Proceedings of the

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE CONFERENCE 2008
TE TATAU POUNAMU: THE GREENSTONE DOOR

Traditional Knowledge and Gateways to Balanced Relationships

NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA
New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence

Te Tatau Pounamu: The Greenstone Door Traditional Knowledge and Gateways to Balanced Relationships 2008

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

Conference Organizer
Knowledge Exchange Programme Leader
Dr J. S. Te Rito

Editors
Dr J. S. Te Rito
Dr S. M. Healy

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 recognized Centres of Research Excellence. Hosted by The University of Auckland, the Institute's participating entities are spread throughout New Zealand. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga's vision is the full participation by Māori in all aspects of society and the economy. The work of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga is focused on three core programmes: research, capability building and knowledge exchange.

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

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Video Recordings of Invited Speakers

Videos of the presentations by the Invited Speakers can be viewed by going to
Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga's website: www.maramatanga.ac.nz

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 hai kaupapa whakatau i ngā whanaungatanga i waenganui i ngā hapori, i ngā whakatipuranga, ā, me Papatūānuku hoki.

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 tradition to bring distant horizons closer, thus allowing today's generation a glimpse of ancient times and the traditional indigenous knowledge of our forebears. You bring to life the contemporary significance that indigenous knowledge has to building balanced relationships between communities, across generations and with the Earth.

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

Dr Joseph S. Te Rito
Conference Organizer

The *Traditional Knowledge Conference 2008, Te Tatau Pounamu: The Greenstone Door* focused on traditional knowledge and gateways to balanced relationships. The international gathering was hosted by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence, and brought together a wide range of participants, perspectives, voices, frameworks and models to expand on the theme of the conference.

The conference title, *Te Tatau Pounamu: The Greenstone Door*, referred in a figurative sense to how, in times of trouble, peace could be secured and warfare ended through a political marriage and the exchange of greenstone. The peace thus established was often likened to a greenstone door as both were seen as being durable, strong and highly valuable. In line with the title, the conference provided the occasion for discussion of indigenous strategies for sustaining relationships between collectives and over generations, for resolving conflict, for peacemaking, reconciliation and restorative justice.

While some speakers spoke directly on issues of peacemaking and restorative justice, the broader theme allowed for consideration of traditional indigenous concepts, values, ideals, models and strategies for sustaining balanced and healthy relationships within and across families, communities, nations, nation-states, local, regional and global borders, territories and environments. There was also the opportunity to share what had been learned from diverse contexts around the world about how indigenous models, values, concepts and processes have been incorporated into state or government initiatives and with what impact for indigenous peoples.

The papers in this Proceedings reflect the diversity of ways in which the theme was approached at the conference, because of the many academic disciplines represented and because community engagement and input was included. The Proceedings are made up of two parts; Part A comprises presentations to the full conference by Invited Speakers and Part B contains written papers based on talks given in parallel sessions.

The Invited Speakers made oral presentations, some of which were accompanied by powerpoint slides. The presentations were videoed and later transcribed. The Proceedings provides edited versions of the transcriptions, given in the order of their presentation at the conference. Videos of the presentations can be viewed by going to Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga's website: www.maramatanga.ac.nz. The Invited Speakers came from academic, expert and community backgrounds. The style of their presentations was mostly conversational and this style has been retained. The one exception is Irene Watson's paper, "A Journey Away from Violence to a Place of Law-fullness". Irene supplied a fully referenced written paper and that is what is included here.

Part B of the Proceedings has the formally submitted written papers. These come from a wide range of fields, including education, language, philosophy, traditional knowledge, science, environmental studies, community development, health, sport and the social sciences. As has been noted, all engage with the theme of the conference: traditional knowledge and gateways to balanced relationships. These papers are published in alphabetical order of the authors' surnames.

Kia hora te marino	May the calm be widespread
Kia papa pounamu te moana	The sea be flat like greenstone
Kia tere te kārohirohi	And the glistening haze dance
Ki mua i tō huarahi	Before your pathway

PART A

PRESENTATIONS BY INVITED SPEAKERS

Background to Invited Speakers

Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith
Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Porou) is an internationally renowned Professor of Education with a professional background in Māori and indigenous education. Her research interests are wide-ranging and collaborative, and include Marsden-funded research on the Native Schools system and on New Zealand youth. She is known internationally for her work on research methodology and Māori and indigenous education. Professor Smith has served on a number of national advisory committees, including the Tertiary Education Advisory Committee (TEAC), and was Chair of the Māori Tertiary Reference Group for the Ministry of Education. She is Co-Deputy Chair of the Council for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and Pro Vice-Chancellor Māori at the University of Waikato.

Grant Hawke
Grant Hawke is a member of Ngāti Whātua, who are based at Ōrākei Marae in Auckland city. He was involved 30 years ago with the occupation of Takaparawhau (Bastion Point), when his people protested the impending takeover of their lands for housing for the elite. Rather than fight the hopeless situation, Ngāti Whātua and their many supporters from across the country resisted passively. The police and army were brought in 507 days later to clear the protesters off the land and dismantle the buildings they had erected. Young and old were arrested and removed from the site. The passive resisters' actions brought the spotlight onto the ongoing alienation of Māori land. Eventually the protesters triumphed, though modestly, and a portion of their once-extensive estate was returned.

Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru
A great orator and fierce proponent and repository of Māori language and culture, Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru is a visionary who recognizes the contemporary issues facing whānau (families), hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribes).

Dr Waikerepuru is best known for lodging the "Te Reo Māori Claim" with the Waitangi Tribunal in his role as head of Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Board). This claim focused on the need for the official recognition of the Māori language. It resulted in the Māori Language Act 1987, which made te reo Māori (the Māori language) an official language of New Zealand. Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission) was also established under the Act.

From the late 1980s until 1993, Dr Waikerepuru worked with the New Zealand Māori Council on a Privy Council case, arguing that the government should recognize and protect Māori language as a taonga (prized possession) under the Treaty of Waitangi in terms of the allocation of broadcasting assets. This contributed to the establishment of the Māori broadcasting funding agency Te Māngai Pāho, and ultimately to Māori Television. Following this challenge Dr Waikerepuru returned to Taranaki, where he has led the regeneration of the region's distinct dialect.

In 1995 he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the University of Waikato, acknowledging his achievement in both tertiary education and Māori language communities. Dr Waikerepuru is a member of Māori Television's council of elders, Te Kaunihera Kaumātua.

Te Miringa Hohāia
Te Miringa Hohāia (Taranaki Tūturu, Taranaki Whānui) is a musician, activist and historian. He is a prominent figure in the political and cultural affairs of Taranaki. For decades he has been a passionate advocate for Māori land rights. He has also been committed to the revival of traditional Parihaka waiata (songs) and poi. He lives on the Taranaki coast, close to Parihaka pā.

Te Miringa jointly edited, with Gregory O'Brien and Lara Strongman, *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Resistance*, published by Victoria University Press in 2001. He played a significant part in curating the exhibition of the same name at City Gallery Wellington in 2000–2001.

Matiu Dickson
Matiu Dickson is of Ngāiterangi descent; his hapū is Ngāi Tūkairangi.

Matiu is Senior Lecturer in the Law School of the University of Waikato. Besides teaching for a number of years at all levels, he has been a barrister and solicitor in private practice. He is a past Tauranga District Councillor, chairing the Planning and Environment Committee. His special interests are legal education, youth advocacy and the criminal system, resource management and local government law, and Māori legal issues.

On this occasion, Matiu was the speaker for the University of Waikato, Gold Sponsor of the conference.

Moana Jackson
Moana Jackson's tribal affiliations are Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine and Ngāti Porou. Moana is highly regarded throughout Māoridom and mainstream Aotearoa (New Zealand) for his measured and important contribution in the struggles of the Māori people in terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) 1840, sovereignty issues and indigenous rights. He is known and respected at all levels of society; from government and academia through to marae (tribal meeting ground) communities.

Moana graduated in law from Victoria University of Wellington and has been Director of the Māori Law Commission. He 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 Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Moana teaches Māori Law and Philosophy at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. He has been in the vanguard of thinking on restorative justice, particularly after he wrote his highly acclaimed report in 1988, *Māori and the Criminal Justice System*. Twenty years later, he says that the recommendations in the report still apply and have yet to be fully implemented.

Moana is seen by his people as a strong advocate for the downtrodden. In 2007 he played a major advocacy role on behalf of members of the rural Māori community of Ruātoki after the Police raided the community on the basis of alleged "terrorist" activity.

Dr Irene Watson
Dr Irene Watson belongs to the Tanganekald and Meintangk peoples. In colonial times their languages, peoples and lands have become known as Ngarrindjeri. Her mother's country lies across the Coorong and the south-east of South Australia. Their lands reach the coast where the whales come to birth their young. Their song lines are ancient and travel across sea and ruwi-land. Her peoples, like all others, have struggled in their journey through past and contemporary colonial spaces to survive the dysfunction of colonialism as they work peacefully to retain the connection to song lines back to country.

Dr Watson has worked with the Kungari Association, her family and a number of other Aboriginal communities for many years in the protection of country, and in dialogue with the State to protect lands and seas from environmental degradation. Irene has collaborated with family and community on a number of projects, including the recording of language, oral history and place names, and the stories and song lines of her grandmother's country.

Dr Watson has an impressive publications record. She has published articles on Aboriginal law and written about her traditional ruwi-country in a self-published book, *Looking at You, Looking at Me* (2002). In 2000, Dr Watson received the Bonython Law School prize from Adelaide University for best

doctoral thesis, which is titled *Raw Law: The Coming of the Muldarbi and the Path to its Demise*. The thesis is about her grandmother's Law emanating from Kaldowinyeri, where Law took its form in song, land and peoples. She writes from "inside" her Nunga-Aboriginal perspective; through her writing she aims to decolonize and re-establish an indigenous view, where all peoples might come to travel a path of peaceful co-existence. On that journey, she was a member and worked as a legal practitioner with the Aboriginal Legal Rights Movement, SA, from 1973 to 2005. As an academic, she has taught Aboriginal perspectives and knowledge of law in the three South Australian universities since 1989.

Dr Watson has advocated for aboriginal law in collaborative, international forums such as the United Nations and Aboriginal jurisdictions established by the Chiefs of Ontario, the First Nations' International Court of Justice. Dr Watson is completing a research fellowship at the University of Sydney, and will be taking up a position with the University of South Australia in the David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education and Research.

Dr Pita Sharples

Dr Pita Sharples has a doctorate in Anthropology and Linguistics, and was formerly Professor of Māori and Indigenous Education at the University of Auckland.

Pita's lifelong passion has centred on Hoani Waititi Marae, one of Aotearoa's first intertribal marae for urban Māori, which he was instrumental in building. As well as pioneering the development of Kōhanga Reo (Māori-language immersion pre-schools) throughout New Zealand, he founded the first kura kaupapa Māori (Māori-language immersion primary school) at Hoani Waititi Marae in 1985, and later developed the first whare kura (secondary school) for graduates of kura kaupapa. He was also the inaugural Chairperson of Te Rūnanga Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa.

Pita created the New Zealand National School of Māori Weaponry, of which he was appointed Tumu Whakarae (Master). He established Te Roopu Manutaki Māori cultural group, which he has led, composed for and choreographed for over 30 years. He led this group to victory in the 1975 and 1990 national kapa haka (performance group) festivals.

He pioneered the development of the Race Relations Office in New Zealand, and was appointed its inaugural Chief Executive Officer from 1972–1980. In 1990 he was awarded a CBE (Commander of Order of the British Empire) for his services to Māori. He has been recognized for his involvement in a great number of initiatives aimed at Māori development. He has had a role as cultural advisor to the various NZ Police Commissioners over the past 30 years; in that regard is probably best known for his work in educating New Zealanders about the real dangers and consequences of using methamphetamine (or "P"), as well as his many years of working with gangs. He has also fronted a national health campaign called "It's about Whānau", which promoted giving up smoking and was specifically targeted towards a Māori audience. He was elected in 2005 as the Member of Parliament for Tāmaki Makaurau, and is currently Co-leader of the Māori Party.

Pita is a man of many faces, talents and passions. According to Pita himself, among his greatest achievements are his five children and eight mokopuna (grandchildren).

Patricio Dominguez

Patricio Dominguez lives in Albuquerque, New Mexico. He is on the Advisory Committee of the International Indigenous Coalition and the Board of Directors of the Institute of Natural and Traditional Knowledge. Patricio is founder and member of the Board of Directors of the Church of the Spiritual Path, whose purpose is to promote spiritual unity with the Creator. The church's objectives are to protect, conserve, support, educate and promote indigenous cultural, social, medicinal and spiritual values through the observance of spiritual and healing ceremonies, along with observance of cultural and astrological events.

Patricio is co-owner of Traditional Peoples Medicinal Herbs Inc., organized to preserve the ancient medicinal herbal knowledge of indigenous peoples by growing herbs in the traditional way. This means planting according to celestial positions, and holding proper ceremonies and prayers at each step of a

plant's cycle of life. Patricio is also President of the Native Earth Bio-Culture Council, a non-profit organization dedicated to holding annual symposiums on food, seed sovereignty and sustainable agriculture to raise awareness of the prevalence, presence and threat of genetically modified seeds and foods.

Patricio has been a participant of the Elders and Youth Council of North America since the 1990s. He was the North American co-ordinator for the first, second and third gatherings of the Confederation of Indigenous Elders of America, *The Coming Together of the Eagle and the Condor*, which were held in Guatemala, Colombia and the United States.

Dr Robert Joseph
Dr Joseph completed his PhD in Law at the University of Waikato in 2006; he is one of only two Māori to graduate with a PhD in Law. His thesis, *The Government of Themselves: Indigenous Peoples' Internal Self-Determination, Effective Self-Governance and Authentic Representation: Waikato-Tainui, Ngai Tahu and Nisga'a*, is a comparative analysis of legal developments in New Zealand and North America for enabling indigenous peoples to realize their inherent self-determinate rights and responsibilities. Part of Dr Joseph's thesis focused on good corporate governance in an indigenous context. He has undertaken considerable research and written extensively on contemporary indigenous corporate governance and associated complexities. Dr Joseph has been consulted on reports for a number of organizations, including the New Zealand Law Commission, Pro Vice-Chancellor Māori Office at the University of Waikato, New Zealand branch of the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) Transparency International, Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development), Northland Police, Ngā Manga Pūriri Trust, Te Kauhanganui o Waikato Inc., Institute for Governance in Canada, Aboriginal Healing Foundation and the National Centre for First Nations Governance in Canada.

Dr Joseph is a barrister and solicitor of the High Court of New Zealand, and was a senior research fellow for the Te Mātāhauariki Research Institute at the University of Waikato. He is currently a lecturer in the School of Law. He has researched extensively and lectured on tikanga Māori (Māori customary procedures) and appropriate dispute resolution processes, as well as forums for addressing historical injustices against indigenous peoples.

Di Grennell
Di Grennell (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Mutunga) has extensive experience in the field of family violence prevention, having worked with youth, in programme development and in provider training. She has been a member of the Domestic Violence Programmes Approvals Panel and of the Second Māori Taskforce on Whānau Violence. Di has also participated in Ministry of Justice research advisory groups in the area of family violence.

Di is based in Whāngarei, and works across Taitōkerau as the Amokura Project Manager. The Amokura Family Violence Prevention Strategy is an integrated, community-based initiative to address family violence in Taitōkerau. The initiative is led by the Family Violence Prevention Consortium, which is made up of the Chief Executives of seven iwi authorities—Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, Whaingaroa, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whātua and Ngāti Wai—to whom Di is accountable.

Mereana Pitman
Mereana Pitman (Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Wai) was born and raised on the East Coast and has worked in the field of family violence for over 25 years. She has a passion for developing a kaupapa Māori strategy (strategy based on Māori philosophy and practice) within the field of family violence, and has worked for many years as a counsellor, lecturer and educator.

Mereana is the co-ordinator of the Ngāti Kahungunu Violence-Free Iwi Strategy, and has been National Māori Chairperson of Women's Refuge.

Dr Laiana Kerry Wong
Laiana is a Professor in the Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge (Kawaihuelani Hawaiian Language Department) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. His dissertation on Hawaiian language

revitalization—the first written in the Hawaiian language—represents his contribution to a more general effort to elevate the quality of life of the Hawaiian people. He is particularly interested in researching Hawaiian ways of thinking and speaking. He is the 2008 recipient of the University's highest teaching award, the Regents' Medal for Excellence in Teaching. He has been Program Co-chair since 2003 of the American Educational Research Association, Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific Special Interest Group, and Co-director since 2001 of the Research and Development Division of Hoʻokulāiwi: ʻAha Hoʻonaʻauʻao ʻŌiwi (Center for Native Hawaiian and Indigenous Education) at UH-Mānoa. The Division's mission is to conduct and disseminate research, scholarship and debate that will make a positive difference to the lives of Native Hawaiians.

Dr Tamasailau Sua`ali`i-Sauni

Dr Tamasailau Sauni is of Samoan descent and was born in Saoluafata, Upolu, Samoa. She migrated to New Zealand at the age of three, and has lived in Auckland for over 30 years. Her father, Leauanae Makiasi Sua`ali`i, is from the village of Iva, on the island of Savaii, Samoa. Her mother, Makerita Lote-Telea Sua`ali`i, is from Saoluafata, an island of Upolu. Her name "Tamasailau" is from the Fuimaono Pulusi and Fuimaono Sefuiva families of her maternal great-grandmother, who named her at birth.

Sailau is a graduate of the University of Auckland, with a law degree and a doctorate in sociology. She began her academic career in 1994 as an Assistant Lecturer in the University of Auckland's Department of Sociology. She worked from 1998–2000 as an Assistant Research Fellow for the Pacific Health Research Centre in the then Department of Māori and Pacific Health, in the Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences. In 2003 she joined the Clinical Research and Resource Centre of the Waitematā District Health Board as a Senior Pacific Researcher. After being appointed to a lectureship in the Department of Sociology, she was seconded to the Centre for Pacific Studies, where she currently serves as Deputy Director while still maintaining her association with the Waitematā District Health Board. Her research and teaching interests are Pacific jurisprudence, indigenous knowledges, Pacific gender and sexuality, Pacific health and well-being and Pacific methodologies.

Dr Whatarangi Winiata

Dr Whatarangi Winiata (Ngāti Raukawa) is a Purutanga Mauri at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, the founding President of the Māori Party, active in various bodies of Te Hāhi Mihingare and the General Synod of the Anglican Church, and a Professor Emeritus of Victoria University of Wellington. He retired from the position of Tumuaki of Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 2007. He held this post for 14 years, concurrently with the position of Professor of Accounting at Victoria, to which he was appointed on returning in 1975 from academic positions and studies at the University of British Columbia and the University of Michigan in North America, where he and his family spent 15 years.

Jim Everett

Jim Everett, Pura-lia Meenamatta, Tasmanian Aboriginal leader, is from Cape Barren Island, the second-largest island in the Furneaux Group off the north-east point of Tasmania. Jim was active in the 1980s in campaigns for Aboriginal rights and other activities of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre (TAC). For many years he was a member of the Aboriginal Arts Board and the National Federation of Land Councils. He recently passed the chairperson's position of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land and Sea Council to a young Aboriginal woman, to ensure ongoing generational leadership.

Jim is the Aboriginal representative on the Advisory Board of the Australian National Film and Sound Archive. He has a national profile as a published writer, poet and documentary film-maker. He has published poetry in nine major anthologies, a journal of political papers, and a memoir; has co-authored a book of short stories; and has been responsible for producing a number of television documentaries. He is currently playwright, cultural advisor and actor for a dramatic project called *Origins*, which explores the relationship between colonial history and the present. A recent collaboration with a young non-Aboriginal painter produced 11 major paintings with a catalogue of writings, *Meenamatta Walantanalinany: Meenamatta Water Country Discussion*, beginning a cross-cultural dialogue about the importance of relationships with country and the natural world.

Through Puralia Consultancy, he has had extensive experience in contemporary Aboriginal issues, for example, he has developed a national project to help prevent domestic violence and a Tasmanian project in natural resource sustainability. Jim is a forefront thinker in the viability of Aboriginal philosophy, maintaining a strong commitment to the maintenance of Aboriginal spirituality and its practical applications in the life of indigenous people, including proper relationships with all of creation and custodianship of the natural world.

Dr Linitā Manuʻatu and panelists: Lita Foliaki, Sione Tuʻitahi, James Manisela Prescott

Dr Linitā Manuʻatu is of Tongan descent. She is Senior Lecturer in Education at the School of Education, Te Kura Mātauranga, at the Auckland University of Technology. She teaches a range of courses, including "Issues in Pacific Education and Research Methodologies" (Master of Education programme) and "Fonua: Pacific Perspectives in Human Development". She works with Pacific Island academics across universities in New Zealand and overseas to develop research frameworks for multi-disciplinary research with Pacific peoples. She is a Board member of the Tongan Health Society and a well-known presenter on the Tongan radio programme on 104.6 Planet FM, and on Pasifika Television.

Lita Foliaki is the Planning and Funding Manager for Pacific Health, Waitematā District Health Board. She formerly lectured in Education at the University of Auckland.

Dr. Semisi (James) Prescott is Senior Lecturer in Accounting, Faculty of Business, Auckland University of Technology. His doctoral thesis was entitled Pacific Business Sustainability in New Zealand: A Study of Tongan Experiences.

Sione Tuʻitahi is Acting Director Pasifika at Massey University. He is the Deputy Executive Director of the New Zealand Health Promotion Forum.

