Developing a Bibliography of Māori Politics Research by Kairangahau Māori: a Methodology Report

by

Ben Barton and Sophie Newton

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He Tauhou ki tō Tātou Whenua

A Stranger in Our Land

You arrived on our shores, a stranger in our land
We welcomed you, we welcomed you
You promised us prosperity
We trusted you, we trusted you
Your promises were empty
For you had lied, you had lied
You forced us from our homes
Let us stay, let us stay
You silenced us in our schools
Let us speak, let us speak
You made us sick and watched us fade
Let us live, let us live
You shamed us for existing
But, we are proud, we are proud
You mocked our ways of being
But, we are smart, we are smart
You imposed your ways of doing
But, they don't work, they don't work
For too long, you have ignored us
You will listen, you will listen
The colonial tides are receding
We are reclaiming, we are reclaiming
Our trauma runs deep
We must heal, we must heal
But, we are still here,
We are home, we are home.
– Ben Barton, February 2023

Introduction

Numerous academic fields are presently engaged in the incorporation of tikanga and mātauranga Māori, as well as Te Tiriti o Waitangi, into their educational practices, research endeavours, learning experiences, and professional conduct. In particular, we, a team of scholars specialising in political studies and related domains, aspire to devise a framework for political studies in Aotearoa that facilitates the flourishing of tauira Māori and staff, empowers tauiwi colleagues to integrate and support Māori-focused topics, students, and colleagues, and enhances their ability to effectively serve the needs of hāpori Māori in the spheres of politics and policymaking.

This project entailed the compilation of a comprehensive bibliography of Māori politics research undertaken by Māori scholars. Notably, the primacy of Western political frameworks has been widely recognised by western academia and privileged in the research and teaching that operates in this space thereby overlooking Indigenous perspectives and ways of knowing and doing. This bibliographic initiative is aimed at delineating and establishing the parameters of Māori politics and collecting and storing Māori-authored political research for accessibility by scholars and educators. Furthermore, the bibliography will underscore the existing literature and highlight areas for future inquiry.

Methods

This section lays out the methods to complete this project. We first explain the process used to collect sources, find Kairangahau and define/categorise Māori politics. Then, we identify challenges we individually faced including understanding and categorising Māori politics. Finally, we give personal reflections on the project and context of our disciplinary background. This report was co-written by Sophie and Ben, with the pronoun "I". Sections referring to "we" include processes both of us worked on. The separate sections allow us to delineate our different perspectives on the internship and our slightly differing methodology.

Ben (Te Arawa): I am currently in the concluding year of my bachelor's degree in health Sciences, wherein I have specialised in the field of Psychology. My primary objective is to pursue a career in qualitative research. Although I have always known that I am Māori, it was not until the commencement of my academic pursuits that I became acutely aware of the extent to which my understanding of Te Ao Māori and my Māori identity was severely

limited. While the exploration and comprehension of my Māori identity have been a profound journey, it is disconcerting to acknowledge that the dearth of information and cultural understanding stems from the stigmatisation and humiliation my koroua endured due to being Māori, which led to his decision to withhold the intergenerational transfer of knowledge to his tamariki and mokopuna. The motivation behind my research is rooted in a deep commitment to the decolonization of Aotearoa, with a particular focus on mitigating the emotional pain and psychological wounds suffered by Māori, and to prevent the perpetuation of such trauma for the coming generations.

Sophie (Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tokorehe): I am a third year LLB and BA student majoring in politics. I come to this research with a solid foundation in understanding Western Politics, giving me a strong basis for Politics in a New Zealand context. Like many urbanised Māori I did not grow up on my whenua among my iwi and this has impacted my knowledge of tikanga, Te Ao Māori and te reo Māori. Therefore, coming into this kaupapa I had work to do on growing my knowledge of Te Ao Māori. I was also born overseas in the UK to my Pākehā/English dad. These experiences have shaped my desire to be part of this kaupapa and the process of this research is part of my journey back to Te Ao Māori. I come to this kaupapa with the intention of helping bring Māori politics into greater prominence in the Politics discipline. Through this process some of my gaps have been filled and I have a much greater understanding of the Māori political sphere.

