirikiri"—the women of Waikirikiri are well versed.

Glossary

kaponga	*Cyathea dealbata*
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa	purpose
kawa	protocol
kirimate	immediately bereaved, grieving relatives
korowai	cloak, usually with tassels
kuia	female elders
manuhiri	guests
marae	hapu reservation and associated buildings
mere	nephrite weapon
nīkau	*Rhopalostylis sapida*
pakeke	elders
patu	cleaver
pōhiri	ritual welcome
pou	posts
raupo	*Typha angustifolia*
tānoanoa	the unwelcome onset of decomposition
taiaha	long staff, weapon
tangihanga	rites for the dead
taonga	treasured possessions
tapu	sacred, restricted, restrictions
Te Reo o Tūhoe	Tūhoe language
tikanga	correct procedures, customary practices
titoki	*Alectryon excelsus*
tokotoko	walking stick
Tūhoe	Māori tribe
tūpāpaku	deceased person, corpse
wairua	spirit
whānau	extended family, families
whare pōtae	immediately bereaved, shelters in which people receive their final farewells
whare puni	meeting house
wharekai	dining room
wharemate	shelters in which the deceased receive their final farewells
whāriki	woven mats

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