Fr Paul Ojibway, S. A.

Fr V. Paul Ojibway, S. A., is a Franciscan Friar of the Atonement and an enrolled member of the Fond du Luc Band of Lake Superior Chippewa. Fr Paul was born in Seattle, Washington, and raised in the San Francisco Bay area. He entered religious life in 1973 and was ordained Priest in 1978. As a Friar he has engaged in parish ministry, vocation and formation ministry, campus ministry, social ecumenism, intercultural relations and educational leadership.

Paul did his undergraduate work in psychology (1972) at St Mary's College of California and holds degrees in Theology from the Catholic University of America. He did postgraduate study at the John XXIII Institute for Eastern Christian Studies at Fordham University in Depth Psychology, Spirituality and Faith Formation.

Presently, Paul is on sabbatical, writing on American Indian cultural and religious issues as well as on the dynamics of culture and identity. He resides in Orinda, California. Prior to this, he was Director of the Washington DC Office of the Graymoor Ecumenical and Interreligious Institute, leading its national social ecumenism ministry. He served as Director of the Interfaith Impact Foundation, and was a consultant to the Vatican's Pontifical Council on Inter-religious Affairs in 2005. He chairs the Leadership Task Force of the National Tekakwitha Conference.

Paul has been Director of the American Indian Program at Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, Commissioner for American Indian Affairs for the City and County of Los Angeles, and the Liaison and Director of American Indian Catholic Ministry for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. During that time he was an advisor to the White House on urban American Indian affairs, intergovernmental relations and the President's Initiative on Race, and an advisor to the White House Office of Religious Liaison.

Paul was founding President of the National Young Adult Ministry Association and Chair of the Programming Committee, Public Advisory Board of the Public Broadcasting System, KCET, Los Angeles. He has been recognized for outstanding service to the City and County of Los Angeles, the

National Interfaith Impact Foundation, and was listed in the *Native North American Almanac 1993* as one of the 500 prominent American Indian leaders in the history of the United States.

Sir Paul Reeves

Sir Paul Reeves (Te Atiawa) became a Deacon of the Anglican Church of New Zealand in 1958 and a Priest in 1960. He was Curate at Tokoroa (1958–59), St Mary the Virgin, Oxford, England (1959–61), Kirkley St Peter, Lowestoft, Suffolk (1961–63); Vicar of St Paul, Okato (1964–66); Lecturer in Church History at St John's Theological College, Auckland (1966–69); Director of Christian Education, Diocese of Auckland (1969–71); and Bishop of Waiapu (1971–79). Sir Paul became Bishop of Auckland in 1979 and Primate and Archbishop of New Zealand in 1980.

Sir Paul Reeves is the first person of Māori descent to be appointed Governor-General of New Zealand (1985–90). On completion of his term, Sir Paul was awarded the Queen's Service Order for services to the people of New Zealand. The following year he was appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury as Anglican Observer at the United Nations in New York, a position he held for three years.

Multiple positions followed in 1994: Deputy Leader of the Commonwealth Observer Group to South Africa; Chairperson of the Nelson Mandela Trust; Dean of Te Rau Kahikatea, Auckland; and Visiting Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the University of Edinburgh. From 1995 to 1997, Sir Paul was Chairperson of the Fiji Constitution Review Commission, assisting Fiji to return to full status in the Commonwealth. Sir Paul was Special Envoy of the Commonwealth Secretary-General to Guyana from 2002–6.

In February 2007, Sir Paul was appointed to the Order of New Zealand, New Zealand's highest honour, restricted to 20 living New Zealanders at any one time.

Professor Michael Walker

Professor Michael Walker (Whakatōhea) is a Fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand and one of the world's leading scientists in the field of magnetoreception, the magnetic sense in animals. His work combines theory and experiment, and bridges the biophysics, anatomy, neurobiology and behaviour of animals.

Michael combines his world-leading scientific research with an outstanding leadership role as an advocate of science to Māori and Māori to science. Throughout his career he has worked to increase participation by Māori and Pacific Island people in all aspects of science. He has helped lead initiatives to improve their recruitment and retention as students entering the sciences at university level. This work has included establishing the Tuakana Programme to ensure that Māori and Pacific Island students of biology succeed in their first year at university and the whole of their degree course. Michael is Co-Director of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga.

Opening Address

Linda Smith
Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Porou
Pro Vice-Chancellor Māori, University of Waikato

It is good to see all the peacemakers, conflict resolvers and mediators here in the audience today. I want to start by asking you to think about the last 48 hours and the sorts of things that you have done in those 48 hours that really underpin the theme of this conference. I am assuming that some of our international delegates have been travelling in that time but in their travelling have also had to settle things at home, arrive here, and still talk back to home to settle things. Those of you who have come from outside of Auckland have also had to go through a number of basic things you take for granted that hold our lives together. That is what I wanted you all to think about first. The reason I want you to think about that is I am still processing the last 48 hours of my life, starting with leaving Hamilton after watching my five-year-old mokopuna (grandchild) play rugby.

I left for Whakatāne. My husband went in one car. I went in another and said, "Let's have breakfast in Cambridge at 12 o'clock Saturday," which we did. Then we each left for Whakatāne. Once there, I called in at a supermarket and topped up with a whole lot of food because I was continuing on to my elderly aunt at Ōmāio on the East Coast. I made some decisions about when to put gas in the car because I was not sure where, in our trip around to Ruatoria and back, the gas station might be. All the time, I was also worrying about what I was going to. However, I loaded up the car and carried on to Ōmāio.

At Ōmāio, I first had to pick up Uncle Walter, who is also a colleague of mine at the University of Waikato. I did not exactly know where I was going, although I had his instructions that were, "You get to the rise. You count three letter boxes and it is the third one." Following these directions, I got there. I walked into the home and the moment I was inside I knew, uncannily, I had been in it before. I said to the old lady there, "I have been in this house." She said, "When were you in this house?" I said, "Maybe early 70s." She said, "1972." You have been in this house in 1972. I replied, "Yes, that would be about right. Why was I in this house?" She said that their father had died. I had gone back with a group from Auckland with another uncle, Tamati Reedy, to the tangi (funeral). That was a kind of uncanny experience; you go into a place and you know you have been there before.

I packed up my uncle and my staff from Waikato in the car. I said, "Oh good, I do not have to drive the rest of the way because Waldo is going to drive." The others said, "No, don't let him drive! Don't! He'll wipe out every car on the road." So I thought, "Okay, I am going to have to drive." It was a wonderful drive. We spent the entire time talking about the history of one of my iwi (tribes) in Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Rangi. We reached my aunt's and that was fine.

The whole reason I was going there was to participate in a whānau hui (family meeting) to choose some people who would help choose negotiators for our Ngāti Porou Treaty settlement claims. Walking into that hui as someone who lives away from home and seeing, being reminded, being grounded in the daily challenges that face many of our communities—it was very poignant. It makes you angry but I think it gets to the basis of what this conference is about. It is that at any one moment most of our communities are struggling simultaneously with all sorts of issues. They are having to solve problems on the ground with whatever capacity they have—whether it is health, education, Treaty settlements, restoring the wharenui (meeting house), restoring the church, putting kai (food) on the table, figuring out how our kaumātua (elders) can get to go fishing even though we made a fish settlement. For many of our indigenous communities there are all these realities and challenges to confront and work out in their daily lives.

Just to finish off my 48 hours of experiences! We had the hui. It started about 10.30, finished about 12.30, and I had time to spend a little bit more time with my family. Then it was a mad dash with Tui to

Gisborne to catch a flight to get here. Now, I do not think my weekend is that unique for some of you in this room. Let us think about that! In a sense, to sustain what everyone is trying to sustain is unsustainable. We know that because it gets us in our health. We know that because it gets us in our close whānau relationships. My 48 hours really did not finish because then I got phone calls and text messages. In Ruatōria I could not get any texts, but the moment I got into a phone reception zone in Gisborne there were messages, and as it turns out my phone was going flat. One was a message saying my mokopuna was sick. The healthy five-year-old I left on Saturday playing rugby had turned into an unhealthy five-year-old, who was about to be delivered to the Copthorne Hotel (the conference accommodation) so I could look after him for the next couple of days. So, it is ongoing. Yet, the fundamental contradiction to me is that it is unsustainable and that really brings us, I think, to where I think the conference can take us.

In thinking about the conference theme, I consider that there are three major areas we can dialogue over the next couple of days. One of the drivers for the conference theme has been about making explicit the unique contributions that Māori and indigenous peoples make to the world in this area. No matter where I travel around the world, indigenous communities will tell me, "See that programme there"—the last one I heard was Maslow's self-actualization theory—"the research that he did for that was in a native American community." Somewhere else they will say, "See what our country does in this area! He got that [or she got that] from our people." Many of the strategies that are now part and parcel of mainstream society have come from indigenous communities and communities of cultural difference. So, to me, part of the thematic for this conference is to start to bring those out and make them explicit.

A second element of our conference theme is to think about the conceptual frameworks, practices and values that inform not just our programmes but our daily lives and the relationship between our daily lives and the things that we create as programmes. In other words, often we tend to think nothing is really meaningful unless it is packaged up in a programme. Here in New Zealand we have had a Mātua Whāngai programme (programme in which elders provided guidance and support to young people) and we have had lots of restorative justice programmes; we have had programmes in health and programmes in education. Where do those programmes spring from? What is the source that creates these programmes? Often that source clearly abides in our cultural values, our language, the things that we believe our ancestors did.

But something happens to those programmes when they float off into government. That is something that really intrigues me. We design a great programme, we practise it and then we seek funding for it. We need funding in order for the programme to be fully implemented, to flourish. But something happens in the process of its getting funded and in its becoming embedded in a particular government system. The example I always think about is Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori total immersion schools) as a programme, because when we began developing kura (schools) it was outside the government. It was outside state funding. Those were hard but liberty days; in other words, there was something wonderfully free about that era. The moment the schools got funded, certain things started to happen.

Just to give you a little example! When we started, our children and teachers in the kura really had no concept of time: in terms of, you have a morning tea break and the teachers go off to a staff room and the children go out to a playground and then the morning break finishes and you go back into class. When we started kura we did not have staff rooms. In fact, we did not have toilets for boys and toilets for girls and toilets for teachers and toilets for children. We had toilets and we had rooms that were whānau (family) rooms for eating. When we got funded, certain subtle things kicked in and it always intrigued us that they kicked in really quickly. Suddenly, teachers started to feel that they were entitled to a staff room. Parents began to think, "You should have finished school at three o'clock." Our whānau thought, "Well, we had better buy a bell so that we can ring the bell at three o'clock so everyone knows it is the end of school." It is not just the formal things that constrain this programme, Kura Kaupapa Māori. It is something about the informal expectations, practices and, in the end, what is real, what our people start to think is real. One of the most intriguing things I remember from a whānau hui was that, although our parents were prepared to take these really radical steps in establishing an alternative school

system, they had a deeply entrenched understanding of what a real school looks like and that a real kura looks like a Pākehā (New Zealanders of mainly European descent) school. So, while you can move people to a certain level of understanding about change, there are these other things that draw people back to what is real and, therefore, what is legitimate and what people are prepared to engage in.

That is just one example of one initiative that really got designed by parents and whānau. Its early days were creative. They were a little bit hairy but they were exciting. Then the programme got to be funded by the Government. It was embedded in an Act of Parliament and it is now part of the legitimate school system. In that process, many things were lost. Many of the things that drove people to create an alternative system started to dissipate and what we have now is a programme very different from that which was designed in the late 1980s and early 1990s. That is just one example. I think many of you could think of many, many examples across different sectors and, certainly, that transition from what we design and create into what it becomes once it becomes embedded in a particular system.

I guess the challenge is to think about what could be a perfectly good thing—the fact that some of those programmes are major contributions to New Zealand. But we also lose something in that process and we need to think about what we might do to capture the loss. What else do we have to develop? The major loss to me in Kura Kaupapa Māori was the loss of the power of whānau to make decisions about kura. The Government insisted that a Board of Trustees supersede the role of whānau and that was an instant structural change that undermined the real power of our families to make decisions about kura. In the course of our presentations over the next two days, I think that is something to think about, to critique and to look at some of those things that have floated off and been lost to us. But there are initiatives that we need to continue to work on.

That really brings me to the third point which I see when I travel around the world, that is this kind of enduring or perpetual creativity that our communities often have in the face of hopelessness. Somehow out of somewhere many of our communities design something magical. They can still create magic with nothing, with no resources, no money. Just them sitting around in a room, not liking each other very much, not trusting each other sometimes, you know a bit too related to each other and, whoosh, something comes out of that which is amazingly creative. It often does not get funded but it is this enduring source of creativity that I think resides in most of our indigenous communities. Sometimes they cannot see it themselves. They are struggling with so many different things that ideas are popping out of their heads, "That one is not going to work;" "Oh she is crazy;" and "Who is this?" In the end people get incredibly pragmatic about what needs to be done. Many of the abstracts for this conference touch on this creative component: the capacity to design interventions, the capacity to look at a problem and think about how to resolve it, the capacity to walk into a meeting or a hui or a gathering and know it is going to be like a mess but somehow they will come out of that mess. I would not even say come out with dignity because some people do not actually come out of those hui with dignity. They do not come out feeling good. The amazing thing is they go back and have another hui. They keep going back until the problem is solved.

I think, from looking at the abstracts, that many of you address some of the dimensions or criteria that are embedded in indigenous strategies—whether it is for conflict resolution, for mediation, for resolving, for creating harmony or for trying to maintain balance. I think what is different or, rather, consistent in many indigenous approaches is that the dimensions covered will always include spiritual aspects, will always include something about the dignity of the human person and their group, and there is an inclusion of the collective and the individual. When you are analysing when things go wrong, it is often in those areas that you most feel that the balance has tipped or the balance is not right. That it is often when people's mana (prestige, spiritual authority) is damaged and, in the Māori context, when the mana of their community is damaged, then their wairua (spirit) is hurt. That is how subtle people are. They do not stand up at a hui and say, "You hurt my wairua." But most times, you can see it and people feel it. It seems to me it is that end of the dimensions in our strategies that make many of our models unique, and it is often that end that gets lost in the translation to government programming. Those are the bits that are cut out—the attention to the dignity of the human person and their group, not one or the other. It is the balance of the individual and the group, whether it is their family, their iwi, their hapū (clan). There is a balance that has to occur between those two elements, or what I might call a healthy

tension that must exist between an individual and a collective, and if you tip it too far one way or the other there is a consequence of more damage.

Finally, I think that all these words are tricky for Māori in the Māori language and also when we translate them into the English language. For instance, there is the concept of mauri (life principle, essence). And to give just one more example! In a classroom situation, having been a teacher for many years, I have always thought about working with young children—how easy it is to hurt the mauri, as a teacher, as someone in power. A look, a word, an action can all do damage and it can happen in a single moment. Easy to damage, hard to recover. I think that is really what many of our programmes are trying to do: recover from the damage that has been done to generations.

I am just talking all of us collectively into the conference mode, asking you who are presenters to think about your presentations and those of you who are not presenting but participating to think about the sorts of things that collectively we can get to. In wording our conference title, it took some time, we did not really want to be a peace conference. We did not think that quite hit it. We did not want to be a conflict resolution conference because that did not quite do it. Ultimately, what is the goal of all these things: conflict resolution, mediation, peace making, and in an indigenous or Māori framework? In the end, it is a sense of well-being, and our well-being is dependent on concepts of balance: of having balance in our relationships amongst each other and our relationships as humans in the world and in our environment and with our relations who are birds, insects, fishes, that wider family with whom we are connected. So, I hope you enjoy the conference. I look forward to the presentations and I thank my colleagues in Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga for having me speak today.

Glossary

hapū	clan
hui	meeting
iwi	tribes
kaumātua	elders
kura	schools
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori total immersion schools
mana	prestige, spiritual authority
mauri	life principle, essence
mokopuna	grandchild
Pākehā	New Zealanders of mainly European descent
wairua	spirit
whānau	family, extended family

Takaparawhau: Bastion Point:
An Example of Passive Resistance

Grant Hawke
Ngāti Whātua ki Ōrākei

Freedom. What is freedom? What is the thing called passive resistance? What does it lead to? Freedom. Why do we all want to be free? Why do we want to exercise our own right? Why do we want to determine our own destinies? It is a plain fact that if you are indigenous you are the only people who know what your needs are, know where you want to go and how fast you want to do it. Why are we in this predicament? One thing: colonization. The settlers came, they saw, they liked and they took and they took and they took. This is a mirror also for those in Hawaiʻi. This is a mirror for those in Australia. This is a mirror for those in other parts of the world. It is exactly the same. All that is different is that some have more treaties than others. Some have nothing, no guidelines to follow. Well, I mean Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) guidelines.

I am sorry for the black fellow there in Australia. I feel aroha (compassion) because I have black fellow mokopuna (grandchildren). Sometimes they live in the Simpson Desert or they are down in Port Augustus, mainly when they are going to school. Their grandmother on their black fellow side, she is a wahine toa (warrior woman) in her part of the region, and her seven sisters. She works very hard for my mokopuna so that they can be brought up in their land with dignity and honour and be treated as human beings.

Bastion Point started like that. It was a story that we heard from our people. Auckland is not a very hard story to follow. We invited Governor Hobson to this land from Kororāreka (in the north). He landed at Ōkahu Bay. Our tupuna (ancestor) said, "There's 3,000 acres for you and your people." This land we are on was part of the 3,000 acres. It was not very long before false documents were coming from Australia. They had titles to them. The Crown had no money and, by the time that Hobson left, the country was in debt. When Fitzroy came he took those false documents off the settlers, gave them a bit (of the land under the title) and sold the rest back to them so that he could get some money. But he also kept some of the land. Quite simple! His action was called the "waiver of pre-emption," meaning the waiver of the clause in the Treaty of Waitangi that stated that only the Government could buy or sell land. Instead there were all these agents, all these bookies with qualified dockets to say that land had been purchased—not how much, not where. They were not pegged. There was no survey. It was just thousands of tracts of land that were taken. For us, it went so fast. By about 1869 we had nothing really left; that is why Judge Fenton set aside 700 acres in Ōrākei for Ngāti Whātua; it was to be inalienable, ake ake ake (for ever). Inalienable? I take that as no other aliens except Ngāti Whātua on the land. But the ink was not quite dry and they started to feed themselves on that 700 acres.

The first take of the 700 acres was in 1898. The authorities of the time were so afraid that the Russians might come down here that they took what is called Bastion Point with one swipe. They took it for defence purposes and later gave it back somewhat. Then the First World War came along and they took it back again for the same purposes. To protect the harbour they put in the gun emplacement. Afterwards, they gave it back again. Then the Second World War came along and they took it back as a battery land under the same defence purposes. By this time the Government had compulsorily acquired most of the land in Ōrākei because the Native Land Act supported that. By about 1933, we were landless except for the quarter-acre urupā (cemetery) that is visible today down there at Ōkahu Bay. You must say the full name of our tupuna now, Ōkahu-matamomoe Bay.

We got tired of our parents talking about when they nearly won (the right to their land). The Stout-Ngata Commission actually recommended to the Government that the 700 acres should be given back to Ngāti Whātua. The Government ignored this Commission and in time they started developing the waterfront and Tāmaki Drive. All of you have seen the film where they put the sewerage right through

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our pā (village), or at least the tauranga moana (seashore) part of our pā. The road was built on top of the sewerage pipe and all of the roadway through Ōkahu Bay, Ōkahu-matamomoe Bay, around to Kelly Tarlton's was the holding tank for the sewage of Auckland.

When I was a boy we were some of the best breaststrokers. We would be swimming along and all of a sudden these turds are coming at us. I was in hospital when I was about six. I was in there for 15 months through typhoid and many, many of my people died as children through eating the kaimoana (seafood). Now, when we are talking about raw sewage we are talking about foetus, amputations, all of the muck from the hospital waste. Every hospital in Auckland was going through the system and coming out in Ōkahu Bay. One wall, where Kelly Tarlton's now is, collapsed within five years. The sewage used to come out continuously into the bay.

When I was a child I remember going with my kaumātua (elders) to the Auckland City Council. Our people went to there to talk to the Drainage Board about the illness of our people as a result of eating the kaimoana. The people we spoke to said, "Well, why didn't you go somewhere else?" "Well, that is our papakāinga (home), that is where we get our seafood from, that is where we have got it from for centuries." We did not know anywhere else except St Heliers, Mission Bay and Kohimārama. Anyway, it was Auckland that was polluted; the whole lot was polluted, even the North Shore, through the sewage that came out. There were tons and tons and thousands and millions of litres that came out of that sewer over its lifetime.

Robbie (Sir Dove-Meyer Robinson), the Mayor, said one time, "I'm going to change it for you, Ngāti Whātua. I'm going to take it out to Manukau." It poisoned my people out there, Waiōhua, Te Taoū and all of those people. We all know what happened there. They dammed 500 hectares of the sea as holding-ponds for all of this dirty sewage over in the Manukau. It just overflowed when there was a storm. All the kaimoana and all the fish in the Manukau were polluted through the same thing.