Process

Ben: To commence the project, I conducted research on various software systems that could be used to build the bibliography. After careful deliberation, I opted for Zotero, which had excellent ratings and a user-friendly interface. After acquainting myself with its features and interface, I trained Lara and Sophie in navigating the software. Lara provided Sophie and I with a spreadsheet titled "Kairangahau" containing a list of approximately 15 Māori researchers, which served as the initial framework for our research project. Each researcher was accompanied by a checklist of pertinent information. If we found a researcher to identify as having whakapapa Māori, we then undertook a rigorous process of reviewing and scrutinising their published works, to determine whether their literature could be classified as political. If deemed political, the literature was added to our Zotero bibliography. Upon adding a source to Zotero, we proceeded to apply tags in order to emphasise its relevance. Afterwards, we examined the co-authors of the literature and included those who whakapapa

Māori the list of kairangahau. This approach allowed us to significantly increase the size of our cohort. Our literature search was largely conducted through the utilisation of Google Scholar, ResearchGate, and the University of Auckland, which proved to be particularly valuable resources. Te Hononga Pūkenga was also a vital resource for identifying researchers. As the project progressed, based on our applied tags, we collaborated to compile a comprehensive list of key topics and their subtopics we thought merited inclusion in the final draft of the bibliography. At first, we wrote down our initial thoughts and ideas and tried to categorise them as either kāwanatanga or tino rangatiratanga. We eventually recognised that this was not the most suitable way of organising topics as many fit outside of the realms of kāwanatanga and tino rangatiratanga. From this discovery, we drafted up additional categories that better suited the placement of topics (see Appendix B). This document was shared with Belinda Borell, Maria Bargh, and Lindsey MacDonald to solicit input and recommendations.

Furthermore, I used this list as an extra tool in my research methodology, employing it as a checklist to conduct keyword searches. On several occasions I also met with Ema Tuakoi, who had helped update a similar bibliography for Psychology, and later worked on a literature review for Whakauae Research Services in 2022. Ema gave the project further assistance and offered sound counsel as necessary. In addition to maintaining regular and diverse modes of communication among Sophie, Lara, Annie, and myself during the internship, we ensured our attendance at a weekly Friday morning meeting. The Zoom-based meeting served as a forum for the four of us to come together to discuss our internship progress, challenges, reflections, emotions, and for setting objectives for the upcoming week. It was during these sessions that I experienced a significant advancement in my understanding of political science.

Subsequent to these meetings, we attended our reading group session which was conducted by Kaylee Brink, a PhD student under Lara's supervision. Also in attendance of the reading group were two other Māori interns, Hannah Overbye and Rebecca Hini, both of whom were working on a project around the reasons Māori give for choosing the Māori or General electoral rolls. Over the course of seven weeks, Kaylee presented to us a range of papers on Indigenous politics, each week focusing on a different country (see Appendix A). The discussions that ensued during our sessions were profound, insightful, and inspirational. It

was a secure platform where we could freely articulate our personal viewpoints on the assigned texts, deliberate on any components that we found challenging, delve deeper into subjects that piqued our curiosity, and communicate our own grievances with colonisation, particularly within the context of Aotearoa. Additionally, these sessions allowed for whakawhanaungatanga between our group.

Sophie: The texts also helped us gain a more global perspective on colonisation. While some sources demonstrated a very different experience, many similarities such as land theft, displacement, and language loss helped situate the Māori context and political struggle as one grounded in a global struggle for indigenous rights.

Challenges

Ben: During the initial week of research, it became apparent to me that my grasp of the fundamental tenets of politics was lacking. As a consequence, I perceived my research efforts to be inadequate. My understanding of politics was limited to basic parliamentary activities, which led me to disregard articles that did not encompass such matters. In our initial meeting, I discussed this matter with Annie, who provided an alternative definition of politics, leading to a complete shift in my preconceived notions. Annie expounded on the two strands that comprise Māori political science.

Strand 1: Māori relationships with the state/Crown.
Strand 2: How Māori make decisions within Māori institutions (e.g., healthcare, environment, iwi and hapū management/development plans, tikanga).

Annie's explanation broadened my scope when researching and took me out of my rigid way of thinking. However, this brought several new challenges. Much of the literature I found was what I consider to be subjectively political. This was challenging, as my original method of *"must find parliamentary research"* was very black and white either a yes or a no when deciding whether to include it in the bibliography or not. Now, I had to make a decision based on my newfound rationale of *"what is political?"* The other challenge I had was grasping the concepts of Māori terminology that was frequently used in the literature. To combat these challenges, I created a spreadsheet titled *"Māori word translations"* and a word document titled "*Literature that has helped me.*" I noted down any Māori words that were

frequently used across the range of literature and added them to the spreadsheet along with their translations titled "*Māori translations*" (see Appendix C). I diligently studied the concepts underlying these terms and sought out additional works that explored how they were utilised in Māori decision-making. Take, for example, rangatiratanga. To better understand how rangatiratanga is practised, I read the short book *"Stepping Up: COVID-19 Checkpoints and Rangatiratanga*" by Professor Maria Bargh and Dr Luke Fitzmaurice. This strategy facilitated a more profound comprehension of Te Ao Māori and correspondingly broadened the scope of my research. Notably, any papers or articles which made a significant contribution to my learning process and subsequent understanding were appended to the document entitled "*Literature that has helped me"* (see Appendix D). With the solidification of my comprehension of Māori concepts, my confidence in conducting research and making critical determinations on the political sphere was gained.

Sophie: My Bachelor of Arts major is in Politics, so for me, understanding politics was not the issue. However, I shared the challenge of defining Māori politics as I also did not understand the boundaries, especially when they differ from western political thought. The hardest initial aspect was containing Māori politics. So much of Māori decision-making is political, as iwi and hapū are political units and who exercise and design forms of governance. The colonial government also makes decisions about Māori with and without consulting with us, and all of these political decisions have political consequences.

In this framework, almost anything concerning Māori and our lives can be political - colonisation and continuous undermining of Rangatiratanga has forced the politicisation of Māori lives and identity. However, to create useful borders around the discipline of Māori politics I focused only on content that was mainly political or created with a political framework in mind. This excludes a lot of Māori economic decision making, even though it could be considered political, because the main approach and framework of the author is economic. This is out of practicality as I knew we had limited time to compile a bibliography and on Lara's advice focused on the most relevant sources and kairangahau. These are also areas other disciplines and researchers could cover if say a Māori economics bibliography was made in future.

The difficulty of categorising Māori politics also highlights the limits of applying a Western

academic framework to mātauranga Māori. The tendency of western academic frameworks to compartmentalise by discipline conflicts with the holistic nature of Māori society and research practices. In line with a Māori worldview some sources which stray into other disciplines, such as environment and health, are included despite not being "political" within a western framework.

It is important to note the difficulty in defining Māori politics is one the Politics discipline is currently contending with. This bibliography offers one interpretation of Māori politics which can be useful to teachers and students of the discipline Later on, another challenge was finding older sources (pre-2000). We started with cataloguing the work of kairangahau Māori with more recent sources but found it hard to find and access sources which were not available on Google Scholar or other sites like ResearchGate. One strategy I used was cataloguing all of the political sources in the Mātauranga Māori section of Auckland University Libraries, giving me access to a lot of older sources. However, I still struggle to find older sources by kairangahau and have not been able to fully overcome this challenge. This remains as a challenge for future work on the bibliography.

Reflections

Ben: Throughout this internship, I have experienced a gamut of emotions that have shaped my engagement with the research. While some days were characterised by excitement at my discoveries, on other days, my encounters with literature, particularly on colonisation and its detrimental effects on Māori, elicited frustration, sadness, and anger. Of particular interest is the way that Māori interact with the environment, wildlife, and fellow humans, informed by tikanga, a deeply embedded set of cultural values and norms. I am perplexed as to why these rich and intricate Māori practices have historically been disregarded by the state. My musings often lead me to ponder the possibility of integrating Māori ideology into Western politics for a more equitable and ethical governance system.