This is where our stance started. I did not have any kaumātua, not kaumātua that you would call kaumātua. When we were evicted from Ōrākei, our marae (tribal meeting place) was burnt to the ground, our houses were burnt to the ground. We walked with our nannies and our mothers and our fathers, our cousins, our aunties and uncles. We all went into these flash homes. I did not mind going into a flash home: flush toilet, turn the light on, turn the stove on, all electricity. We did not have to chop kindling, did not have to get coal, did not have to do those things. For me as a young boy that was good because I went to school with a lot of the executives of Auckland like the Winstones, the Paykels, the Caugheys and the Jaffes. We all went to Ōrākei Primary School together. I have been into their palatial homes in Paritai Drive, up there on the hill. You know they had railway tracks through their houses with electric trains. What I could not understand is how the fruit bowl always stayed full. Why is that banana still there or that apple, or that pear or that orange? How come? In our house everything was cut into twelfths. You never had a whole apple to yourself, and if you did have a whole apple you must must have stolen it. Your brothers would say, "Oh he got a full apple, he must have stolen it."

During the time in the 1920s, 30s and 40s, when Princess Te Puea came to help Ōrākei, she tried to develop a modern village down on the pā but the Crown would not entertain that. Yet, some of the land that they compulsorily acquired on Bastion Point was used for the biggest subdivision of state housing that the Labour Government built at that time. That was part of the Michael Joseph Savage welfare programme and Fletchers were involved. Hugh Fletcher started his business in Ōrākei; he developed 11 houses and every eleventh home in Ōrākei is the same. He built 700 homes in Ōrākei.

Now, if the City Council records showed that Ngāti Whātua of Ōrākei, living on the plateau or down on the pā, were living in squalor not fit for animals, you would think that the first 100 homes that Fletcher built would go to Ngāti Whātua: firstly, because it was on their land that was taken by the Crown; secondly, we were the most in need in that region; and, thirdly, it was our land, we were home, that was our place of abode. Seven hundred homes were occupied by Pākehā. This is not racist. They were all Pākehā. They were from the South Island, they were from the south of the North Island and they all came up; they were strangers to the land. And in 1950 the people who were behind the push to

get us off our papakāinga (village settlement) were those residents who had the luck to be able to get a home there through the State Advances.

In 1950 there were only 30 homes built for round about 60 of our families. Everybody had to pull straws. Fortunately for my mum, she was able to pull a big straw. She got a home but the others were denied any home so they had to fend for themselves, somewhere out in Panmure or somewhere out in Papatoetoe, close to the Chinese gardens. Some of our families lived next to the gardens under tarpaulins for a long, long time. For people that gave so much, we ended up with so little. We did not only lose land. We lost our dignity. We lost our language. We lost nearly everything. We are still struggling today to bring ourselves up out of the doldrums. But we are struggling and we are doing it. My mother used to talk about this, and that is why she was so strong about us going onto Bastion Point. She was a very strong Ngāti Whātua ki Ōrakei. She was Ngāti Whātua ki Ōrakei tūturu (true Ngāti Whātua of Ōrākei).

I got into the passive resistance not only because of Bastion Point. I went to Raglan. I was one of 17 that got arrested with Eva (Rickard). I am one of seven names that are still alive of the 17 that got arrested with Eva. I used to put on my marching boots and be "in the face" with Mangu Awarau and John Harawira up at Waitangi. My mother used to say to us, "You're not going to bring those types of protest to Bastion Point. You're not. We're not going to have that. We're going to control it." A lot of people talked about the "reds" and all of those like Bill Anderson. He taught me football much of my life. On his other side, other than the union delegate or the union man, he was a family man. His politics were his politics but out in the real world, in his social time, he was a great man. He was a great man. That man taught us a lot of things in regards to sport, to playing league and taking us into this club called City Newton, making us special. He was a Pākehā. He was the only one calling us tangata whenua (people of the land) at that time. There were other socialists and a lot of them brought their bank books. They brought their cheque books. They helped to pay for our campaign. They documented everything. They took notes. They saw to the production of all our paraphernalia and propaganda for us to be able to hand out to people. They paid for it. There was the Values Party, middle-of-the-road. They are no more. They became the Social Credit. They are gone but there were other parties that came. They wanted a soap box to stand on, sure, but the *take* (cause) was ours and passive resistance was preached every day.

I had to tell John Harawira, "You cannot stay the night. You have to go home. You cannot stay here. I cannot trust you and Mangu and all." They respected that. They respected it because I said, "My mother does not want anything like what we were doing up there." The sort of protest we did at Waitangi was alright to me; for my mother it was not, but passive resistance was. She used to talk about Parihaka and non-violence. She did not know who Ghandi was. She did not know what Wounded Knee was. We talked about Wounded Knee and all of those things. They were comparisons to the predicament we were in and we used them as analogies to our causes. Mum used to talk about how we had our Whina Cooper. We had Te Atairangikaahu (Tainui Māori queen). We had those people who were out there in the political arena, not saying much, but being there and showing the way, showing the peaceful ways of Māori.

I was brought up along with Joe (Hawke) during the Land March with Whina Cooper. Although I was not in "the tight five" I used to sell the most badges. I would go and sell to anybody on the road, butcher, baker, candlestick maker. I made heaps of money out of badges and all the other paraphernalia. But we saw that we had a hard job. Whina had a hard job, to control the masses going through the country. People like Dun Mihaka, you know he is a cause on his own. You control him and you control a thousand others because if you can control him you know the others are easy.

Question from audience: I want you to tell us about what happened when the soldiers came and grabbed you fellows away?

Well, I do not have much of a hard luck story because my long-term friend, Tom Dennis, came personally to arrest me. He and I were in kapa haka (performance group) together and I knew him through football; we and his younger brother played against one another. But I saw how others were

being arrested. I was so thrilled to see that everybody was refraining from throwing a punch or using any profane language, and I was so proud when I saw Zach Wallace. He had changed his name. I knew him as Norman Davis; we were brought up together. He was a wild man and he actually took the people off the Māngere Bridge. That is why it took so long for the Māngere Bridge to connect because they went out on strike and they closed that bridge down. All the workers came back to Bastion Point.

So that terrible day, seeing my mum and my dad and my mother-in-law and my father-in-law and my wife and all of those get arrested, it was very mamae (painful). I felt very sad for them and for the older people that were there, Sonny Waru and all of those sorts of people who came up there, and a lot of the other ones who were part of the 28th (Māori) Battalion. They were all standing there with their jackets and their badges and their ribbons and their medals. Then, to see the police, and especially Māori police, take them and move them on. You must remember that the politicians gave that job to Ben Couch (Māori Member of Parliament); they made him the Minister of Police. He brought out the long batons and all the other things used by the Red Squad. That was Māori against Māori, it looked like that, and Couch was the one who gave the order for them to come in with that overkill.

Part of me was glad it was over. We, and especially the family, always have a saying in reply to people when they ask, "Did you get arrested on Bastion Point?" I always say, "Well, we did not go on Bastion Point to get arrested; we went on Bastion Point to arrest a wrong." That was our saying all through our time up there. Now, I went to prison. One day I was talking to other prisoners and I said, "When I first went to jail, I went with my mother, my father, my sister, my brother, my aunty, my uncle, my father-in-law, mother-in-law, my wife. What a whānau [family]! It took buses to take us to prison." They said, "Oh, that's mean." "It wasn't for a criminal act," I said, "It was for civil disobedience." It still goes against your name. I was one of the 17 that went through the court and were convicted of trespass. The other 205 were let off. The 17 of us are still trying to get our names off the trespass being recorded against our names, but the Government will not wear it. So, it was only 17 that were held responsible by the Court for Bastion Point.

Like Joe, we talked about the 30-year celebration. It wasn't a celebration. It was a commemoration. The reconciliation of this was not about the police saying sorry. It was not about the Government coming and saying sorry. It was about us, the people of Ōrākei, as we were then and where we are now. Where are we going? Are we still on track for those things? As you know there were three sides to the issue. There were Tā Hugh (Kāwharu) and the kaumātua, there were Annie and Hapi Pihema and the marae people, and there were the Bastion Point "occupiers." As Joe said on television, Muldoon was saying, "No, no, no," and we were saying, "Yes, yes, yes." There were all of those sorts of things.

The marae at Ōrākei was not a marae for Ngāti Whātua. It was a national marae for all Māori who lived in Auckland or in New Zealand. I was brought up with people like Eru Stirling being a kaumātua. Ranginui Walker used to come there as the chairman of the Auckland District Council. Matt Te Hau was one of our spokesmen at that time on Ōrākei Marae. Waka Clarke, who worked for the Māori Affairs, and many other taura here (people living away from their home areas) came to Ōrākei to help our kaumātua and speak on the paepae (orators' bench). That is how we were brought up. But most of the time, from the eviction down the bottom until we got the Ōrākei Marae up, we had no marae. As young children we were not brought up with a marae. Our houses became our marae. We had to pay rent, hire purchase, power and all those things. When we moved up there my dad was only getting seven pounds a week. When we were down at the pā everything belonged to us—no hire purchase, no bills, no rent, no power, so the seven pounds could feed nine kids. The subsidy to dad's wages was the sea, even though it was polluted and gave us typhoid. It was the moana (sea) that was the subsidy to dad's wages.

When we went up to Ōrākei, to Kitemoana Street, one week's pay could not afford to pay the power and the rent. Most times we were all cooking in our sitting room fireplaces as there was no power because we could not afford it. Those were very sad days. I think that when we did have power the potatoes were going out the window in smoke. Somebody would be yelling out, "Aunty your house is on fire." They did not know how to control the switch from low to medium to high. They would go up the road, have a game of cards and come back; we experienced a lot of burnt offerings. We learnt to like

eating burnt offerings. That was Bastion Point in a a nutshell. My mother was landless and I think Ngāti Whātua was the only hapū (clan) in New Zealand that was landless. Of our 186,000 acres of land in the Auckland region that we claim to, we were reduced to a quarter-acre section in Ōrākei.

On my dad's side we are alright, but it was not our dad's land. It was our mum's land. We were living on her land and it was our mother that was the backbone behind the *take*; it was not Joe, it was not Grant, it was not Mike, it was not Roger. Our mother was the guiding principle in that *take* and it had to be passive. We would not be here today if it was something different on 25 May 1978. If one punch was thrown, we would not be here. We would not have had a settlement. I am so proud of that. I am so proud that we went to the letter of our law, not to their law, to our law. What we put down and what we preached, we did.

Glossary

aroha	compassion
hapū	clan
kaimoana	seafood
kapa haka	performance group
kaumātua	elders
marae	tribal meeting place
moana	sea
mokopuna	grandchildren
pā	village
paepae	orators' bench
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
papkāinga	village settlement
take	cause, issue
tangata whenua	people of the land, indigenous
taura here	people living away from their home areas
tauranga	landing place, shore
toa	warrior
tupuna	ancestor
urupā	cemetery
wahine	woman
whānau	family, extended family

Parihaka and Non-Violent Resistance

Huirangi Waikerepuru
Western Institution of Taranaki
Te Kaunihera Kaumātua for Māori Television

Much on this theme we have heard tonight from Grant (Hawke) in a very real way. I was to continue the same story. It was how to deal with this thing we say is passive resistance. It is not *passive* resistance. It is a resistance.

The passive is, of course, to remember the principle of hohou rongo (peace making),[1] but it does not deprive us of the integrity and principle of manaaki (support, care) in understanding the issues and the problems that have been placed on the people through confiscation, alienation, incarceration and displacement. All these things are the offshoot of colonization. Our task is to ensure that we capture the principles surrounding that pou tokomanawa (centre post upholding the ridge pole of a meeting house). Do we understand fully those principles as to what they symbolise, what they represent? The pou whenua (carved post erected to symbolise the relationship between a Māori community and the land) outside, what does it mean? Our waiata (song) in the formal proceedings was to draw attention to that pou whenua. Why? Because it embodies all those principles that we are talking and thinking about tonight, in our wondering how are we going to deal with this thing called passive resistance in a positive way.

I am very mindful of the people I grew up with as a child. They were all old people. They could not speak English. Any time they spoke a word of English, we children would laugh. If we spoke English, we would get a smack. "Kaua koutou e kōrero Pākehā ki kōnei!" (Don't speak English here!) So we have to look, what are those principles?

Tikanga Māori (Māori customary practice), what is it? Manaakitanga? (support, hospitality) Kaitiakitanga? (guardianship) Mana atua? (authority or prestige of the gods) Mana whenua? (authority or prestige of the land) Mana tangata whenua? (authority or prestige of the people of the land) If we do not know what they mean, how can we embrace and support these symbols of mana tangata whenua? Yet we grew up in marae (villages) that did not have carvings because all our marae were destroyed. The land was confiscated and we were pushed away from the ocean, inland. We, the Hāpōtiki hapū (people, clan) on the coastal region of South Taranaki, became refugees. We were pushed inland to Ōhāngai Pā. Our sister hapū of Hāmua said, "Come with us. Come here, live here with us." So, we as refugees came to Hāmua and it has been like that for many since the confiscation.

Listening to Grant, it is just the same story. We have to be brave, we have to be strong, we have to be astute in working out how to deal with what has happened. It's no use growling about it. When you have to plant a garden you do not growl about it. You go and dig the garden, put the seeds in, weed it and let it grow. As children we grew up with that and so we have to continue to look at ways and means, how to strategize in order to overcome the trauma of what our elders went through before they died. The trauma? For me, it was trauma. When I think back to those days, going back 50 years or so, the story was a serious one and the trauma was there: the way the elders thought, the way they looked at the landscape, the way they talked about the landscape and the principles of tikanga (protocol) that we had to be aware of.

I would like to acknowledge many of our PhDs, Māori. I believe that when many of them went to school (university) they were already PhD material, people like Tīmoti Kāretu and a lot of other people like that. They were PhDs when they went to school. They had the capacity to do that but it does not

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[1] Editor's note. The translations in brackets are supplied by the editing team as as a guide for those who are unfamiliar with the Māori language. They are approximations for the meanings of the Māori words used by the author.

mean that a lot of others were not of that capacity. They had the capacity. They had the principles but we have moved them aside. We have a proverb, "Kia oti a runga, kia oti a raro, ka puta ai koe ki waho." I have used that many, many times. I heard it at Nukumaru Marae, Tauranga Ika, at the opening of their meeting house. We were talking about education when a kuia (female elder) got up and said, "Ngā tamariki o nāianei, kāre he take, kāre i te whakarongo" (young people today are useless, they don't listen). Old people, they talk like that all the time. She said, "Ānei rā te kōrero (here is the saying): "Kia oti a runga, kia oti a raro, ka puta ai koe ki waho." "Kia oti tērā i runga": understand that which is up there, the universe, all of the universe, not just part of it, all of the universe. "Kia oti tērā i raro": understand whakapapa (genealogical relationships), tikanga, mahi kai (cultivating food), manaaki. When you know all that, then you can go out the gate ("ka puta ai koe ki waho"), you know enough to be able to deal with any issue that comes up.

If you are asked a question, your first task is to work out whether it is a challenge or a genuine question. Kia mōhio rā anō koe ki te pātai a te tangata rā, mehemea kia whakohokia atu e koe te pātai, mehemea he wero rānei! Mehemea he wero, whakahokia atu te pātai: "He aha anō tō pātai e pātai mai nā?" (Make sure you know whether that person's question to you is a question or a challenge. If it is a challenge, ask them, "What's the question again?"). Make them work for it if you think there is some doubt. We need to be using those principles in dealing with, working with and in enhancing passive resistance. There is not a moment that we can stop thinking about challenging the status quo. I love doing it. Wonderful! It is wonderful. You get the biggest thrill out of being peaceful, being civil and yet knowing they know we ain't going to budge. That is all we have to do and it does not need violence.

It just means, "kia oti a runga, kia oti a raro…" Of course to do that, where do you start? Ooh, that is a big one. [At this point, a chant laying out the origins of the universe is recited.] So, that is what we have to understand; you hear that from the old people when they are talking. We become absorbed in the sounds. We hear them in the mind and the brain takes in messages. In time, we begin to understand what they are talking about. That is what we have to continue to do, along with the sympathy needed for those who are struggling to learn their own language under enormous difficulties.

Restrictions on policies! It is time for bilingualism to come into schools, bilingualism across the board. Everyone can provoke that question. We do not need to be violent. People might go back a little on the issue, but they will think about it because there is a merging, there is a merging going on between Māori and Pākehā (New Zealanders of mainly European descent), regardless of policy or law. Nevertheless, more work has to be done, particularly with the law. Grant mentioned lore: l, o, r, e; but I am focusing on: l, a, w: Māori law, Māori common law in equity with New Zealand common law. After all, Māori common law was in place before that other law came in; but we are hooked into thinking that Western law is *the* law. I do not believe that. I hope you go home tonight and think about that. There is a place for l, o, r, e: ngā pakiwaitara (fictional stories), he pakimaero (fictional stories from long ago), he pūrākau (legends), he kōrero ērā (those stories are): l, o, r, e. Engari, anō rā te tikanga: there is Māori law still waiting to be implemented. We are hesitant to stand up within our courts, within *our* courts—I will repeat that again—within *our* courts of law, which is where? Te marae ātea (the courtyard of the tribal meeting grounds).

We have established these courts of law on our marae, but when we go out the gate we leave them on the marae. We do not take them with us. I would like to sell you the idea: "te hau tikanga ki runga i ō tātou marae" (the vital essence of tikanga on our marae). Develop the hau tikanga on every marae—within the marae trustees, within the hapū trustees, within iwi (tribe, tribal) collective trustees—so that the Māori judiciary is being practised and uplifted. What I am trying to do is offer glimpses of how to promote, how to enhance passive resistance. It is there. It is legal. It is possible. So, let us aim for that! I always look to my lawyer friends and see if they have got ideas. Sometimes they say, "Yeah, that's a good idea," but sometimes they frown and are not quite sure about it. I would ask, "Why not? Ko te tikanga rā te tikanga o mai rā anō" (That law is law from old). It has not changed. It is still there.

When I came in here today I was uplifted. We have got no carvings in our meeting house. The old people say, "Kao, kao, kia hoki mai rā anō te whenua, meatia mai ngā whakairo ki reira" (When the

land has been returned, then the carvings can be put in place). We have been waiting a long time. So, when the land comes back, then you will be yourself again. But we need to be able to work in our own way, in our own minds, according to what Grant said, "self-determination." "Free," he said, "free." But, no, even Māori were not free. You had to be responsible. You have to be responsible with integrity. We know what integrity is and we know when it is not happening with the law, with government policy, with management and so on.

We are not supposed to be advancing. "You are advancing? You have a PhD? Ooh, that's not good at all. How did you get out the gate? We will have to formulate another policy here in education. Cut out their tongues! Yeah, that's a good idea. We'll do that. We'll form a policy." But we are not going to allow that. We are too smart for that. We are too clever. This is why we've come to share a little bit of Parihaka, without talking too much about Parihaka.

I look forward to any comments on what I have said, particularly if it is going to enhance tikanga Māori in equity with New Zealand common law, and particularly that seabed and foreshore [legislation]. Te papa moana roa o Tangaroa, te tai moana me ngā oranga kei raro i te whenua (the long seabed of Tangaroa, the foreshore and the creatures living below the land). Someone said that today, "all that land that's been stolen." But we can deal with it, with a smile, with aroha (love) and inclusiveness.

Glossary

aroha	love
atua	god(s)
hapū	people, clan
hohou rongo	peace making
iwi	tribe, tribal
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kuia	female elder
mahi kai	cultivating food
mana	authority, prestige
manaaki	support, care
manaakitanga	support, hospitality
marae	villages, "centres", focal points
marae ātea	courtyard of the tribal meeting grounds
Pākehā	New Zealanders of mainly European descent
paki mai rā anō	fictional stories from long ago
pakiwaitara	fictional stories
pou tokomanawa	centre pole upholding the ridge pole of a meeting house
pou whenua	carved post erected to symbolise the relationship between a Māori community and the land
pūrākau	legends
tangata whenua	people of the land
tikanga	customary practice, protocol
waiata	songs
whakapapa	genealogical relationships

Maungārongo: Non-Violent Action

Te Miringa Hohāia
Taranaki

Today you introduced us in terms of passive resistance. I prefer to think of the legacy that was left to us in Taranaki as one of non-violent action.

I've come to talk about some things that I think are pertinent to your hui, which is about te hohou rongo (peace making). Huirangi (Waikerepuru) and I decided that the best place for me to start is with my own family. What I want to do is paint a brief picture about what it was that influenced Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi and that turned them into the committed and incorruptible individuals that they became. On my father's side of my family we are the descendents of Tū-whakararo. In Taranaki we have a tradition of poi (the rhythmical swinging of a light ball to sung accompaniment). There are four types of poi. There's poipoi whakapapa (poi that contain geneaology) and there's poi manu which are karakia (invocations, prayer), ngā karakiatanga kōrero (the recitation of invocations). There are poi Karaipiture (poi that relate to the Scriptures). Then, there are action-song poi, which is a completely contemporary thing for us. Within the context of the poi manu that hold the karakiatanga kōrero, there are a number of very pertinent and full messages that we could build quite a picture on in terms of te hohou rongo. For instance, from the time of their release from prison, Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi spent a lot of time calling on the knowledgeable men and women of the country to come in to Parihaka to share in this kind of knowledge. They built a considerable curriculum of these various types of verse with such titles as, *Pūpū Hā Manawa o Tāne* (*Surge On, Breath of Humanity*); *Tēnei te Tangata, Ko Tiki Āhua* (*This is the Story of Humanity*); *Taku One i Tahia* (*The Earth that I Sweep*); *Tēnei te Tangata, Ko Tū-whakararo* (*This is the Man, Tū-whakararo*). That brings me back to our family, the descendants of Tū-whakararo.

Tū-whakararo is a character who, in terms of whakapapa, appears at the same time as Māui-Tikitiki-ā-Taranga, Tāwhaki and others. The poi manu regarding Tū-whakararo's death says: "Ko tōna kākahu, nō ngā kurī o tōna kuia; ko te kiri omere." (His cloak is made from the dogs of his female elder; it is made of dog skin.) Now, te kiri omere is his korowai (cloak), that is, te kiri omere is a dog-skin cloak. So, for us, the dog-skin cloak, te tōpuni huru kurī, is the most significant thing that can bring about peace. It is so sacred that that peace cannot be broken. Tōpuni huru kurī (dog-skin cloaks) were regarded to have so much mana (prestige) and tapu (sacredness) that, if they were to be traded, swapped or gifted in some way, the exchange required some pretty significant sort of reciprocation. Perhaps other tribes in the motu (country) have something else that means this to them but, certainly, for Te Whiti o Rongomai's and Tohu Kākahi's people the tōpuni huru kurī played a very ancient role and had the name te kiri omere.

That's a long time ago, the lives of Māui, Tāwhaki, Tū-whakararo and people like that. In more contemporary history, this thing comes back to revisit us. When Waikato and Ngāpuhi made their big raids into Taranaki in the early 19th century, sometimes with devastating effect, it led eventually to a situation in which a tōpuni huru kurī, still called te kiri omere, was used as the basis for kōrero (discussion; speeches). The kōrero was laid on it, the peace was made and ka ea katoa ngā mate o aua pakanga (the deaths from all those wars were requited), for all of us. Mai i tērā wā tae noa mai ki tēnei, kua pūmau tonu tērā rongomau me te hohou rongo (from that time until now, that peace and reconciliation has held fast). Just a short time before that, the same means was used by Taranaki in the freeing of Potatau from his entrapment at Pukerangiora that was known as Te Rāihe Poaka and, again, the same name, te kiri omere, was being used. So, these are foundational pillars that have formed the values and the meaning systems, not just for Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi, but for us in our own time.

Now, I don't think we're about to lay out one of these tōpuni huru kurī for us to declare peace between us and the Crown (New Zealand Government). In fact, if Parekura (Minister for Māori Affairs)

would have stayed, I would have said to him, "Look, why don't you tell the Prime Minister to get her SIS spies off my telephone line," because I remain committed to the movement of non-violent action that Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi established. Finally, I want to give you an indication of the power that these kinds of foundational things that lead to peace had for people like Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. It was in the statement that Te Whiti o Rongomai made to the Government in the early 1890s when he asked:

> E te Kāwana, mā tēwhea kīngi o te ao e whakoti ēnei kupu e toru: "Kia arohatia te pani, te pouaru me te rawakore." Nō mua mai āno, ēnei kupu. Kāre i oti i ngā whakatipuranga. Mā tēwhea Kīngi e whakaoti i tēnei rā.
> (Governor, by which king will these three words be fulfilled: "Be loving to the orphan, the widow and the poor." These words remain from former times through to the present. They have not been brought to an end by the generations. By which king will they be fulfilled at this time?)

He's asking the Governor, which king of the earth? This is because the ariki (paramount chiefs) knew that the requirement of them was to provide for their people, to provide for the te pani, te pouaru me te rawakore (the orphan, the widow and the poor). Their power as a supreme authority gave them no right to secure wealth for themselves. It was an age-old custom of ariki among our people. If they did not provide for the people, they were removed and replaced. They had to give. They had aroha (love, compassion) for te pani, te pouaru me te rawakore. So, the people are asking, which one of the kings can do this now? They were convinced that as Māori we were doing it.

Unfortunately, I don't think that kōrero about te tōpuni huru kurī is going to solve the problem of facing the rehabilitation of our children who are on P (methamphetamine). But for those of us who understand these powerful, iconic pūtaketanga kōrero (foundational discussions), it certainly helps to keep us on track.

Glossary

ariki	paramount chiefs
aroha	love, compassion
hohou rongo	reconciliation, peace making
maungārongo	peace
kākahu	cloak
karakia	invocations, prayers
kōrero	discussion, speeches
korowai	cloak
mana	prestige, authority
motu	country
pani	orphan
poi	the rhythmical swinging of a light ball to sung accompaniment
pouaru	widow
rawakore	poor people
tapu	sacred
tōpuni huru kurī	dog-skin cloaks

He Poroporoakī ki a Te Hau-o-te-rangi Tutua

Matiu Dickson
Law School, University of Waikato

On Saturday 31st May this year, an important kaumāua or elder of my waka (founding canoe), Mataatua, died suddenly. His name was Te Hau-o-te-rangi Tutua. He had officiated as tohunga (tribal expert) at the dawn opening ceremonies of an ancestral house on his mother's marae (tribal meeting ground) at Waiōhau in the Bay of Plenty. Later that morning, when the home people were readying themselves for the welcoming ceremonies on the marae (open courtyard), he collapsed while walking to the pae tapu (the traditional seating benches for speakers of the marae). In talking to one of his sisters later, it appears that he suffered a heart attack and died when he fell.

His death was a shock to everyone who knew him, as he was thought of as a healthy and rugged individual. He was in his early 70s and was described by speakers at his tangihanga (rites for the dead) as a Pou-toko-manawa or stalwart of his iwi (tribe), Ngāti Awa. And of course he was. He was related to me through his father who came from the Ngāiterangi iwi and Ngāti Tapu hapū (clan) of Tauranga. His name was that of the Ngāiterangi tupuna (ancestor), Te Hau-o-te-rangi, who lived on Mauao mountain.

Te Hau was brought up learning the tikanga or customary practices of his hapū and iwi. He was taught by his elders. He was highly regarded for his expert knowledge of tikanga (customs, procedures) and reo (Māori language). His willingness to share this knowledge meant that he was sought after by those in his own tribal area and throughout the country. Often, we of Ngāiterangi would request that he speak at the wānanga (educational gatherings) we held to discuss our history, whakapapa (genealogy) and tribal tikanga. I am sure that other iwi made such requests, too.

Te Hau would never decline because it seemed that he enjoyed the exchange of knowledge that these wānanga fostered. As a koha (gift) for him, I would endeavour to teach him a traditional waiata (song) of our iwi. I know that he appreciated this gesture. The last song that we sung together was that composed by Tupāea for his younger brother, Te Korohiko. This waiata tangi (lament) is well-known in Tauranga as "Kapokapo". We sung it together on a hīkoi (walk, journey) around the East Coast to trace the steps of our common ancestor, Te Rangihōuhiri. Our journey took us past the ancient pā (fortified village) of Tawhitirahi. He was a true Māori academic!

In the whaikōrero (speeches) and poroporoakī (eulogies) by numerous speakers at his tangihanga, Te Hau was described as the following:

> He tangata whai mana—a person of significance;
> He tangata tinihanga—a person who was amusing;
> He tangata haututū—a mischief maker;
> He tangata rūkahu—a person who told way-out stories[1]
> He tangata whakapono—a religious person; he was a member of the Ringatū faith;
> He tangata mau tikanga—a learned person in tikanga and custom;
> He tangata whakaaro nui—a visionary;
> He tangata manaaki tangata—a person who cared for others;
> He tangata mau taiaha—an expert at using Māori weaponry;
> He tangata mahi whakairo—a well-known carver;
> He tangata tū i runga i te marae—a gifted whaikōrero speaker.

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[1] On this point he agreed with the theory that Māori came from Taiwan; that is why everyone knew him as Ching, because he was their tuakana (older brother)!

I agree with these descriptions of Te Hau and more. He was the equivalent for Māori of the highest standing of any academic in any university.

There are individuals, men and women, in Māori communities who, like Te Hau, are the keepers and holders of their tribal knowledge. Regretfully, we sometimes take such people for granted and before we know it they are lost to us. They are the icons of our oral traditions on the marae. We should care for them all of the time they are with us. We should recognize and pay tribute to the knowledge of those kaumātua, kuia (female elders) and tohunga whose humility shines through in all that they do. They are taonga (treasures), too.

The lament written by a kaumātua, living in Te Taitokerau and unable to attend the tangihanga of his kinsman at Te Tairāwhiti, is appropriate here with the passing of Te Hau:

Mā wai rā, e taurima, te marae i waho rā?
Mā te tika, mā te pono me te aroha e!
(Who will care for the marae with your passing?
Perhaps it will be our custom, our beliefs and our love for one another!)

Kua hinga te tōtara nui i te waonui ā Tāne, kua ruia ōna kākano. E taea rānei e te reanga ki te mirimiri, kia hua, kia puawai? E te Whakaruruhau, e te Papa, ānei ngā mihi maioha me ngā mihi poroporoaki ki a koe. Moe mai i roto i te rangimārie!

Glossary

hapū	clan
hīkoi	walk, journey
iwi	tribe
kaumātua	elder
koha	gift
kuia	female elder
marae	tribal meeting grounds
pā	fortified village
pae tapu	traditional seating benches for speakers of the marae
poroporoakī	eulogies
reo	Māori language
tangihanga	rites for the dead
taonga	treasures
tikanga	customs, procedures
tohunga	tribal expert
tuakana	older sibling
tupuna	ancestor
waiata	song
waiata-tangi	lament
waka	founding canoe
wānanga	educational gatherings
whaikōrero	speeches
whakapapa	genealogy

Restoring the Nation:
Removing the Constancy of Terror

Moana Jackson
Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Porou

I would like to set a papa or foundation which may be of value in the deliberations that we have in front of us. I would like to do that in the way that I am most comfortable with, which is to try and tell some stories. It seems to me that the seeking and the articulation of knowledge is simply a process of story-telling and that everything that we think of, every voice through which we give our thoughts expression, can be a story. So, the string theory of the universe is a story. A love song is a story. A description of how to split the atom is a story.

The stories that I like to talk about are Māori stories, which resonate among all of the indigenous communities and nations that I have had the pleasure of meeting and working with, because those stories are like our genealogy of relationships. They are like our whakapapa (geneaologies); they are first of all about the interconnectedness between whānau (extended families), hapū (clans) and iwi (tribes), between all humans and the meanings that come with that interconnectedness. Because that interconnectedness is intrinsic in whakapapa, the stories take on a special form. I like to talk about whakapapa as being a series of never-ending beginnings. A person may die but then someone else is born and so the whakapapa continues in this process of never-ending beginnings. For me, stories are like that. If they are to help us work towards improving the nature and extent of our interconnectedness, if they are to help us to find and nurture those relationships, then they have to be continually in this process of never-ending beginnings. Because the beginnings are never-ending, it does not mean that they do not start at a particular point. A good point to start in the stories of most cultures is with the phrase "once upon a time." "Once upon a time" is to me a matter of perception because all cultures define time differently. It is only in Western, Christian-based cultures that time has become a linear construct, for example, the idea that Linda [Smith] spoke about, where school had to finish at three o'clock. Other cultures had different ways of seeing time. In our culture, because of that notion of whakapapa being a process of never-ending beginnings, time is similarly a process of never-ending beginnings.

So, "once upon a time" is the time that we decide things should begin. It is never meant that we put off to tomorrow what should be done today, but that the beginning has a set purpose in the greater scheme of things. If there are never-ending beginnings, the story may not have an immediate end. When we ask a question in what I call the Māori intellectual tradition, the answer may often be another question. By answering one question with another you are showing the never-ending scope of knowledge itself.

I would like to begin "once upon a time" with a story about a little island off the coast of the Māhia Peninsula called Waikawa. Waikawa Island was the place where one of our ancestors, who came on the waka (canoe) Tākitimu, established the first whare wānanga or school of higher learning for our people. It is not a very big island but, obviously, to get there you have to travel by waka. The little inlet where the students and teachers of the whare wānanga would land was called Whaiwhakaaro by our people. Whaiwhakaaro literally means to follow the thought. So, to seek knowledge was to follow thought wherever it took you, whatever the risks in the knowledge might be, whatever the immediate enlightenment might be—that was to follow the thought wherever it took you. Each day when the whare wānanga was in session, flares would be lit along the foreshore. The island is called Waikawa or bitter water because natural gas bubbles up through vents in the ground. The natural gas would be lit and the fires would flame throughout the whole time of the whare wānanga to illustrate not just the enlightenment that could come from knowledge but also the fact that knowledge has a certain power and therefore has to be treated with the same respect as a naked flame. At the start of each day, after the fires were lit, the students would walk from Whaiwhaakaro across the island to a rocky outcrop that was

called Te Tīmatanga (the beginning). Before they began their lessons, their debates, their discourses, they followed the thought to the beginning and then back again. That journey seems to me to symbolize the whole process of knowledge.

The story of that knowledge can take many forms. My nanny used to make tāniko, which for those who do not know is a fine weaving often used in the bodices of the tops that women wear in our kapa haka (cultural performance groups) and so on. When she made them for our marae ("village") group, they were usually the traditional red, black and white. When she made them for our young people, they could be all sorts of other vibrant colours, yellows, blues, purples … Often she would hang them on a frame and the threads would hang loose. You could take one thread and try to follow it through the patterns in the tāniko design to see where the beginning was or where the end was. On the journey that these students took from Whaiwhakaaro to Te Tīmatanga, they too were trying to find the threads of understanding that lay in the stories and the land. Ultimately, the stories that are most relevant to a people and a community are the stories that come from that land, that reflect the relationships with the land and that hold within the land the knowledge that has been nurtured there.

As I tell the stories in the brief time I have today, I hope you might find your own threads of understanding. Try to track them through to what you think is the beginning or the never-ending beginning, so you can take from the stories what you will. What I take from the story of the walk from Whaiwhakaaro to Te Tīmatanga is a symbol of the journey of knowledge itself, its dangers and its pleasures. I also take from it what one of my whanaunga (relatives) from Ngāti Porou called the tūrangawaewae (home place) of our thought. When Raukahiri coined that term he talked about the idea of the thought that comes from the land.

The second story that I want to tell looks at a different aspect of the notion of knowledge. And there are two parts to the story, which may seem to be disconnected but I hope we will find the links. In our tradition, in our intellectual tradition—and I do not think we should be shy of using the phrase our intellectual tradition—we have the story of a man, in some iwi called Tāne and other iwi called Tāwhaki, climbing the vines to the heavens to capture for humanity the kete (baskets) of knowledge, which our people called Te Kete Tuatea, Te Kete Tuauri and Te Kete Aronui. As he climbed up the vines to the heavens to find these baskets of knowledge, lightning flashed across the sky, thunder and rain fell upon him, but he kept on going; eventually, he found the kete and brought them back to earth.

If we jump forward several centuries, we come to the 1980s when I was part of a committee that was charged with the task of building what became known as an urban marae (Māori meeting place). As Linda intimated, to build a marae, to be involved in any Māori activity can be as difficult as it is exciting. To build an urban marae is, perhaps, particularly difficult because you are having to tread the difficult path between those who are tangata whenua (people of the land), who have lived traditionally in that area, and the taura here, the people who have come to live in that area from somewhere else. Often, trying to balance those differences can be a very complex and irksome task. But we worked well, people from different iwi who knew in the end that the whakapapa that made us distinct and independent in our iwi also made us interdependent. We eventually got to the stage where the whare kai (dining room) and the meeting house were built.

The meeting house was beautifully carved. We were getting organized for the opening. Some people led by Ruka Broughton were coming from Taranaki to open the house. At a meeting about two weeks before the opening—our meeting was meant to be about the opening—somebody made the suggestion that we should put Venetian blinds in the meeting house and, immediately, a huge scrap developed. The committee split into two, one side arguing that there is nothing wrong with having Venetian blinds in a meeting house, the other side saying you cannot have meeting houses with Venetian blinds because it is not tikanga, it is not consistent with our knowledge. People began to invent the tikanga of Venetian blinds. I learned that Venetian blinds were actually, in spite of their name, invented in Tokomaru Bay. Eventually, we reached a compromise and said, "We have got so much to do before the opening, let's wait until after the opening and then come back to this issue." Everyone agreed; we entered into what I call the tautoko (agreeing) syndrome; everyone went "kia ora, kia ora" (yes, yes). Then half the committee promptly ignored it. On the night before the opening—we

were expecting the manuhiri (visitors) to start arriving about 4.30 in the morning—we were in the kitchen getting the kai (food) ready when someone came running in and said, "They are putting up the Venetian blinds!" We ran in the dark to the meeting house, the unopened meeting house, and the Venetian blinds faction were hanging the blinds. All hell broke loose. A huge and intense debate took place across the whare (meeting house). We could hear the visitors starting to pull up in the dark outside, people getting out of the buses and we were stuck arguing about Venetian blinds. Eventually, we reached another compromise because they had only succeeded in getting up the blinds on one wall. So we said, "Let's just leave it as it is. Don't take them down! We haven't got time. After the opening, as we originally agreed, let's talk about it."

The opening went really well. Later that day I was walking around inside the meeting house and I heard one of the visitors ask one of our kaumātua (elders), "How come you have got blinds on only one wall?" Without skipping a beat, he said, "Oh, he tikanga tēnā" (that is a custom). I looked at him and he said, "Well, in this rohe (district) you'll notice the blinds are only on the western wall because in this rohe you cannot stop the rays of the rising sun entering the meeting house." Twenty years later, if you go to that marae, you will know it because it still only has Venetian blinds on one wall. No one can remember the arguments and the scrap, but everyone knows the tikanga.

Now, what is the link between the story of the baskets of knowledge and the story of the Venetian blinds? You can take what threads of understanding you will. What I take from the link is that when those baskets of knowledge were brought to the earth and our people delved into them they found that, like our whakapapa, they had a never-ending beginning; that each basket was bottomless so there was no end to the knowledge that we could extract; that there was no end to what we could ask questions about; that our intellectual tradition was limitless and that traditional knowledge could become new knowledge; that ancient knowledge could be a knowledge for all time and that knowledge by its very nature should not limit the human mind, but rather be the guide on the journey from what I call potential to infinity, that is, a journey which is never-ending. And that if we have faith in our own knowledge, if we have confidence and trust in our own knowledge systems, then we can traverse the minefields of anything, of religion and science, of intellect and passion, of reason and doubt; if we do that, there is no limit to the answers we may find or the tikanga that we may invent.

I have a third story. At about the time that Tāwhaki was climbing to the heavens to get the baskets of knowledge, there was another of our heroes called Māui. He is known for many great deeds, not the least of which is that he pulled from the ocean what Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) later romantically called the North Island. But the greatest challenge in his mind was to give humanity a never-ending beginning, that is, to make humans immortal. He travelled to the place where Hinenuitepō, who looks after us in death, resided. He had thought that the only way in which he could conquer death in order to make humans immortal was to consign Hinenuitepō herself to death. So, he crawled between her thighs in an attempt to enter her and so give immortality to humanity. Some nearby birds in the trees saw him and burst out laughing; it must have been a funny sight. Their laughter awoke Hinenuitepō; she closed her thighs and crushed Māui to death.

You can draw out what threads of understanding you will. What I take from that story is a number of things. One of my uncles took from it a very simple statement: there could not be a greater way to die. But there are other lessons, other threads of understanding that we can take from it. One of those is that the search for knowledge is always, should always be an ethical process, that is, that our intellectual tradition gives us the freedom to ask whatever questions we want to ask but in asking whatever we are free to ask there is also an obligation to ask, "Why do we need to know?" Why did Māui need to know that death could not be a natural part of living but should instead be something removed from the experience of humans? If you need to know something like that, then there is the risk that you disrupt the natural tenor of human existence. So, to me, the story raises the question of being ethical in the knowledge that we seek, and that the ethical questions come before we seek the knowledge rather than as a risk management tool once we have got the knowledge. If the quest for knowledge cannot be categorized as tika, as correct or as appropriate or as something which uplifts our people (as in the phrase whakatika [make right], then perhaps we need to consider seriously why we want to know.

The second thing that I think the story of Māui raises is the limitlessness of knowledge that the story of Tāwhaki and the baskets of knowledge illustrate. That, if we are to be entrusted and have faith ourselves in the power of knowledge, we should be brave enough to go wherever the knowledge takes us. That the search for knowledge should in itself be a process of critical interrogation. If we have that bravery, we do not just research in safe confines but are prepared to imagine the daring and the brave. Then we are true to the nature of that knowledge. Our poets often express that best because one of the things of researching knowledge is to shape, reshape, make or invent new realities—which, if they are ethical, serve our people— and not to accept unquestioningly those things which others tell us are the reality. I am sure that many of you have confronted, as I certainly have, the fact that the common response from Pākehā people to any Māori initiative or independent Māori thought is "Get real!" or "That is unrealistic." But what Māui did in all of his adventures, even though he failed with Hinenuitepō, what Tāwhaki did in climbing to the heavens, was to challenge the dominant reality, to seek a different reality. The Ngāpuhi poet Robert Sullivan commented on this in his selection of poems, which he called *Star Waka*. It is about the wonderful canoe journeys, the migrations of our people. In one of the poems he writes about where that journey might take us and he says it is feasible that we may enter space in our space-craft waka. Oh to be part of that generation to write in free fall, picking the tools that our culture has given us, rocketing to another orb singing waiata (songs) to the stars! If we are brave, our knowledge can take us anywhere. If we are brave, we can change what is perceived to be the reality.