The emotional response that has been particularly surprising is a sense of yearning. My research has provided insight into pre-colonial Aotearoa, and I am deeply drawn to the Māori way of life. Consequently, I am inclined to imagine a world where colonisation and the loss of Māori sovereignty had not transpired, pondering the prospects for Māori and Aotearoa

today. This is what inspired me to write the poem He Tauhou ki tō Tātou Whenua (A Stranger in Our Land), featured at the outset of this report. The genesis of my poem can be traced to my motivation to express the experiences of oppression and affliction that Māori have undergone in the aftermath of colonisation.

"He Tauhou ki tō Tātou Whenua" offers a narrative that elucidates the attempted genocide of our community, characterized by melancholy and despondency, yet also underscores the resilience and fortitude of the Māori wairua in the face of daunting obstacles. The title alludes to both colonisers and Māori, and the subsequent displacement and alienation experienced by the latter within their own land due to the colonists arrival. Despite the arrival of strangers to these shores, it was the Indigenous people who ultimately became strangers in their own home.

When reflecting on the collaborative efforts that were involved in the compilation of this bibliography, it is imperative to acknowledge the advantages of engaging in a team with diverse backgrounds and disciplines. Individuals from different backgrounds working together, can bring unique perspectives, skills, and experiences to the table. This diversity can foster creativity, enhance problem-solving abilities, and ultimately generate more innovative solutions. Our team is a testament to this phenomenon.

Ben: My background in psychology I found to be highly useful when researching Māori political science due to the complex interplay between human behaviour and political phenomena. Political science seeks to understand how individuals, groups, and institutions interact and make decisions in the political realm, which often involves studying patterns of behaviour, attitudes, and beliefs. Psychology provides a valuable framework for analysing these patterns, as it offers a range of theories and research methods for investigating individual and group behaviour, decision-making processes, and the impact of social and cultural factors. By integrating insights from psychology into political science research, a deeper understanding of the factors that shape Māori political behaviour and decision-making can be gained.

Sophie: My background is a BA in Politics and International Relations and an LLB. My legal

background was really useful for understanding Te Tiriti and all the facets of law and politics which involve Te Tiriti or the Treaty Principles. It also helped with understanding tikanga as an independent legal system capable of functioning in parallel with or outside of the Crown. My political background gave me a solid foundation for Western politics, though my background in Māori politics was weaker. It was valuable to have taken Lara's course on Mana Motuhake, though this internship also required me to extend my knowledge far beyond what can be taught in one course.

When beginning this project, I underestimated how much writing had been done on Māori Politics. I anticipated finding maybe 300 sources. This underestimation was partly due to not understanding the full scope of Māori politics but also because I had seen very few or no Māori sources used in my Politics courses at university. I knew one reason was because Māori perspectives are not valued by colonial institutions, but I also naively thought it was because there simply were not kairangahau Māori perspectives on many political issues especially in international relations. I now know this is not true and I am very privileged to be part of this project bringing a rich depth of sources for other Māori and tauiwi to use in their teaching and learning. I would estimate that we found more than half the total of (modern) sources but there are at least a few hundred we did not get to within the time and scope of the internship, and due to this I hope the work of collating this bibliography can continue on.

Conclusion

At the end of the project, we found 570 sources, sorted into the following categories.

Colonisation;	*Environment;*
Government and Policy;	*Identity, Intersectionality and Gender;*
International Relations;	*Iwi/Māori Development;*
Local Government;	*Political Movements;*
Specific Related Policy Areas;	*Te Tiriti o Waitangi,*
He Whakaputanga,	*Constitution;*
Tikanga;	*Tino Rangatiratanga;*
Voting, Parties and Parliament;	*Waitangi Tribunal,*
Treaty Claims and Settlements.	

These will be set in Zotero as well as an output bibliography sorted by category. The Zotero will be made available to other Kairangahau Māori to begin with. We are currently seeking feedback from Kairangahau Belinda Borell, Maria Bargh, and Lindsey MacDonald. This project is the start of a wider piece of work and will be expanded in the future to include more sources and potentially more categories. The goal is an eventual appendix available to anyone who wishes to learn about Māori Politics and include Māori perspectives and mātauranga. We aim to bring Māori politics into the mainstream of the Politics discipline, with mātauranga Māori included wherever possible. Ngā mihi Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga for giving us the opportunity for this mahi, expanding our own horizons and hopefully the horizons of the Politics discipline.