Not far from where I grew up in Ngāti Kahungunu, there used to be a lake called Te Roto ā Tara, not a very big lake. When the land was taken from our people—what at home we call the missionary confiscations because the descendents of missionary families ended up with most of our land—one of those families decided to drain the lake, to destroy the surrounding wetlands and over many years they did. When they took away the lake, they took away more than a stretch of water, more than some fish and some plants, more than an important part of the ecosystem. They took away some of our stories. Now at home when it rains, the water still seeps up through the ground as though it is trying to reclaim itself as a lake, to remake a reality. The poet Rangi Chadwick wrote about that. He was from there and he wrote: "Sometimes when I sit on this hill that used to be the island in the middle of our lake, I can feel the stamp of the earth from the feet of ancient haka, I can see the sky lighten with the whispers of ancient lovers." I know then that I can change what is real and that one day I and my children and my children's children will walk again on the water of this lake, like some latter-day Māori navigator saying, "This is me." To dream of reality, to dream of changing reality is part of the bravery of searching for our knowledge.

The third thing that I think the stories of the baskets and Māui together show is that there are risks to reclaiming our knowledge. They are the sorts of risks that Linda alluded to. How often, when we construct something in the world in which we live, the reality in which we are sent to live, something gets lost in translating that into action. The causes of that loss come at us from many sides because if you still live as we do in a colonizing society, then colonization operates to privilege its own reality, to dismiss the realities of others or at least to control them.

One of those ways in which that happens is simply through the language with which they choose to describe us, our way of thinking, our way of seeing the world. We have Pākehā philosophers among others and a whole line of what Irihāpeti Ramsden used to call "ethnographic trampers," who thought they could define our world in their worlds. Recently, a noted Pākehā philosopher and academic on the staff of a university said that Māori had no intellectual tradition. We lacked reason and, while we were knowledgeable about how to get on with the world, we had no knowledge of what makes the world tick. Apart from the normal colonizing arrogance in that point of view, there is a risk that we might not be brave enough because we actually do accept that: that real knowledge, real science, real academics only take place in a building like this. Yet, no people acts without thinking and our people followed the thought in everything we did. The challenge is to follow that thought now and to disabuse those views of our intellectual tradition, simply by proving our own people right. Another risk is that, if they do not dismiss our intellectual tradition, they will try to define it.

When our students walked from Whaiwhaakaro to Te Tīmatanga, the hīkoi (path) they went on was called "waewae taka whenua," that is, the footfalls that caress the earth. In caressing the earth, you touch on those stories in the land. What a lot of Pākehā people do in relation to our intellectual tradition, as has happened with the advocates of kaupapa Māori (theory based on Māori philosophy), is to criticize our scholars as being not authentically Māori because they access and use other theories that they interrogate, criticize and, where appropriate, adapt. Yet, if you listen to the stories and the land, it does not mean you cannot hear the wind whistling around your ears. Our people, as part of that limitless search for knowledge, have constantly tested, sometimes abandoned, sometimes taken on board other ways of seeing the world. It did not take long, for example, for our carvers to realize that a steel chisel could make different and sometimes more efficient cuts in the wood than a bone chisel. However, the change in the tools did not change the way they saw the art that they were trying to represent in their carving. So, critically using other tools of analysis is simply being able to access knowledge systems that can augment ours. Counter to this, we have what I think are quite silly statements by people, such as those by a political scientist called Kenneth Minogue, who accused Māori academics of indulging in an alien sophistication that has little to do with being Māori.

We have a Pākehā jurist called Paul McHugh who sees the world in a very narrow common law framework and has argued assiduously over the years that Māori had no law. That is like saying we had no intellectual tradition. He says, "That is the problem with some Māori legal writers"—and he named some, including Ani Mikaere, Annette Sykes, Nin Tomas and Moana Jackson—"The trouble with these Māori legal academics is that they are not Māori. Rather, they are separatist extremists, lapsed left wingers, over-versed in Foucault." When I read that criticism, I had to go and get Foucault and read him. To be honest, I could not understand him so I got the "dummy's" guide to Foucault and that helped. One of the risks we face in trying to reclaim and revitalize our knowledge is that we will be attacked and criticized simply because we are trying to be Māori. Part of the bravery, part of the thread of understanding we can take from the stories of people like Māui is to be courageous enough to rise above that criticism and know that the knowledge systems we have can be equally valid and as open to the world as any others.

We face another risk, from the same quarter, when we analyse something like the process of colonization and critique the effects that it has on us and other indigenous peoples. This is often labelled by some non-Māori academics and politicians, in particular, as an irrational presentism; that is, we are judging what the colonizers did, say, 150 years ago with the hindsight of 21st-century analysis. A former Cabinet Minister, Michael Bassett, is particularly fond of accusing Māori of presentism. I think there is more arrogance than logic in the allegation because it assumes first that the Māori intellectual tradition was not critical, that we lacked the ability to ask questions, to interrogate, to develop a critical theory. Yet, if we know anything of the way our people reacted to the depredations of colonization in the 19th century, we know that they were absolutely critical. We know that they constantly sought to reassert our view of the world. In fact, they probably did so with more confidence, with more clarity of thought, than we struggle to do because the cultural base within which they operated was more secure than it is now. I think the allegation of presentism is illogical because, while Pākehā people will accept as a product of its time something that they now acknowledge as wrong like the land confiscations, they will nevertheless privilege as timeless the ideas and practices which reaffirm their power. Their notion of sovereignty, their notion of law, is somehow timeless but when we critique those things we are seen as being presentist.

For me, part of trying to find how to validate and use traditional knowledge on that journey from potential to infinity is to know when it is appropriate to critique those critiques of us and when in the end it might be best just to ignore them, to dismiss them as unworthy of our response. If we do that, we not only save ourselves time, we also diminish the value of those unworthy criticisms.

I think there is another risk as we try to reclaim our knowledge and, in a sense, it goes to the issue of what we are prepared to use as we think through problems of the world. Comments have been made by some people who are trying to label Māori analysis of issues as either constructivist or lodged in critical theory. Like all labels, these have difficulties associated with them. I think it is important that, if

we advocate the revalidation of Māori points of view, we also revalidate Māori points of critique and not try to criticize a Māori analysis solely within a framework that is not our own.

I have another story. If we are to use traditional knowledge to find balanced relationships, I think it is important that we are clear about the sort of balanced relationships that we want. One of our kaumātua (elders) from home, a man called Wī Huata, worked for many years in the Waikato. Once, when we were visiting him, he took us to a little place that is really just a bare expanse of paddocks but in the 1860s was a thriving community. At that place, in the 1860s—when most of the young men were away protecting their land from attacks by colonial troops and the community was largely made up of the women and young children and old people who were left behind—the settlement was attacked by another contingent of colonial troops. The buildings were set on fire and many of the people were massacred. As we walked across the green grass of these paddocks and the wind blew gently across the grass, my Uncle Wī talked about "he mate kino," that a bad death occurred here and that we should never forget a bad death.

One of the things that I think is happening at home and in many other indigenous communities is that, as some Settlements (government settlements of wrongs done to Māori communities) occur, as we look at a way forward from the grievances of the past, we tend to objectify and minimize the grievance. That can lead to two consequences, it seems to me. The first is that we confuse the dispossession that the process of colonization creates with specific acts of wrong. So, most Settlement strategies identify particular wrongs and seek to address those, rather than addressing the over-arching wrong of the process, within which those discreet grievances occurred. We accept Settlements not for the process but for some of the things which the process has caused.

It also means that we tend to commodify the wrongs done to our ancestors and remove from them the stench of bad death. Yet, as the health researcher and part-time poet Marewa Glover reminds us, death did not just come with guns, death did not just come with anger and frustration; no, the killer came unnoticed and death was silent. Any process that in the space of 50 years can decimate a population to less than one quarter of what it was is not something that can easily be commodified. I think it is helpful if we constantly remind ourselves that why we are having to reclaim and revalidate our knowledge is a direct consequence of the constancy of terror that is implicit in colonization; that when George Bush unleashed what he called "the war on terror" he was actually acting out what colonization began centuries ago as the first global war of terror, where indigenous peoples around the world were terrorized and the terror spread across the land. Phil Kāwana writes about the poetry of dispossession being the land every time he sees a hill covered with gorse; he wrote that entire hills and valleys were soon wasted yellow flowers, napalming the natives. Colonization operates on different levels, and part of reclaiming our knowledge, it seems to me, is to redress all of those levels.

I have one more story. Those who know me will not be surprised, perhaps, that it is a story about my mokopuna (grandchild). When I was growing up in our family along with whāngai (adopted) brothers and so on, there were 10 Jacksons. So we were the Jackson 10 before the Jackson 5 was invented. And there was a huge gap in our family because my Mum and Dad had children and whāngai children, then my father went overseas and fought in the Māori Battalion, came back badly wounded, was sick for some time and then had some more children. Those of us in the second Jackson 5 are quite distinct in ages from some of those in the first. We would watch our older brothers and sister go away to university, get married, have children. As they grew older and began to have grandchildren, we noticed a remarkable change, particularly in my brothers. These big, strong rugby-playing Māori men would turn to jelly when their mokopuna came along, especially if they were grand-daughters. The grand-daughters would say, "Jump, Koro (grandad)," and my big brothers would say, "Yes, dear, how high?" I used to say, "I will never be like that." Then, my mokopuna came along. One day I was told how one of my mokopuna came home from kohanga (Māori language preschool) and misbehaved. I stopped believing the story at that point because I knew she never misbehaved. But they told me she misbehaved and she was reprimanded and her response was to say, "But I do that at kura (school) and Nanny Rangi says it's all right." Her parents said to her, "Well, at kohanga Nanny Rangi is the boss but here at home, in this house, Mama and Papa are the boss." Apparently, my mokopuna looked at her

parents for a while and then said with absolute confidence, "Well that's all right. You can be the boss in this house because I'm the boss over in koro's house."

For me, the use of our knowledge to find balanced relationships is a way to re-establish a new notion of being the boss. In the end, if we are to serve our people in a way that best finally redresses the wrong of colonization, then we need to find the wit and the wisdom and indeed the bravery to work towards what is sometimes called a process of constitutional change. But I become increasingly uncomfortable with that phrase because Pākehā people are now talking about it. But, when they talk about constitutional change, what they mean is taking their imposed system and working out how to reform it. What I think dealing with colonization requires is a de-constitution of the existing social political structures that colonization established and the re-constitution of Māori ways of decision making; and those Māori ways of decision making come from our intellectual tradition. In the end, a system of government takes its legitimacy ultimately from the land in which it is nurtured. The Westminster system was imposed here from somewhere else. It grew, obviously, in Westminster, from the land of England. If we are to have balanced relationships maintained through a new notion of power then that, I believe, means a reconstitution of the way that we see the world, to be brave enough to grab the limitlessness of our knowledge to create another reality.

When I looked through the contributions that you will be making over the next few days I saw much bravery, much wit and much wisdom. May we together work on that journey from potential to infinity!

Glossary

hapū	clan
hīkoi	path, walk
iwi	tribe, people
kai	food
kapa haka	cultural performance groups
kaumātua	elders
Kaupapa Māori	theory based on Māori philosophy
kete	basket
kino	bad
kohanga	Māori language preschool
kura	school
manuhuri	visitors
marae	Māori meeting grounds, "village"
mate	death
mokopuna	grandchild
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
papa	foundation
rohe	district
tangata whenua	people of the land
tāniko	fine weaving
taura here	people who have come to live in an area from somewhere else
tautoko	support, agreeing
tika	correct, right
tikanga	custom, customary procedures
tīmatanga	beginning
tūrangawaewae	home place
waiata	songs
waka	canoe, vessel
whakapapa	geneaology
whakatika	make right
whāngai	adopted
whānau	extended family
whanaunga	relatives

whare	house
whare kai	dining room
whare wānanga	school of higher learning

A Journey Away from Violence to a Place of Law-Fullness

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This is the first time I have travelled to Aotearoa and I wanted to come because I was drawn to the idea I gleaned from this conference, that of *gateways* or *strategies* to make good our lives in the colonized world we are now occupied by—a world which our ancestors before us had worked hard to imbue with their knowledges of being in a *caring and sharing relationship* to all things in our worlds.

In responding to or speaking back to colonial violence and, in particular, recent eruptions in Australia where a strong public and media focus has been on violence in Northern Territory Aboriginal communities, and in making sense of this eruption, I have reflected and drawn from my centre as a Tanganekald/Meintangk mimini woman. Instead of engaging with the Australian public and its media representations of the violence that lives in Aboriginal communities, I have stepped into the centre and considered how we as Aboriginal peoples have spent a lifetime thinking about, developing and initiating strategies to decrease violence; for example, by advocating for land rights, self-determination, acknowledgement of Aboriginal sovereignty, compensation for genocide, including the removal of children and the relocation of families and communities from traditional lands, and the provision of adequate education, housing and health facilities. We are all familiar with these lists. I do not need to elaborate further to make the point that our experiences of colonial violence and its manifestation in Aboriginal communities was/is not a new phenomenon; it is as old as the coming of Cook and is layered by generational layers impacting upon our communities and resulting in the contemporary violence we are now witnessing.

So instead of being engaged in the media frenzy over conditions in Aboriginal communities, starting in June 2007 when the Australian federal Government declared the Northern Territory Aboriginal communities to be in a state of emergency, I have sought to create spaces to centre the voices of Aboriginal peoples who have spoken and been ignored for more than two centuries on the question of violence in Aboriginal communities. I see the violence as being about a colonial settler violence, which is made invisible or deemed non-existent and ignored, while the spotlight of visibility has shifted and been contained to Aboriginal communities across Australia as carrying the central responsibility for the violence in our lives and communities.

So I felt that rather than in engaging in a violent discourse, whereby Aboriginal culture and law is positioned as being the source of violence, it was more productive and positive to speak up about our strengths. This is not to ignore and sweep under the carpet the terror in Aboriginal lives but rather to contextualize the terror within an Aboriginal framework that goes beyond a simple engagement in media frenzy. Instead, I have moved into conversations with other Aboriginal peoples about what it was/is that made/makes us strong, what it was/is that kept/keeps our old people, the grannies, grandfathers, aunties, uncles, brothers and sisters strong, particularly in the face and space of a colonizing (dis)order, strong in the face of the terrors of a violent colonial history, with strength to remain caring and sharing in our relationships with the world. To reflect on the capacity of many of our elders who still hold a compassionate heart to all things in their world. That has been my teachings, that is, to still love in a large part of the space that has become occupied by the terror and traumas of colonial violence.

What is this strength that Aboriginal peoples carry? I see it is important to bring our strong selves to the centre of the conversation, just as Moana (Jackson) so brilliantly spoke about this morning. So, particularly at a time when the public discourse on narrative or narrative on Aboriginality has de-

centred or been re-centred to that of one on the barbarism of Aboriginal culture and laws, I see the core strategy our old people have passed on is to be a lover of land and peoples and that is what essentially forms our centre.

So, it is with great honour I speak on your lands and it is in that spirit I have come to celebrate the compassion and the continuity of a caring and sharing relationship our old people have held forever and passed to us, for us to continue to carry and pass on to our children.

My story, song began a long time ago with my mother's grandmothers. My story frames my thinking about the strength of Aboriginal women and our struggle to hold ground. The conversations I have shared with other Aboriginal women have centred on the question: What makes you strong and what keeps you standing in the face of a long colonial history of violence?

In speaking, I think about my centre as a Tanganekald/Meintangk mimini woman. And how it has been for me, my mother and my grandmothers not only to speak, but to continue to live and to stand our ground in the place of our old peoples and their songs and laws. I am held by the songs my grandmother sang of the laws of place. I am held by the sovereignty of these laws; they make me strong and they hold my stance in the world as a Tanganekald/Meintangk mimini. This is in the face of such events as the Northern Territory intervention which has attempted to become the dominant narrative in characterizing Aboriginal culture and law as the source of violence.

In occupying this position, I reflect on the territory of Aboriginal women's law and its place within the contemporary world. In all of my writings I have critiqued the colonialist idea of terra nullius and its impact on Aboriginal life and, in particular, my stance as Tanganekald/Meintangk mimini and the laws of the grandmothers. While terra nullius is the founding myth of the Australian State that obliterates the place of Aboriginal law in general, its role was also to obliterate the specifics of Aboriginal law and in particular Aboriginal women and our laws. This obliteration was confirmed by the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Royal Commission when it concluded that Aboriginal women's business/laws of the Ngarrindjeri grandmothers were a fabrication. Following on from this view, I would argue that it is these attempts to obliterate Aboriginal women's spaces of law and culture that have enabled the violence against women in a number of Aboriginal communities because in the process of dispossession of Aboriginal women's law goes the loss of space for women.

In some of my recent work, I have begun to examine the relationship between colonialism and the violence in Aboriginal life, mapping the historical relationship between terra nullius and colonial violence. I am interested in how we as Aboriginal peoples have held ground in the face of these obstacles. In conversations with Aboriginal women, we have reflected on Aboriginal-centred remedies as strategies for healing colonial traumas and thence the violence in community life. In examining the Anglo-Australian models imposed upon Aboriginal communities, it has been shown that they have consistently failed throughout the colonial project, compared with Aboriginal models which have been more effective in building peaceful and harmonious communities. Examples of these are bush camps for petrol sniffers, Aboriginal women's night patrols where senior Aboriginal women in their night patrols counsel and assist community members as a preventative measure in community violence deterrence, and the general gathering for culture and law by Aboriginal peoples.

It is from these conversations I expect we will be better able to develop a decolonizing text that will work towards the possibility of re-inscribing a women's law space that lives again as part of the whole of Aboriginal law, separate but one so as to create a space from which colonial and gender violence can be sorted and re-ordered.

Centring the Margins and Naming Our Own Reality
Instead of focusing on the perceived marginal voice of Aboriginal women, I have focused on conversations that speak to the strengths and autonomy of Aboriginal women. In speaking of those strengths we activate and name our own reality as law-full sovereign women of law-full sovereign peoples. I want to share with Moana this notion of centring and naming our own reality.

But on the other side, the Australian State refuses to acknowledge the body of Aboriginal law, let alone the fact of Aboriginal women's law and the business and autonomy of Aboriginal women. In some of my work I have examined how the body of Aboriginal women is brought into Australian law and what happens to Aboriginal law in that process of embodiment. In this process: Is Aboriginal law erased, as it is deemed to be by principles of extinguishment in Aboriginal title jurisprudence?[1] In this process of extinguishment, where does the Aboriginal body reside? Are we assimilated into the Australian State to exist without any ground under our feet? Left to assimilate?

However, against this dominant narrative and in centring our stories by and about our lives we open up a space to "name our own reality". So as critical race theorist Richard Delgado has argued, the dominant group tells stories in order to deny and minimize racism as, for example, in Australia with the recent Northern Territory intervention: the public were told the story that violence in Aboriginal communities was sourced by Aboriginal culture and law. This was the dominant narrative, one driven by the State when in June 2007 the Australian federal Government announced its own strategy to intervene in the "crisis" within Northern Territory Aboriginal communities by enacting the *Northern Territory National Emergency Response Bill* (Commonwealth Government (Cth)) 2007.[2] The intervention is already underway and is led like those in Iraq and Afghanistan by the Australian military. According to the Australian Government the intervention is to save the lives of Aboriginal children and intends to transform the lives of Aboriginal peoples living on Aboriginal lands, recognized as such since 1975 under the Northern Territory Aboriginal Land Rights Act (Cth).

The Intervention

It is my argument that the intervention is part of the contemporary colonial project which has continued unabated from the time of the landing and invasion by the British in 1788, and the founding of a state on colonial or originary violence.[3] It is from this foundation that the Australian State retains a vested interest in keeping the violence going, for the Australian State's inequalities and iniquities are maintained against Aboriginal peoples for the purpose of maintaining the life and continuity of the State. A question the Australian State is yet to resolve is its own illegitimate foundation and the attainment of law-full foundation. Meanwhile in this unanswered space, the Australian State parades as one that has obliterated the "'founding violence' of its 'illegitimate' origins, repressed them into a timeless past" (Zizek, 2008, p. 99). While the survivors ask the State: By what law-full foundation do you come to occupy our lands?

The emergency response to Aboriginal violence is focused only on the Northern Territory—it is only the Northern Territory that has a federal Aboriginal land rights regime—but the Northern Territory is also earmarked for the opening of a number of new uranium mines. Coincidentally, a very new railway line built by subsidiaries of Halliburton (the same corporation that has won tenders to rebuild Iraq) is routed from Adelaide to Darwin, crosses Aboriginal lands in the Northern Territory and provides easy access to shipping routes.[4] Clearly none of these facts has been cited as being relevant in connection to the new emergency laws; the focus is solely upon child sexual abuse and the possibility of its prevention and protection. Wendy Brown, writing on humanitarian intervention, suggests the State's intervention in crisis events is probably more about a "particular form of political power carrying a particular image of justice" (2004, pp. 451–463). In the Australian context that image of justice is one which enables the violent foundations of colonialism to continue to hold territory and transform the life of Aboriginal peoples. It is a violent act that masquerades as being beneficial to impoverished

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[1] *Mabo v Queensland (No. 2)* (1992) 175 CLR 1 at 66.

[2] The Howard government on June 21, 2007, announced its intention to use Commonwealth (Cth) powers to impose a number of emergency measures. This response followed the Northern Territory Government's *Broad Inquiry into the Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse: Report of the Northern Territory Board of Inquiry into the Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse* (2007). Retrieved June 30, 2007, from http://www.nt.gov.au/dcm/inquirysaac/pdf/bipacsa_final_report.pdf

[3] Jacques Derrida (1989, pp. 927, 931, 943, 971–977) discusses the "originary violence" that inheres in the foundation of states.

[4] Halliburton, Press Releases: Alice Springs To Darwin Rail Link Wins Premier Northern Territory Engineering Award. Retrieved February 21, 2005, from http://www.halliburton.com/news/archive/2004/kbrnws_081504a.jsp

Aboriginal communities across the Northern Territory, but that once again boils down to the right to invade Aboriginal lands and lives (Ranciere, 2004, p. 297).

Across colonial history, Australian law and society held, and continues to hold, power to construct and identify that which is Aboriginal law and culture, a position which has resulted in translations and constructions of Aboriginal law and culture as being inherently violent against women and children; it is, as Richard Delgado argues, the power to tell the dominant story of the State by the State. So in creating the space to tell our stories of ourselves by ourselves we create the space to rename our reality as Aboriginal peoples. And also to dis-engage or to talk back to the dominant story—one which legitimizes crusaders or "white men to come to the rescue of brown women from brown men," as Spivak suggested when commenting on the dynamics of colonial India and the "rescue" by white men of Indian women from the "barbaric practice" of widow sacrifice (1999, p. 284).[5] The position of crusader is upheld as being the "proper" application of international human rights standards and principles[6] and as a solution to violence. But in this universalized order, whose concept of human rights and equality applies? And will the originary violence of colonialism be transformed into a law-full act of humanitarian intervention that obliterates its own past?

Across time, this time now and the moment of the original violence of foundation, the same question can be asked: What was/is it that Aboriginal people are being protected from? In the past the black frontier experience was one of violence: usually white settlers effecting massacres against the "natives". On the white side of the frontier, however, it was and still is strongly contested that frontier violence had occurred at all (Windschuttle, 2002). It is now claimed that under the new Commonwealth intervention laws Aboriginal individuals, particularly women and children, will be protected from the violence of Aboriginal male members of their communities.[7] The white settler frontiersman of the past has been transformed into the crusader of the present, rescuing Aboriginal women from Aboriginal men. The question to be asked is: What has happened in the intervening 200 years and why does the violence continue to occur inter-generationally in this changed and inverted context?

It is important to distinguish the nature and character of violence in Aboriginal communities. Early colonial frontier violence was pitched against First Peoples' laws and cultures, a foundational violence that established a colonial sovereignty. Contemporary violence is more complex; it is characterized by violence of Aboriginal against Aboriginal, but the violence of the State also retains its original character against Aboriginal peoples' laws and cultures. It is a colonial violence which re-enacts itself to support its claim to legitimate foundation, and I would argue that the intervention is such a re-enactment.

I do not think we can fully comprehend these recent developments without reflecting on history. In the past the colonial State cast the net of what I have called an illusion of protection or the masquerade of recognition of the humanness of Aboriginal peoples (Watson 1998, p. 28; 2008). But under the protectionist policies of the Aborigines Acts of the late 1880s up until the 1960s, our lives were completely subjugated by the State.

Aboriginal culture and law has been held responsible for violence in communities and is seen to subvert "proper" forms of property ownership and universal human rights standards.[8] I see this as being

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[5] I have also critiqued the position of Aboriginal women in a number of my earlier articles.

[6] For a critical discussion on the history of developments in the area of human rights, see Constantine Douzinas, 2000.

[7] The following media reports provide support for the intervention: "A Failed Indigenous Experiment Ends", *The Weekend Australian,* June 23, 2007, p. 16; "Intervention Hampered by Lack of Specialists: Doctor", *ABC News* (online), February 12, 2008—where the intervention meets a lack of resources and a reality that has plagued Aboriginal communities since the 1788 invasion. The intervention, while implemented by the Howard government and supported by the current Rudd Labour government, was met with resistance in Canberra the day before the Rudd government apologized to the stolen generations; see "Thousands to March Against NT Intervention", *ABC News* (online), February 11, 2008.

[8] For a critical commentary on the amendments to the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (Cth) 1975, see Jennifer Clarke "The Great Land Grab", *The Canberra Times*, August 13, 2007. Around the time the Commonwealth moved on the intervention, the Commonwealth sentencing laws were also amended to remove the discretionary power of judges to consider the cultural background of the defendant. See the initial *Parliamentary Debates,* Senate,

tied to the idea of progress or the movement towards a "vanishing future"; it is the movement away from the Aboriginal being and the extinguishment of Aboriginal relationships or connection to Aboriginal country. Attacks on Aboriginal culture and law from both the right and the left ignore the presence of colonial policies, and fail to understand the full impact of colonialism upon the possibility of even having an Aboriginal life. The struggle and desire for an Aboriginal life is reduced by the State to being no more than an invention or fabrication of culture and law: as found in the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Royal Commission (South Australian Government (SA)) which was established to determine the truth or otherwise of the claim that the proposed building site of a highway bridge to Hindmarsh Island was a significant women's site in the laws of Ngarrindjeri peoples and that the building of the bridge would interfere with the dreaming place of the seven sisters (Stevens, 1995). The Commissioner concluded in her recommendations that Aboriginal women's law was a fabrication or reinvention of traditional Aboriginal culture and law for the purpose of preventing the building of the bridge. Since that finding, the bridge has been built and a number of Aboriginal women continue to contest and resist the legitimacy of the decision to destroy the seven sisters dreaming site.

Aboriginal culture is most likely to be supported by the State when it is not challenging state desires over the development of Aboriginal lands or when it performs as a commodity in the tourist and art industry. When Aboriginality challenges the political agendas of the State, it is most likely to be demeaned—as it was by Iris Stevens—as being a romantic fabrication of the past; or as Zizek writes, "in the very act of returning to tradition, they are inventing it" (2006, p. 29). The possibility for decolonization or the engagement with Aboriginal world views on law and culture is rendered a fabrication by Iris Stevens and an act of invention by Zizek. What space might there be for Aboriginality beyond a fabricated invention or a commodified Aboriginal being? The cynic in me would say there is none; the resisting-survivor would say it is the challenge.

In a critique of the "tolerance" of liberal multiculturalism, Zizek reasons most unreasonably: "as an experience of Other deprived of its Otherness (the idealized Other who dances fascinating dances and has an ecologically sound holistic approach to reality, while features like wife-beating remain out of sight)?" (2006, p. 38). Zizek constructs his own kind of stereotype that is of the exotic dancing native masking the reality of the wife-beating native. Zizek simplifies the space occupied by the "other" and perhaps ignores the reality space of colonialism and its inter-generational traumas.[9] What has been stripped from Zizek's analysis is the possibility of the "other" naming our own reality.

The "emergency intervention" is supported by a package of Commonwealth laws that have been referred to by both major political parties as a necessary human rights intervention into the crisis in Northern Territory Aboriginal communities.[10] The critical question that has arisen in response to the intervention is: Was the sole purpose of the Commonwealth intervention to save and transform lives and in particular the lives of Aboriginal children? The intervention led by the Australian military poses the question as to whether or not such a hard-line offensive precludes or negates other ways of dealing with violence in Aboriginal communities? For example, Aboriginal peoples from early colonial times have attempted to negotiate with the colonial powers on Aboriginal strategies that could work towards alleviating suffering in communities across Australia. For more than 30 years, Aboriginal strategies such as alternative justice models, rehabilitation and healing centres that are modelled on Aboriginal

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November 8, 2006; Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, November 28, 2006. This was followed up by an amendment to the *Crimes Act* (Cth) 1914, s.16A, which allowed the court to consider any "relevant" matter, including the cultural background of the defendant, in the amended *Crimes Act* (Cth) 1914*, new section 15AB.

[9] I have written about the impact of internalized colonialism on the construction of Aboriginality in a number of earlier works. More recent is "Aboriginal Women's Laws and Lives: how might we keep growing the law?" *Australian Feminist Law Journal, 26,* 2007.

[10] The following provides a critical Aboriginal response to the intervention: Combined Aboriginal Organizations of the Northern Territory, *A Proposed Emergency Response and Development Plan to Protect Aboriginal Children in the Northern Territory: A Preliminary Response to the Australian Government's Proposals* (2007). Other media reports are: Patricia Karvelas, "Crusade to Save Aboriginal Kids Howard Declares 'National Emergency' to End Abuse", *The Australian*, June 22, 2007, p. 1; Michael McKenna, *The Australian,* June 22, 2007, p. 13.

cultural knowledge have largely been ignored; or, if they have been supported, it is in such a tokenistic way they were ultimately doomed to failure. In considering the military intervention into Aboriginal communities, I am interested in the question that Wendy Brown raises regarding humanitarian intervention:

> what kinds of subjects and political (or antipolitical) cultures do they bring into being as they do so, what kinds do they transform or erode, and what kinds do they aver? (2004, pp. 451–463)

It is a question which could be applied to the early colonization of Australia and to this scenario we have an answer. That is, what was brought into being was large scale dispossession of peoples, of land, culture and law—peoples left without space to survive inside a colonial body that continually works to subjugate the "native" to the trajectories of progress. Will Aboriginal communities be able to hold onto their land, or will they be removed? This we have seen history perform in the past. So what kinds of Aboriginal identities will form out of this most recent "humanitarian intervention"? (Brown 2004, p. 454). As the intervention laws begin to peel back the provisions of the *Northern Territory Aboriginal Land Rights Act,* we are yet to see the extent to which the Rudd government will follow the line of the Howard intervention and its original intention.

So what is to be saved or transformed by the Northern Territory intervention, and if the State's intention is sincere, why has the State taken so long to act? And why now? These are important questions, particularly when we know that the previous Howard government spent the past decade de-funding and closing down Aboriginal initiatives and programmes that might have led to improved living conditions in Aboriginal communities across Australia if allowed to continue. The Rudd government has not indicated any new initiatives that might correct the previous neglect of the Howard government.

The Broad Inquiry into the Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse Report recommended the collaboration between state and federal governments in consultation with Aboriginal communities to address the issue of child abuse as a matter of national emergency. But collaboration and consultation with Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory was ignored by the Howard federal government. It should be apparent that the federal Government intervention has had less to do with addressing the question of child abuse and more to do with the federal Government gaining greater access over Aboriginal lands as well as weakening the position of Aboriginal law and culture (Clarke, 2007; Balgo Women's Law Camp, 2007; Altman, 2007). These measures have been achieved, even though it has not been proven that there is any link between them and child abuse.[11]

The following three measures have been implemented under the intervention laws and have the most potential to impact negatively upon the continuity of Aboriginal relationships to land. The first involves relaxing the Aboriginal permit system to prevent Aboriginal people from excluding or removing persons from "common areas" and access roads coming into their communities and lands.[12] While the Liberal government and the supporters of this provision have argued that greater access to the media and other members of the public would reduce the remoteness and public scrutiny of these communities, on the other side many Aboriginal peoples have argued easier public access would open the lands to an increase in drug and grog runners, and the supply of substances into communities where the drinking of alcohol is restricted or prohibited. Secondly, the compulsory acquisition of Aboriginal townships for 5 years will provide for the compulsory acquisition of approximately 70 Aboriginal townships and settlements in the Northern Territory. Over these lands 5-year leases will be compulsorily acquired by the Commonwealth using powers under section 51 (xxxi) of the Constitution. The federal Howard government stated that compulsory acquisition of townships was necessary to allow unfettered access to Aboriginal townships; however, both state and federal bureaucrats already had access to meet and negotiate with communities on a range of issues. Compulsory acquisition would

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[11] Commonwealth, *Parliamentary Debates,* Senate, November 8, 2006; Commonwealth, Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, November 28, 2006.

[12] *Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs Amendment Bill* (Cth) 2007, Schedule 4, will amend the permit provisions under the *Northern Territory Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (Cth) 1975. The federal Labour government has indicated that it would not support this amendment and would retain the current permit system.

not provide any greater benefit to the Aboriginal communities in the critical areas of health, housing and education.[13] Thirdly, the intervention laws prevent the consideration of customary law or the cultural background of an offender in sentencing or bail proceedings.[14] Critics of the intervention laws have argued that these amendments are most likely to result in higher incarceration rates and also undermine the work of Aboriginal courts and their efforts at community involvement in a dialogue on culture and the increased involvement with community people and elders. In my current research, which maps the sentencing remarks of justices in the Northern Territory, I have found no evidence of a more lenient sentence for an Aboriginal offender where the courts have considered the "cultural background" of the defendant.[15] The emergency response laws are now being challenged for contravening Australia's obligations under international law and the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*.[16]

Initially the National Emergency Response laws found their legitimacy in the findings of *The Little Children are Sacred Report*, a report that was the result of an eight month long inquiry that included consultations with 45 communities, 260 meetings, 60 written submissions and 97 recommendations, most of which were ignored by the federal Government. Instead the Government grabbed and headlined the report's finding that child sexual abuse was endemic in Aboriginal communities. This initiative led to fast tracking and implementing the emergency response.

While there is widespread criticism of the emergency response, a number of communities have expressed support. However, I would argue this support is an indication of how critical the situation has become in those communities rather than being an expression of support for the manner in which the federal Government has acted by sending in the military and amending the *Northern Territory Land Rights Act* (Cth) 1975 to reduce the Aboriginal tenure on their land.

The emergency response has taken on the mantle of being the bringer of "human rights" and to speak against it for whatever reason is to be against the advancement of the human rights of Aboriginal communities in the Northern Territory, and to advocate the continuation of violence by black men (Watson, 2005, p. 15). At least, this is how both major Australian political parties and their investors, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, have allowed the event to be characterized by Australian media.[17] I would characterize the emergency response differently. As I have flagged earlier in this article, the emergency response is a continuing play for legitimacy and the act of legitimacy is the rescue of

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[13] *National Emergency Response Bill,* Part 4.

[14] *National Emergency Response Bill*, Part 6, Section 91. These provisions are further explained in the "Explanatory Memorandum" Pt 6: On July 14, 2006, the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) agreed that no customary law or cultural practice excuses, justifies, authorizes, requires, or lessens the seriousness of violence or sexual abuse. All jurisdictions agreed that their laws would reflect this, if necessary by future amendment. COAG also agreed to improve the effectiveness of bail provisions in providing support and protection for victims and witnesses of violence and sexual abuse. The Commonwealth implemented the COAG decision through the *Crimes Amendment (Bail and Sentencing) Act* 2006, which applies to bail and sentencing discretion in relation to Commonwealth offences. The *Bail and Sentencing Act* amended the *Crimes Act* 1914 (Cth) to preclude consideration of customary law or cultural practice from sentencing discretion and bail hearings. The *Bail and Sentencing Act* also inserted provisions into the *Crimes Act* requiring the relevant authority to consider the potential impact on victims and witnesses, and specifically the potential impact on victims and witnesses in remote communities when granting and imposing bail conditions for Commonwealth offences.

[15] Irene Watson, 2008, *Aboriginal Women Law and Colonialism: Safe Places for Women*. This research project is currently continuing and is supported by the Australian Research Council, Discovery Indigenous Researchers Development.

[16] The challenge is taken pursuant to the *Racial Discrimination Act* (Cth) 1975 (RDA), S. 132, and argues that the *National Emergency Response Bill* by invoking the special measures provision in the RDA enables the exclusion of the operation of Part II of the RDA so as to avoid a challenge under the RDA. Similarly the *Native Title Act* (Cth) 1993 invoked the special measures provisions to avoid a challenge under the RDA. However, unlike the current challenge the *Native Title Act* went unchallenged. At the time it had received popular support for being an "act of reconciliation"; this was even though the *Native Title Act* validated non-Aboriginal land titles that would have been otherwise claimable lands under the principles in *Mabo*. For further discussion on *Mabo* and native title, see Irene Watson (2002, p. 253).

[17] For a further discussion on the construction of Aboriginal culture and role of the media, see Norm Sheehan (2001, p. 29).

Aboriginal women and children from the violence of Aboriginal men. So, in shielding and protecting "subjects from certain abuses, they also become tactics in their disempowerment" (Brown, 2004, p. 459). In the rescue mission, Aboriginal townships will be taken over by the federal Government for the purpose of providing access to health, housing and education, but the provision of essential services will be at a cost to the possibility of Aboriginal autonomy over township areas.[18]

Instead of shifting the colonial imbalance towards a decolonized space, the State further entrenches the colonial project by reviving protectionist policies under the rubric of human rights. We are returned to the stereotype of the barbaric, violent, bashing native, one that is in need of protection from ones "own kind". Here it is not my intention to negate the experiences of chronic poverty, violence, poor health, housing shortages and poor education outcomes existing in the life of many Aboriginal peoples or the need for action to remedy this critical condition, but rather my intention is to critically evaluate the intervention processes. Wendy Brown makes the point that "there is no such thing as *mere* reduction of suffering or protection from abuse—the nature of the reduction or protection is itself productive of political subjects and political possibilities" (2004, pp. 459–460). Those political subjects that are reproduced are Aboriginal peoples who continue to be subjugated by the state/colonial body, having no possibility of shifting to or opening up a decolonized space. The intervention, instead, has the effect of foreclosing that possibility because the construction of the "violent native" provides the legitimacy to that foreclosure. What are the possibilities of having healthy safe Aboriginal futures and should our efforts be focused on decolonizing the space as a strategy to this end? The continuing colonial cycle revisits the site of originary violence and has a vested interest in retaining its own violent foundation. As a strategy to have a life and better still an Aboriginal one, I am in agreement with Wendy Brown's suggestion that there should be a more direct challenge to imperialism and support for "indigenous efforts to transform authoritarian, despotic and corrupt postcolonial regimes" (2004, p. 460).

The emergency response to the "Aboriginal crisis" has misrepresented the causes of violence against Aboriginal women and children and reinforced the colonial myth that violence against women is inherent in Aboriginal culture[19]—rather than considering that the source of violence lies in the invasion and colonization of Australia and the imprisonment of its indigenous population. Alternative views on the source of violence in Aboriginal communities have not been given much of an airing in the debate around the Aboriginal "emergency". In general, the public knows very little about the complexities of Aboriginal law, beyond the perception of it being acquiescent in violence against women and children.[20] Aboriginal women are portrayed as victims in need of rescue from violent, bashing black males. This is a view that is rarely inverted to reflect on the Australian legal system's failure to protect white women from white male violence. While the "inherent violence" in Aboriginal culture is deployed to explain the rape of small Aboriginal children,[21] the focus is shifted from the social, economic and political environment of those being raped. But culture is not deployed to explain the same in the white community; that is a policing matter. The emergency response instead engages the military to resolve sexual assault in Aboriginal communities living on Aboriginal lands in the Northern Territory. On Aboriginal ground, at home, reality is more complex. The violence in Aboriginal communities is more a comment on the Australian Government's management of the colonial project[22] than it is about the culture of the perpetrators of violence. Aboriginal communities across Australia continue to decline, and as they do the public's gaze turns away from the poverty and dispossession of Aboriginal Australia to cultural profiling of the other as barbarian.[23]

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[18] *National Emergency Response Bill,* Part 4.

[19] See Irene Watson, 2007, for further discussion. For a different position, one that appears to support the view of there being inherent violence in "exotic" communities, see Zizek (2006, p. 38).

[20] Catherine Wohlan (2005, pp. 1–10) discusses the complex interaction between Aboriginal and Anglo Australian laws along with the high levels of violence in Aboriginal communities, but contextualizes the problem as not one sourced in Aboriginal law, instead suggesting that Aboriginal law "has the potential to be a useful tool in addressing community justice" (p. 1).

[21] In a recent South Australian court decision His Honour, Judge Gordon Barrett, referred to "culture sickness" when referring to the impact of Aboriginal people disconnected from country as an explanation for the rape of a woman. See "Rapist's 'Cultural Sickness'", *Advertiser*, South Australia, June 10, 2006, p. 21.

[22] The Howard Government's *Practical Reconciliation* project has been hailed a failure. See Lowitja O'Donogue, 2003.

[23] See further comment by Slavoj Zizek, *New York Times*, October 11, 2007.

The foundation of the colonial project lies within an originary violence (Derrida, 1989, pp. 927, 931, 943, 971–977), in which the Australian State retains a vested interest. All of its inequalities and iniquities are maintained for the purpose of maintaining the life and continuity of the State. However, the State is called upon to conform to universal "human rights", but what does this conformity require beyond the masquerade that "equality" for Aboriginal peoples is an on-going project. But under colonialism "equality" is never a possibility, for maintaining privilege is the natural position of colonialism and in this colonized space it is perhaps a place where no law exists for the oppressed.

The Howard federal Government argued that its emergency intervention was a "just" and "humanitarian" act, one that would save and transform lives. The current federal Labour government has indicated its support for the new intervention laws, but are they just? Derrida argues that the mere application of a rule "without a spirit of justice" might be protected to stand as "law" but it would not be "just" (1989, p. 949). It is here that the Australian Government stands protected by law, a law that continues to play out and re-enact its own unjust foundational position, one that has taken root in innumerable acts of colonial violence which continue as violent re-enactments. The violence is normalized, as we have seen occur with the emergency response, and it becomes a lawful process of the Australian State (1989, pp. 983–985).

The violence of colonial foundation is a means to an end: the creation of the Australian State. But this end-point requires constant maintenance and as I have argued this maintenance occurs through the continuous re-enactments of State violence. Derrida writes that European law prohibits individual violence of the military and its police (1989, p.1001),[24] not simply because the State's laws would be threatened but because individual violence "threatens the juridical order itself."[25] In Australia, it is the State which is threatened by its own founding violence (Derrida 1989, p. 989).

It was just prior to his election defeat in November 2007 that Prime Minister John Howard announced to the Sydney Institute his new interest in reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australia.[26] He declared, "We are not a federation of tribes. We are one great tribe, one Australia." In line with his government's proposed amendments to the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (Cth) 1979, he also announced: "That group rights are, and ought to be, subordinate to both the citizenship rights of the individual and the sovereignty of the nation" (Shanahan, 2007, pp. 1, 4). In the space of a united Australia, where the many become the one-Australia tribe, what is it we the Aborigine become?