Appendix A: Reading Group Literature List

Despagne, C. (2013). Indigenous education in Mexico: Indigenous students' voices. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education, 7*(2), 114–129.

Hoskins, T. K., & Bell, A. (2021). Being present: Embodying political relations in Indigenous encounters with the Crown. *Contemporary Political Theory, 20*, 502–523.

Lambert, Pennington, K. (2012). "Real Blackfellas": Constructions and meanings of urban Indigenous identity. *Transforming Anthropology, 20*(2), 131–145.

Lightfoot, S. R., & MacDonald, D. (2017). Treaty relations between indigenous peoples: Advancing global understandings of self-determination. *New Diversities, 19*(2), 25–39.

Lightfoot, S. (2015). Settler-state apologies to Indigenous peoples: A normative framework and comparative assessment. *Journal of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association, 2*(1), 15–39.

Pallister, K. (2013). Why no Mayan party? Indigenous movements and national politics in Guatemala. *Latin American Politics and Society, 55*(3), 117–138.

Sanchez, G. R., Foxworth, R., & Evans, L. E. (2021). Sovereign bodies: native nations, native American women, and the politics of 2018. *Political Research Quarterly, 74*(2), 491–505.

Walter, M., & Suina, M. (2019). Indigenous data, indigenous methodologies and indigenous data sovereignty. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology: Theory & Practice, 22*(3), 233–243.

Appendix B: Draft Topics Kairangahau Māori Bibliography

Tikanga

Such as mana, utu, kotahitanga, manaakitanga, Tūrangawaewae, tapu/noa, kaitiakitanga
Mana whenua
Whakapapa
Whanaungatanga

Tino Rangatiratanga

Iwi, hapū, whānau politics
Mātauranga Māori
Kaupapa Māori
Mana motuhake
Sovereignty

Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Constitution

The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi
He Whakaputanga
Matike Mai/Constitutional Transformation
Decolonisation
"Co-governance", enacting UNDRIP in NZ, He Puapua

Waitangi Tribunal, Treaty Claims

Treaty Settlements
Waitangi Tribunal

Iwi/Māori Development

Iwi elections
Governance of entities
Economic development

Government and Policy

Western Government, The Crown
Government Agencies
Crown Policy
Public servants/public service
Policymaking generally

Voting, Parties, Parliament

Māori electorates/seats, Māori roll
Voting, voter enrolment, voter turnout, referenda/ums in central government
Prisoner voting rights
Political Parties, The Māori Party/Te Pāti Māori, Mana Party, Labour Party
Parliament, petitions

Local Government

Māori wards and constituencies
Co-governance - meaning Māori and councils/local agencies working together, usually on environmental issues

Environment

Environmental Protection
Resource management
Climate change
Three Waters

Political Movements (non-exhaustive)

Rātana
Kīngitanga
Land March
Ihumātao
Ngā Tamatoa
Takaparawhau (Bastion Point) Occupation
Protect Pūtiki
Māori Women's Welfare League
Paremata Māori/Te Kōtahitanga

Colonisation

Colonisation, racism, discrimination, prejudice, hate crimes
(Intergenerational) trauma,
Ōrewa speech, privilege
Urban/urbanisation
Land loss/theft/ownership

International Relations

International Law
UNDRIP
Foreign Affairs - eg Nanaia Mahuta promoting Māori values in her FP - kāwanatanga
Directly between indigenous peoples - tino rangatiratanga, outside state system

Economy and trade policy (potentially under FP?)
Mataatua Declaration

Identity, Intersectionality, Gender

Census, statistics, data, population, demography
Identity/whakapapa
Registration with Iwi
Citizenship
Mana wahine
- E.g., ongoing Treaty claims report on Mana Wahine
Religion/Christianity - when it doesn't relate to specific movements e.g. Rātana

Specific Related Policy Areas *(Where we start to drift into other subject areas)*

Crown Law, courts, justice
Hauora (/health), Independent Māori Health Authority
Data sovereignty
State education