To conclude on a positive note and to pick up on the important point that Moana made, we need to name our own realities for and by our Māori, or Tanganekald, selves and communities, to declare that we have a way of life and to declare our law-fullness and sovereign connections to country. Māori theorists have previously affirmed that the process of decolonization can occur when we are positioned at the centre so as to de-centre power and the effects of colonialism (Bishop, 2005, p. 110).

From the centre, our conversations and songs will be filled by those of our old people on sharing and caring for country and, in those spaces, violence and trauma are overtaken by the old ways that teach us to be lovers of land and peoples.

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[24] Derrida also writes "militarism is a modern concept that supposes the exploitation of compulsory military service, is the forced use of force, the compelling to use force or violence in the service of the state and its legal ends" (1989, p. 1007).

[25] See Rosemary Hunter (2006, p. 30) in reference to Derrida's argument on how Western law prohibits individual violence, not because it poses a threat to this or that law (or person) but because it threatens the juridical order. In other words, law seeks to monopolize violence not in order to protect legal subjects but to protect itself from challenge—in particular, from new acts of revolutionary violence which might found a new legal order.

[26] The Howard position had previously been against reconciliation in terms of a "rights" discourse, preferring the pragmatic approach of "practical reconciliation".

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Te Whānau Āwhina:
A Māori Model of Restorative Justice for the World

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When I went to school, I learnt that Captain James Cook "discovered" New Zealand. To honour our discovery or, rather, being discovered, we have in New Zealand James Cook Hospital, James Cook College, James Cook Hotel and James Cook …. I learnt about many things in school such as the Magna Carta, Cavaliers and Roundheads, King Henry VIII, the Vikings of Norway, Robin Hood of Sherwood, Vasco da Gama, the French Revolution, the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus who thought it was India, the Boston Tea Party, Guy Fawkes, King Arthur, the Knights of the Round Table and, of course, Anthony and Cleopatra.

At school I did not learn about Te Whatuiāpiti (founding ancestor of Ngāi Te Whatuiāpiti, Hawkes Bay tribe). I did not know that I was a Polynesian, a child of the Pacific. Our New Zealand history in my school began with Captain Cook and I and my Māori people were left out. We were a non-historical event. We were invisible. Oops, I tell a lie. We did emerge in an event called the Māori Wars. These were a series of conflicts where, as the teaching went, the good Māoris supported the colonizing soldiers to fight the bad Māoris, who were obstructing the Government's land acquisition programme. History taught me that the colonizers won all the battles. We know, of course, that the Government stole those lands, that we lost no wars and that, today, successive governments are still struggling to compensate the tribes for that land theft. They have not learned anything because the left hand is taking the foreshore and seabed while the right hand is paying out on those other confiscations.

Anyway, ladies and gentlemen, I am talking about colonization. I am talking about the imposition of a colonial settler's culture and way of life on top of the traditional way of life and customs of the indigenous inhabitants of the land. Colonization happened all over the world: Argentina, Australia, South Africa, North America, Hawai'i and here in New Zealand. So how did Cook manage to discover New Zealand when our people had been living here for one and a half millennia before he arrived?

Colonization is a process that not only subordinates the indigenous culture but, by its very process, serves to negativize it as well. For example, in New Zealand the early government schools brought new customs—the preferred behaviour—into every school village. Imagine that! Such practices were introduced as compulsory by the village school teacher and his family, who were Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) and white. White behaviour became right behaviour and, by contrast, Māori behaviour became wrong. Invariably "Sir" and even "Mrs Sir" and the little "sirs" lived like gods amongst the Māori communities. Colonization was a process that stole our sovereignty over our land. It either destroyed or subordinated our spiritual and cultural beliefs and customs. It suppressed our traditional world view and replaced our culture with a new set of values and customs that were foreign to us and within which we became second class in our own islands.

Even worse, colonization continues today. It is in our minds. It is present in the choices we make. To seek a measure of self-determination as people of this place, we need to recognize the historical destruction of our world view. We need to recognize and acknowledge the toll that colonization has taken upon our language and culture. If we are able to do this, we are in a great position to reconstruct our worldview for today's times. To begin with, it is so easy for us as Māori, as Polynesian, to feel our identity with our seas, our oceans, our islands and with each other as Polynesian nations, as Polynesian relations. As Māori we have a cultural and spiritual history of living in the Pacific for hundreds of years. We must reinforce this heritage, this unique understanding of what Māori call tangata whenua (people of the land) or iwi taketake (indigenous people).

It is about knowing who we are, where we have come from and where we must go. It is about one-and-a-half millennia of living in these islands, in this whenua (land). We grew with the land, the forests, the mountains and our lakes and rivers. We grew together. We are as one. It is about whakapapa, it is about genealogy, descent in this place. The fact is that my people are alive, despite the apparent lack of recognition amongst the education fraternity and government politicians of current Māori cultural values and Māori aspirations for our language, culture, nationhood, for the future. Māori attempts to progress Treaty claims, promote kaupapa Māori ventures (ventures based on Māori philosophy), build whare wānanga (Māori universities), establish alternative justice programmes, design a kaupapa Māori institution (institution based on Māori philosophy) and promote tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) are but a few examples of the initiatives that have met absolute opposition, from time to time, from government sources as well as from sections of the public arena. The following features indicate an acute awareness of what it is like for Māori to be Māori at this time: an intensive and active social network and linkage; an ever increasing tenacity to resist assimilation and remain Māori; a seemingly inexhaustible drive to remain positive and optimistic about the future; an emotional tie to the land that is basic; and a knowledge that these islands are the homeland of the Māori. All these serve to provide a definition of being Māori today. Despite 180 years of colonization, Māori very clearly still want to be Māori. Despite appearing to be a people often besotted with disputes and disagreements within our political, social and tribal structures, the Māori is absolutely united about the future and destiny of the people.

The early 1980s saw the birth of a number of initiatives that were expressions of tino rangatiratanga or self-determination. Such expressions manifested the aspirations and desires of Māori for the language, culture and identity. The 1980s then heralded a kind of cultural renaissance for Māori, a cultural resurgence. Among the initial ventures were Kohanga Reo (Māori language nest movement), closely followed by Kura Kaupapa Māori or Wharekura (Māori language school movement). Kohanga Reo was created in 1981 to 1982 as an initiative to save the Māori language. Their growth throughout New Zealand in the 1980s was both rapid and enthusiastic. Kura Kaupapa Māori began in 1985, with the first school being established at Waititi Marae. Kura Kaupapa Māori developed initially as an option to continue the kaupapa (agenda) of Kohanga Reo into the primary school arena. In this way, Kura Kaupapa Māori was a Māori community response to the loss of Māori language. It was an initiative to save, develop and perpetuate the Māori language. Within five years, there were seven kura kaupapa Māori set up by communities without the help of government resources. Completely gutsy, brave kohanga whānau (families of the language nest movement) stood out there and said, "We will build our own schools." They did this and legislation (passed in December 1989) had to come into line and make these nests into bona fide New Zealand schools. Today there are some 70 kura kaupapa Māori operating with full legislative status; and there are 20 or 30 others operating under their own steam, awaiting government funding or being assisted under the umbrella of some other kura (schools), which is what we do as Māori. The success of kura kaupapa Māori has been widely espoused by their respective whānau (families, extended families) throughout the country. Based on Māori knowledge and customs, Kura Kaupapa Māori serves as a modern example illustrating that traditional Māori knowledge is a valid and a relevant knowledge for today's time. I think that's probably the main point I want to make today.

It is my view that the concept of tangata whenua or iwi taketake (indigeneity) is not fully understood by the various countries, member states of the world and particularly by people who do not share First Nations' origins. Even worse, there are those who feel excluded within their community by the concept of a tangata whenua (people of the land) and would seek to discredit the concept with cries of special treatment, special privileges, discrimination or segregation. I believe that the whole question of the status of tangata whenua is a critical issue at this time in New Zealand, as it is in other parts of the world. Many states misconstrue genealogy, history and indigeneity as being issues of race. This makes it easier for them to label indigenous issues as racial discrimination, segregation and separate development. Be very clear! Indigeneity is about whakapapa, genealogy and being tied with the land as one. So I believe that the future of New Zealand is deeply entwined with the future of Māori and, in the eyes of the global community, is intertwined with the unique expression of nationhood that exists in New Zealand and defines it to the world. New Zealand without Māori is unthinkable. New Zealand without tangata whenua must never be an option. In a world increasingly homogenized by global

commerce, migration, communication, travel and trade, tangata whenua provide an enduring point of difference which other cultures, other states, other countries envy—a difference we must preserve.

For this nation to thrive economically, culturally and with a sense of social justice, Māori must be able to play a full role in all parts of society, not only as leaders, educators, artists, business chiefs, soldiers and sporting champions, but as citizens whose rights, history, culture and fundamental worth are valued and supported. To summarize: we must embrace the concept of self-determination. Kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori are examples of this.

Te Whānau Āwhina

I want to talk about Te Whānau Āwhina, a restorative justice programme, another scheme that has its origins in Māori society. The process followed and the etiquette for delivery are drawn directly from the customs of our ancestors and are used in dispute resolution. It is a restorative justice programme developed by Māori for Māori in the 1970s. Basically, the process involves the calling of a hui or meeting to discuss the misdemeanour or crime. Those required to attend include the offender, his family, the family of the victim and where possible the victim of the incident, members of the Te Whānau Āwhina group and a community panel assembled specifically for this case. A traditional Māori exchange of greetings (mihimihi) would begin the occasion and this would be followed by a prayer or Māori karakia. After this comes the formal speeches and enquiry (whaikōrero patapatai) into the misdemeanour. The enquiry is led by the panel of community members selected for the particular circumstances of the event being discussed and is directed explicitly towards the offender and those present.

After this enquiry stage, the panel retires to make a determination (whakataunga) about the offence. This invariably produces an apology, a programme of rehabilitation for the offender and some form of restitution and support for the victim. In addition, family or community support groups are established to support the victim on the one hand, but also to support the offender. The evening is completed by some form of supper.

It must be emphasized that the entire etiquette of the proceedings is conducted within contemporary Māori custom, which has a very strict format. In each stage of the event a set of kaupapa, Māori philosophies, are revealed. These are the key principles which underpin the unique form of this restorative justice model.

Whakahuihui Tangata: Calling the Meeting

The very act of calling the meeting acknowledges the kaupapa (issue) of rangatiratanga and the mana (authority, prestige) of the person and the group. The call to attend is recognition of the authority of the family members to be involved in a forum that is directed to effect a solution towards resolution or reconciliation in regard to the misdemeanour. The invitation to participate is a mark of respect. It is the Māori concept of rangatiratanga.

At the meeting, Māori speeches are exchanged between the meeting co-ordinators of Te Whānau Āwhina and the invited families of the victim and the offender. These are special speeches, delivered by the elders, according full respect to each and everybody present, including the offender and the victim. The speech-making creates the feeling of equality amongst all present at the gathering. It may recount past happenings, individual and group successes in life, as well as acknowledging recent bereavements amongst either of the two groups. It is a coming together. In Māori cultural terms, it is viewed as a home group (tangata whenua) welcoming a visiting group (manuhiri) and the latter reciprocating in the discussions. The ceremony is not negotiable; it is an absolutely vital part of the process. It is essential to ensure that—despite the fact that within the room there may be a multitude of different opinions about the event to be discussed—in this ceremony of acknowledging the rangatiratanga of everybody, we are all equal.

Karakia: The Prayer

The essential kaupapa here is wairuatanga or spirituality. The act of prayer or Māori karakia is recognizing the life force, the mauri, of each person as well as that of the group as a whole. In particular,

it acknowledges the imbalance of the mauri of the people present that is a direct result of the social disruption and dysfunction caused by the misdemeanour. You can imagine it. We are going in there and some people are quite upset about what has happened and their mauri is out of kilter. The karakia begins the process of healing towards restoration of the mauri of each person assembled, including both the victim and the offender.

Whaikōrero Patapatai: The Enquiry
The enquiry involves a process whereby the community panel set up by Te Whānau Āwhina gives speeches and asks questions of the offenders, with discussion often extending out to family members present. The key kaupapa here is manaakitanga. Manaakitanga is about caring and respecting. Questions posed in manaakitanga recognize the vulnerability and hurt of the victim, the guilt and the shame of the offender, while also respecting the involvement of the whānau and the other groups present. Questions about the offence naturally involve all persons present in some emotional commitment. Feelings such as shame, guilt, sorrow, anger, love, fear are voiced openly. It is a forum of honesty, where participants are able to express unashamedly their feelings and viewpoints on the matter in front of the group. It becomes a healing environment.

Whakataunga: The Determination
Following the enquiry, the community panel retires to determine their findings on the matter. Should guilt not be admitted by the offender, the hearing would end at that point and the matter referred back to the Pākehā system, where they sit and make their own judgements. This has never happened to us to date, right from the 1970s up to today. The key kaupapa involved in the resolution by the panel is whanaungatanga, family relationships.

The determination would outline a programme of rehabilitation for the offender, designed to suit the nature of the offence. This determination is binding and later ratified by the court. Restitution of some kind, determined again by the panel, would be announced. This is based on the Māori customs of old: utu, meaning revenge or payments.

The recruitment and establishment of family groups of support for both the victim and the offender is an essential part of this process. In cases where family involvement is minor or has not been possible, support groups are formed from within the local community. In our case, the local marae (Māori meeting centre) people form the group that will support either the victim or the offender, should it be needed.

Another kaupapa expressed in this whakataunga (settlement) is kotahitanga (unity). The settlement should be all-embracing and serve to build all parties present so that they can offer ongoing support for the outcome. Through the expressions of remorse by the offender, the subsequent apology and the programme of rehabilitation and restitution, the group is bound to a unified commitment for healing for all present.

The hearing ends with a hākari or cup of tea or supper. This provides a very important forum for the various groups to talk to each other informally about the process and about the findings and the future. It is a wind-down situation, designed to allow persons to retire from whatever antagonistic or defensive role they might have taken at the beginning of the hearing and to bond with one another in the cause of reconciliation.

The taking of food is equivalent to the whakanoa (freeing from ritual restrictions) at the end of the pōwhiri (welcome) that you had yesterday. You had a cup of tea and cooked food and that is to make us all the same. It is the same process, which is very, very important to Māori, the old "cup of tea."

Te Whānau Āwhina Origins
It began in Te Atatū North. We were asked to look after some children who had been involved in stealing, using stand-over tactics with kids at school, pulling and tagging their coats and so on. The principal rang up and said, "Is your Māori committee gonna deal with this or do I ring the police?" I said, "No! No! Leave it for our Māori committee! We'll take care of it." So we went up there, called a

hui and made all the parents come. Everybody was there and we did not know what to do. So we just sort of fumbled our way through it and we came up with the process that I have just described to you. By being Māori, the process just naturally fell into place. There was no plan. We were so ignorant about what to do we sat the children in front and said, "At intermediate [school] you guys were in the kapa haka (Māori performance group). Today you are thieves. What's going on?" It was really front-on stuff but the thing about it is that it is natural. It is Māori.

We have this culture that we hide. We should know that we have our option out there, no matter what field it is. Whether it is restorative justice, education or anything, try our way! It has worked all this time. Look at kura kaupapa Māori! There are no fights in the playground because, when a fight has started, the kids have moved in as a whānau (family group), separated those fighting, "you shouldn't have done that," and healed the situation. No teacher gets a report of violence in our kura, in our various kura, because that is how it is. Kura Kaupapa Māori was invented to save the language, along with Kohanga Reo. What did it do? The Māori came out and it produced a user-friendly, culturally okay method of teaching. All the teachers are called papa (father) or whaea (mother), those sort of names. And if the parents turn up late to get their kids, "tough bickies" (too bad); they have gone home with somebody and you have to find out where they are if you want your child back!

This is what happened with regard to the development of our restorative justice project. First of all, we got cases referred to us by this dogged school principal at Rutherford High School. After a while, the police heard about it and started referring cases to our group. Then, a judge heard about it and the courts starting referring cases to our group. It was because of the integrity of the group in staying true to being Māori and following the procedure that was a natural custom that the mana of the group grew and spread throughout West Auckland and started getting the involvement of the court.

Let me give you a particular case! Judge Mick Brown had come to the community and started throwing cases at us. He sent this really hard one. The guy had done everything. His rap sheet was really, really nui (big). He had done everything; he had belted his wife, all that kind of thing, he had stolen, he had been inside (prison) so many times. I looked at the sheet because we gave up our own time for this. We usually did it on Wednesday nights and Sunday afternoons if there was a case and there usually was. So, this was an adult, 46 years old and built like a brick shit house; he really was a big guy.

He came to us, put the paper down and said, "I had to come and see you." This is at the old Māori Affairs office. "Yeah, yeah who sent you?" "The judge. He says, 'Oh, man, you've done big, big porridge man and you've been a naughty boy.'" "So what does he want?" "Come and see yous."

I said to our man who goes to the court, "What's happened here?" He says, "Oh Mick (the judge) said to give it a burst." I said, "Look at this. This is suicide. We can't take this guy on. He'll be gone. He'll whack somebody on the way out." I looked at him and he was going "sh, sh, sh" at me. I moved away from him and we sent a note back, "Sorry, this one's dumb, put him through the system." Mick Brown in his brilliant English sent this note back, "What's the matter? You only like the f** easy ones." We thought, "We'd better do it, we'd better do it."

So we said to the guy, "Right, this is a waste of time in our view. We are going to see you. Is your mother still alive?" "What the f** has that got to do with anything?" "Because you've got to have your parents here. You bring your parents here." He said, "I'm 46." "Good. Is your mother still alive? your father still alive?" "Yeah, yeah." "Well, bring them here Tuesday seven o'clock. Be here or you're going back to court." "I don't even want to be here in the first place." "Be here!" we said. And so he went out and I said to the group, "Just turn up at seven. We'll have a cup of tea and go home. He's gone, that guy will just report back to court."

Well, surprise, surprise! We turned up and had our cup of tea. Then somebody said, "There's a bus outside." We had a look. Yeah, man, there were all these Māoris getting off the bus. "Oh he's brought his whole family. They came from Tainui." We looked out there and said, "Oh, I know that fellow. I know that koro (older man)." Then Rua Cooper walked in and we said, "Someone go and make some

food. Quick, quick!" We had some biscuits. "Get some real food! Hurry up!" So, one of our members shot out the back to get some food while we had the mihimihi and all that followed.

At the end of the mihimihi, we got to the part where the guy sits in the front and we question him. This is how it went. I remember it so vividly. I got up first and said, "You know, [name], you've done everything. You're showing no remorse. I think it's a waste of time you coming for this hearing." I was really grateful that at the beginning we had done all the mihimihi whakatau (welcome speeches), where we acknowledged the effort and the rangatiratanga of everybody present. So, now I said to him: "We really, really acknowledge you for coming, and your family, but really you've done it this time. You're wasting our time and you're going back to court as far as I'm concerned." He rose up in his seat, so I kept arm's distance away. Next, Don Rameka got up. Don is a lovely man. He said, "Thank you for coming. Thank you for your family coming. It is really good that you showed." The guy settled back down in his seat. I didn't know about "good cop, bad cop" in those days. Anyway, he settled down and he looked pretty pleased when Don said, "We'll see what we can work out for you."

The third fellow up was a Samoan in our whānau, a good rugby coach. "You thief, you steal, you hit people, you thief, you go to jail, don't want you here." And then he sat down. That got the guy all worked up. The fourth one up was Jack Wihongi. Jack spoke entirely in Māori and the guy looked at him and he did not know which side he was on. The poor guy was looking and wondering, "Is he on my side or not on my side?" So it went on. Finally, we went and deliberated. At our meeting I said, "Throw him back, he's a waste of tucker, he'll spoil our record. He'll be our first failure." Everyone goes along with me, "Yeah, yeah." Then Don says, "Oh, you know Mick (the judge) said we've got to do it. You've got the note from him." So we decided that we'd give the guy a programme and we'd do it. We went out. Everyone was having a cup of tea and walking around.

I was unhappy because he had shown no remorse. Remorse is a vital part of this process of healing. I kept walking around him, an arm's length away, and saying, "You're not even sorry." He said, "What the f** for?" He's going on in that vein. I said, "What about the Māori Queen? You've got some Tainui in you and your uncle." He said, "Māori Queen? What about that?" I said, "Don't you care?" He said, "Who cares?" I said "What about your mother?" And he went, "Ohhhh" (in a tone of dismay). His mother was there. "What about your mother?" I said rather too loud. Everybody looked up from their cup of tea and saw me. Next thing, ahhhhh, Mum comes running from the back of the room with her umbrella. She lifted it up. I ducked but she hit him. She just hit him, hit him, hit him. He stood there tears running down, "Ah-ah-ah." She cries, "All of my life you shame me, you shame, you shame me like this." We were all crying. Everyone in the room was crying. He was shaking like a jelly.

We sent the note back to the judge, "We're pleased, your worship, that this man be ordered to work where we say, live where we say and attend us once a week." "You're lucky," that is all the judge said. "You're lucky. Stand down, go with these people." We got on the job: we got him a counsellor; we got him a budgeter; we got him a place to stay and reconciled with his wife. For a year he lived happily ever after with us. Then he shifted out of the district, so I hope they have still got it together. It just shows that Māori ways can work.