Appendix C: Māori Translations

Manaakitanga	This relates to care and respect.
Kaitiakitanga	This is care and guardianship over the environment and relates to the genealogical connections that Māori claim to the natural environment.
Whanaungatanga	This is a relationship, both familial and non-familial. For Māori relationships between people are required in order for society to operate.
Kāwanatanga	The word 'kāwanatanga' is used to describe the concept of governance
Mātauranga	Mātauranga Māori is about a Māori way of being and engaging in the world – in its simplest form, it uses kawa (cultural practices) and tikanga (cultural principles) to critique, examine, analyse, and understand the world.
Kotahitanga	Unity.
Mana Motuhake	Separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty, authority - mana through self-determination and control over one's own destiny.
Mana tūpuna	Chiefly power or authority that originates from the atua/gods and is handed down through senior male lines from generation to generation.
Mana whenua	The right of a Māori tribe to manage a particular area of land
Tino rangatiratanga	Tino rangatiratanga is a Māori language term that translates literally to 'highest chieftainship' or 'unqualified chieftainship', but is also translated as "self-determination", "sovereignty" and "absolute sovereignty".
Kaupapa	Kaupapa means principles and ideas which act as a base or foundation for action. A kaupapa is a set of values, principles, and plans which people have agreed on as a foundation for their actions. (In western politics this could be something like a constitution).
Tūrangawaewae	Domicile, standing, place where one has the right to stand – place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa
Whakawhanaungatanga	Whakawhanaungatanga provides opportunities to support positive and collaborative relationships, explore what is important, and help to co-construct aspirations and goals that continue to be revisited throughout the process.

Appendix D: Literature That Has Helped Me (Ben)

Brierley, G. J., Hikuroa, D., Fuller, I. C., Tunnicliffe, J., Allen, K., Brasington, J., & Measures, R. (2022). Reanimating the strangled rivers of Aotearoa New Zealand. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Water,* e1624.

Douglas, S. L. (2014). *Outcasts and orchestrators: Finding indigeneity in contemporary Aotearoa punk culture* (Doctoral dissertation, Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington).

Fox, C. A., Reo, N. J., Turner, D. A., Cook, J., Dituri, F., Fessell, B., & Wilson, M. (2017). "The river is us; the river is in our veins": re-defining river restoration in three Indigenous communities. *Sustainability Science, 12*, 521–533.

Gabrielsen, H., Procter, J., Rainforth, H., Black, T., Harmsworth, G., & Pardo, N. (2018). Reflections from an indigenous community on volcanic event management, communications and resilience. *Observing the volcano world: Volcano crisis communication*, 463–479.

Godfery, M. (2016). The political constitution: from Westminster to Waitangi. *Political science, 68*(2), 192–209.

Godfery, M. (2016). Whose citizenship anyway? *Set: Research Information for Teachers*, 3, 4–9.

Harmsworth, G. (1997). Māori values for land use planning. *New Zealand Association of Resource Management (NZARM) Broadsheet, 97*, 3.

Heke, I., Rees, D., Swinburn, B., Waititi, R. T., & Stewart, A. (2019). Systems Thinking and indigenous systems: Native contributions to obesity prevention. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 15*(1), 22–30.

Hutchings, J., Smith, J., & Harmsworth, G. (2018). Elevating the mana of soil through the Hua Parakore Framework. *MAI Journal, 7*(1), 92–102.

McDowell, T. (2015). 'Ka hoki a Kupe?' The political career of Matiu Rata, 1963–1979.

Moewaka Barnes, H., Harmsworth, G., Tipa, G., Henwood, W., & McCreanor, T. (2021). Indigenous-led environmental research in Aotearoa New Zealand: beyond a Transdisciplinary model for best practice, empowerment, and action. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 17*(2), 306–316.

Te Momo, F. (2022). Māori Academic Challenges: Delivering Mātauranga Māori During

COVID-19. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education, 17*(2), 67–78.

Te One, A., & Clifford, C. (2021). Tino Rangatiratanga and Well-being: Māori Self Determination in the Face of Covid-19. *Frontiers in sociology, 6*, 613340.

Winter, C. J. (2019). Decolonising dignity for inclusive democracy. *Environmental Values, 28*(1), 9–30.