Family Group Conferencing
Now, here is my big statement. Family group conferencing was so successful that Mick Brown wrote about it. It was adopted by our courts and is totally based on this group of Māori using Māori knowledge in a modern-day environment. Family group conferencing hit our courts and then, suddenly, Australia came and had a look. It is in their courts. It is in Canada. It is in England. It is in Africa. Now, here is the programme from a recent conference in the United States of America, the *American Humane 2007 Conference on Family Group Decision Making*. It had such things as: lighting a fire of urgency, family group conferencing in London, family group conferencing in Africa, in a community there, and so on and so forth. In the programme, it says that at 5.30 there will be an award ceremony in the Crystal Ballroom honouring New Zealand's progressive transformative system change. Lucille Ecker Hawke, Board of Directors, and Marie Wheatley, President and CEO of America Humane, will be presenting his Excellency Roy Fergusson, New Zealand Ambassador to the United States, and Marie Connelly,

Ministry of Social Development, an award for their contribution towards the transformative change through this programme of restorative justice family group conferencing.

Family group conferencing in our court has gone a bit astray, too many lawyers and such involved. They have lost the plot from where we had it, where it is just community and people talking to each other in a Māori format. Very easy, very simple! It works because we cannot talk past each other. We are there identifying what needs to be done. Even when someone like Rua Cooper turned up, haere tonu te kaupapa (the agenda continued): mihimihi whakatau, whakahōnore (prayers) and so on.

Importantly, our kaupapa, our philosophy, our ideas, our programmes are not only good for ourselves. They bring kaupapa Māori to the modern world. They are good for the whole world.

Glossary

haere tonu	continue
hākari	"cup of tea", supper
hui	meeting
iwi taketake	indigenous people
kapa haka	Māori performance group
karakia	Māori prayer, invocation
kaupapa	issue, agenda
kaupapa Māori	Māori theory
kohanga reo	Māori language nests
koro	older man
kotahitanga	unity
kura	schools
kura kaupapa Māori	Māori language schools
mihimihi	traditional Māori exchange of greetings
mana	authority, prestige
manaakitanga	care, respect
manuhiri	visiting group
mauri	life force
mihimihi whakatau	welcome speeches
nui	big
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
papa	father
pōwhiri	welcome
tangata whenua	people of the land, home group
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
utu	revenge, payments
wairuatanga	spirituality
whaea	mother
whaikōrero patapatai	enquiry
whakahōnore	prayers
whakanoa	freeing from ritual restrictions
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataunga	determination
whānau	families, extended families
whanaungatanga	family relationships
whare wānanga	Māori universities
wharekura	Māori language schools
whenua	land

Harvesting Peace from a Field of Conflict

Patricio Dominguez
Piro Manso Tiwa, Pueblo de Las Cruces, New Mexico
President, Native Earth Bio-Culture Council
Board of Directors of the Institute of Natural and Traditional Knowledge
Advisory Committee of the International Indigenous Coalition

My name is Patricio Dominguez and my tribal affiliation is Piro Manso Tiwa. If you want to know more about me just punch in Patricio Dominguez in Google. None of that is really going to tell you anything about Patricio Dominguez. What I am going to do is to let you know a little bit about Patricio Dominguez that only a few people have ever really come to know.

[Patricio plays his flute.]

That was a very personal song. That is not a tribal song. That is not an ethnic song. It is my own personal song. It says a lot about me. That is the sound of me pursuing, chasing notes through the canyons of my spirit. It gives you an idea of what is really going on inside and some idea of my particular temperament, which is something you do not ever get to see about another human being because all you ever get to hear is their mind, the words they use, which is a part of the culture and the climate in which they have grown up and the particular type of education they have had. But, in this way, you get to see a glimpse of the spirit because music has no words. It is pure sound and the way the tones are strung together gives an indication of what that person is thinking and really believes in.

I want to thank my associate, Flordemayo, for giving me the opportunity to do this presentation. Originally, she was scheduled to do the presentation because she is one of the 13 Indigenous Grandmothers. These Grandmothers came together last year, or maybe it is two years now, almost by prophecy. A hundred years or so ago there was a medicine woman in Alaska who had a vision. In this vision, she saw 13 women that were going to come together in the future to do a very great deed in the world. They were going to be advocates for peace and advocates for prayer. After she had this vision, this woman made 13 medicine bundles. In the old traditional way, she put them away. When her daughter was born she told her, as a very young lady: "Daughter, when you are older you are going to have a daughter. And when your daughter is an old woman, 13 women are going to come together and each one of these women, and this is going to include your daughter, is going to get one of these bundles. I am going to keep them and then when you are old enough, and before I die, I will turn these bundles over to you. But, before you die it is your responsibility to pass these bundles onto your daughter who will finally give them to the 13 women."

Over time the grandmother and mother die. The granddaughter/daughter, Rita Pitka grows up, she lives a full life and she continues to hold on to these 13 bundles. A meeting of medicine women is called in New York City and medicine women from all over the world respond. They come from Tibet, they come from South America, none came from China, but they come from Africa, they come from Central America, they come from the United States. It was supposed to be a conference about traditional healing for women. Exactly 13 women showed up. Rita Pitka thought about it for a long time; she had a very deep decision to make. But after the women came together, she tells a story of how her grandmother had had this vision and how it was prophesized. She goes on to explain how she has a medicine bundle for each of these women. So, after they have a good, I imagine, emotional experience about this, the bundles are finally handed out and the 13 Indigenous Grandmothers were formed.

The 13 Indigenous Grandmothers now are bigger than the Rolling Stones. They are huge; they are in demand all over the world. They go to conferences with anybody and everybody who will talk peace. They have met with the Dalai Lama; they are going to talk to the Pope. Hopefully, in this mission that they have with the Pope, something very monumental is going to happen. They are going to ask the Pope to rescind the Papal Bull. When the Spanish discovered the New World they went to the Pope and

asked, "What do we do with the land and the people in these places that we find?" And the Pope, being the representative of God on earth, had the authority to tell them what to do. He said, "If they believe in Jesus and Christianity, you are to recognize them as nations and as people. If they do not, you will not recognize them as human beings and they will not have the right to property. You have the right of ownership to all the lands that they possess and to them." Now, that Papal Bull is still in effect. It has, to date, not been rescinded. It has worked its way into the constitution of many countries in South America that were explored and conquered by the Spanish. It is also active in Africa and other places where the Spanish went and everyone else who, at that time, was Christian and under the guidance and direction of the Pope. The 13 Grandmothers, in a courageous move, are going to approach the Pope and ask him to rescind this document.

Anyway, Flordemayo was invited to speak to you about peace because their organization is representative of peace. She said to me, "Patricio, I am going to be in France doing a thing with the Grandmothers in France so I cannot do this presentation. However, the Māori people are very, very important and they need, they really need to be addressed, so would you please do that presentation for me?" I said, "Sure, no problem. What is it about? Indigenous knowledge?" "Yes." "Done." So I agreed to do it.

Never have I heard a presentation on this subject before. I have to congratulate the Māori people for reaching into the depth of traditional knowledge and pulling up this incredible subject, traditional ways of peacemaking and conflict resolution. They have for all practical purposes been lost because today it really comes down to "see you in court." That has passed for peacemaking and conflict resolution.

I also want to talk a little bit about the organization that Flordemayo and I started in 1995 before Flordemayo got totally absorbed by the Grandmothers. In the early 1990s, I went to a conference in New Mexico. It was a tribunal. Elders from all over the Americas were invited to come to try governments for the misdeeds that had been perpetrated against the indigenous people from the time of the invasions, 500 years prior. For three to four days we sat there and we listed, country by country, atrocity by atrocity, all of the misdeeds that had been done by all the governments of the western hemisphere against the indigenous people of the west.

Close to the end of that conference an interesting thing happened. I was approached by a man who had come all the way from the north country, at the border of Canada, I think. He said to me, "I came to this conference to ask for help. My people, right now, are standing at a roadblock trying to prevent loggers from coming into our property to confiscate the land and the timber. We are standing on the road trying to block the intrusion of the big machines that are going to come in to take away our forest. I came here hoping that this group of people could write some form of letter or resolution in support of us so that we would not stand alone in this endeavour." I said, "Gee, that's no big deal. Let's write up a resolution!"

We retired from the conference, wrote up the resolution and I rushed it over to the chairman of the conference. I said, "This is a very important piece. Let's take action on this. This is the last day of the conference and if we do something on this, it would be a very, very beautiful thing. It would show that we have some strength as a group of people." But they let it sit all day long. They continued with the agenda. All they wanted to hear was the next presenter who wanted to present his list of atrocities that had been done in the past. It seemed almost as if they did not want to hear a new atrocity. At the last minute, I took control of the meeting and I raised my hand and said, "Point of Order! I want to bring something to the conference immediately." I told them what the resolution was; I did not get to read it. They said, "Well if you can get a copy to all members of the conference, perhaps we can vote on it." So, I sent the man out. I tried to maintain the floor, tried to talk about it. He went out, found a copy centre and made enough copies for everybody. We distributed the copies. It was mentioned from the table and the conference was closed without ever really voting on the resolution.

I was very upset. I went home and I said, "This is not right." A few days later I read in the newspaper how three young men had died at that roadblock by gunshot from the loggers that had come in. I said to myself, "Never, never again will one nation face a government by itself, or face an

international corporation by itself. This will be righted. I do not know what I have to do but I will do everything I possibly can to make this never happen again."

Well, I tried to organize things for a long, long time and I could never really get anything going on my own. But one day a very fortunate thing came about. It is amazing how nature moves. It is a very powerful force when it has to move and it knows it must. There was a Maya, a high priest of the Maya. He had flown into Albuquerque and met somebody at the airport and they went to their house. He had said he was looking for something but he did not have a real agenda.

Well, my next door neighbour was just starting a business. He was a Cherokee and a fairly spiritual man and he recognized that this was a shaman from a Central American country. He said, "Would you do a blessing for me? I am going to start a business and I want a blessing from a shaman so that my business will succeed." The High Priest said, "Yes, of course. I am looking for something myself." So, he gets invited over to my neighbour's house. Then my neighbour calls and says, "Come on over! They are doing a ceremony for the start of my business." I said, "Oh, wow, a shaman from Central America. I would love to see one of these again." I had met them at a conference in Albuquerque many years ago and I always wanted to get together with them again and talk about some things.

So, the high priest does the first Mayan fire ceremony I had ever seen. What an elaborate, beautiful piece of ceremony! Afterwards, we had the usual ceremony feast. While I was sitting there enjoying my drink and my food, one of the assistant priests of the high priest comes up to me and says, "My master would like to see you." So, I sit down next to him and he says, "My dreamers have been telling me about you." Then he begins to tell me, in Spanish, the story of the Creation from 300,000 years ago— from this and this planet, and such and such star cluster, or spark of light, this came … and, eventually, lands on earth. He goes through the entire course of Creation, or I should say humankind, to the present. And then he stops and says, "This is where we are now. In the next twenty years, another very important event is going to happen in the history of humanity and in the history of the world. You are going to help me with this because there is a prophecy that says that before the end of time the eagle and the condor have to come together. At one time, all of our peoples were united and then they were divided. Once, we were all one people and we communicated with each other; we used to trade from the north to Alaska all the way to the south of Chile."

I knew this instinctively. My own tribe had macaw feathers and I used to think, where did we get these macaw feathers? There never has been a macaw here. A macaw would be dreadfully lost here. We live in a desert in the middle of the United States and there are no macaws. But we used to trade. We used to trade corn for feathers and shells and all sort of things. In fact, when I finally did make a trip to Guatemala and they asked me what tribe I was, I said I was Tiwa. They said, "Oh, we have a corn here that we call tiwa," and they showed it to me. I said, "Oh my God, I recognize this corn. You guys have kept it alive." We hardly plant it anymore but I guess we used to grow it in such abundance that we traded it all across the Americas. They call that particular corn tiwa because it was our corn.

So the High Priest said, "You are going to be the agent for organizing the elders of the north. You must contact the elders from every tribe of North America and tell them that a very important event is going to happen, that we must all get together one more time to say special prayers for two reasons. Number One, we have to fulfil the prophecy of the eagle and the condor and, Number Two, it is our duty to close the age. Not one tribe must be left behind. All of the elders must say their prayers, because all of us, all of the indigenous people, have a bit of knowledge that was given to us by the Creator. We have to say our prayers to close the age properly so that the new age can open correctly. If it is not closed properly, the new age will not open properly. The quality of the new age depends on how correctly and properly the old age was closed.

So, I started the project. I started contacting all the elders that I could and it was the most difficult project. Some of the tribes in North America had almost completely lost their traditions and knowledge, and even some of the ones that had not were extraordinarily suspicious. However, that created a situation that I wanted. I had made a deal with the Mayan elder. I said, "I will do this if, when we bring

all the elders together, we have the opportunity to create a united nations of indigenous peoples of the Americas."

This was a monster project. In the evolvement of this gathering, I started to work with the elders on drafting the organizational papers for an organization, a confederation. A Confederation of Indigenous Elders and Priests of America is what I wound up calling it. Then, I did all the paperwork necessary for it to be incorporated. When the elders finally came together, they met for 10 days, fulfilled the prophecy and did the necessary prayers. But when it came down to creating the confederation, the same old thing happened. Every elder wanted it to be in his part of the world, everybody wanted to be in control of it; they started disputing as to who were going to be the representatives, how and where it was going to meet, and how often. Everybody then went home and there was no Confederation of Indigenous Elders and Priests of America.

I still believe in that dream. I still think that no tribe should ever face a government or a multi-national corporation alone. I am planting this seed here, today. Please pick it up! I cannot do it anymore; I am spent. It took six years, three quarters of a million dollars, total financial ruin. My life, my home life is a shambles. But I still believe it can be done. And I believe it can be done by a group of people; this is what it is going to take. That is why I could not do it. I did not have the support of my own tribe. It is going to take a leader from a tribe that has the support of the tribe. This is what is key because this cannot be done by one person. It has to be done by a tribe. It has to be a substantial tribe and a tribe that can stay together because this task is challenging.

Anyway, the Confederation of Indigenous Elders and Priests of America died. Elders that were part of organizations splintered into two; well, first of all they splintered from our group. The North American elders splintered from the confederation. They went off and formed their own organization. They tried to take over our funds and all of our documentation. I would end up suing them. Patricio Dominguez became persona non grata. He was the evil, wicked man that sued elders. Because I tried to regain all the property of the organization, and I did, I retained it. I incorporated the organization and I wanted to keep it alive for another tribe but it became impossible. So, the Confederation of Indigenous Elders and Priests of America became a non-entity. People despised us because we sued elders. I changed the name of the organization twice because, no matter how much I tried to hide, it always turned out to be a problem.

Today we are called the Institute of Natural and Traditional Knowledge and we are doing just a fine job of staying out of trouble, me and Flordemayo. And here is a statement from our vision:

> Our challenge is to take modern societies full circle. From the first years of modernization, modern civilization's educators believed that they could bring opportunities through their technologies to traditional peoples. But, traditional cultures will now bring the opportunity of survival to the modern civilizations through the traditional knowledge.

We are going to turn things around. They thought they were bringing us opportunities; they have brought us to the brink of destruction. But now we are going to bring them the opportunity of survival with our knowledge. We are going to turn it completely around.

This is another little statement from our vision: "Secret knowledge is knowledge that has taken the first step to extinction." Five hundred years ago, we did not have secret knowledge. As I said, there were trade routes. We traded from Chile to Alaska and we shared knowledge and information back and forth. But after, there were governments and educators—the modern civilization's educators and that included the church system—that decided that our knowledge should be suppressed and eradicated. They started destroying our wisdom keepers and our wisdom. It became dangerous to be a wisdom keeper and a person with knowledge of our system. Our system of knowledge had to go secret. That is how it survived, by being secret. Unfortunately, secrets do not get passed on very well. Today, every time a wisdom keeper dies, the secrets that that wisdom keeper is keeping dies with them. This has got to stop. Unfortunately, it is difficult because now the process of keeping the wisdom secret has turned into a tradition. It is not a tradition, it was not a tradition but, because it is now 500 years old, people

think it is a tradition to keep the knowledge secret. It must be let free again. So, we are publicly saying, secret knowledge is knowledge that has taken the first step to extinction; try and shake this knowledge loose and try to break it from the bonds of secrecy.

I want to thank the marae (Māori centre) for awakening interest in this important aspect of indigenous knowledge. Although I have spoken on many aspects of indigenous knowledge, I have never presented on this topic before, nor have I heard anyone speak directly on this topic. I hope this speech is one that I will have to make many more times, improved with the additional knowledge that I will gain at this conference.

Every schoolboy you ask in a classroom will tell you that peace is better than war. That same schoolboy is extremely likely to engage in a schoolyard fight at recess. Armed with this information, let us launch into this challenging topic. The prevailing system of conflict resolution and justice involves judges and mediators listening to the grievances and declaring a winner in the conflict. The shortcoming of this system is that the defeated opponent is still an opponent with the potential of bringing open the conflict anew with a better argument or more resources to bring to the dispute, that is, through appeal. Traditional Native American conflict resolution is based on the premise that conflict can be resolved to the satisfaction of all parties.

Before I continue with the rest of this presentation, I have to define some terms because we do not all mean the same thing when we use these terms.

Spirituality: For the purpose of this presentation, spirituality is the formal and deliberate interaction with spirits—not accidental interaction with spirits and not coincidental interaction with spirits but full interaction, that is, in a ceremony.

Nature: Nature is a relationship composed of elements, plants, animals and spirits. That includes, as the Māori already know, the spirits of the elements, the spirits of the plants, the spirits of the animals, and then there are the spirits that are just the spirits themselves. Nature is composed of a relationship, and that is important. It is a relationship, a working relationship, of these things.

Traditional knowledge: I define traditional knowledge as indigenous peoples' inherited ways of relating with nature. Every indigenous group of people has an inherited knowledge that has come to them through the millenniums. It is their inheritance. This I will define as traditional knowledge.

I am now going to look at one particular piece of conflict resolution and show you just how amazing the connection of traditional people is across the planet. This is the method of conflict resolution of the Navajo, a people who arrived in our area about 400 years ago. We have been in our area for several thousand years. They are sort of new, but 400 years is not that bad for newcomers. The Navajo arrived from the north. They believe an appropriate way of conduct for every situation in life is demonstrated in the Creation stories. They believe that everything, every aspect of life, is already mapped and planned, that the Gods and the Spirits and the Guardians have already taught the people how to live in every situation. Conflict comes when one or both parties are acting outside of the proper way of behaving.

If everybody is doing their part correctly, there is no conflict because it is ordained by the Creator, who has ordered and given everything; it is going to be smooth and beautiful. But the minute one or two people step out of that order, there is conflict, which means conflict is being out of balance or the absence of harmony. Now, this is a line you are going to really appreciate. Conflict is acting as if you have no relatives. A person that is acting as if they have no relatives is going to get into conflict. In other words, when they create conflict they are acting as if they have no relatives. They are an embarrassment. They are not following the rules and everybody that is related to them is put in a bad situation, is made unhappy.

The talking circle is the method of relieving this situation; it is a method of conflict resolution. The talking circle facilitates seeing the differences between the behaviour that elicited the conflict and the

proper behaviour that would bring healing back into the relationship. Peacemaking would then be simply determining the appropriate behaviour. Peacemaking would be determining if the inappropriate behaviour was through ignorance of the proper way of behaviour or special circumstances. If it was special circumstances, those circumstances would have to be considered, that is, why they were acting outside the normal course of behaviour. If it was out of ignorance, the solution is very quick, very simple. You bring the persons in and you explain to them the proper stories. You tell them the appropriate stories that will bring them into alignment with the proper behaviour. Just cure the ignorance and it is done.

Additional elements of the peacemaking talking circle are: the relatives and communities of the parties have to be there, because these people are acting as if they had no relatives; the relatives have to be brought into the mix so that things can be brought back into order. Also, the other important element of their process is what is known as the Natani. The Natani is one of the elders of the tribe that is versed in all of the traditional stories and ways and can help in putting things in proper order. The Natani is more than just somebody who knows the stories. The Natani is the person that has already heard all the excuses. Some fool is going to sit there and say, "Well, you know, I was kinda drunk at the time," or whatever excuse he or she has. But they have heard all these excuses and they know the proper way of dealing with the excuses. A Natani is someone who speaks wisely and well, with the content of his or her speech being based on the Navajo traditions—often the creation of scripture and associated songs and stories. A Natani peacemaker is a teacher whom participants in the peacemaking process respect because the person is chosen by the community, based on his or her reputation.

There is one other system. It is extremely simple. This system is that of the Quechua people of South America. They are the descendants of the Inca so they have some depth. Conflict resolution is handled by the spiritual guardians. Situations are brought to the community priests for them to seek solutions from spiritual guardians using spiritual practices. Unfortunately, there is not enough time to describe this system in detail.

A Jade Door: Reconciliatory Justice as a Way Forward

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In this presentation, I will talk about the Raupatu (confiscation) Settlement of Waikato and will analyse it within a reconciliatory justice context and purpose, assessing whether what was intended was accomplished. Although the process of settlement dates back to 1995, some of the things we learnt from that process are especially important for today. At the end of the presentation, I will tie some of this into a research project I have been doing on the residential schools in Canada.

My Masters thesis looked at the process of settling the Waikato Settlement. I think it was quite a good process in terms of reconciliation and resolving cross-cultural, historic injustices. While not perfect, there was a lot to learn from the process. It is illuminating for analysing the settlement of historic and contemporary injustices here and abroad. I am going to discuss this notion of reconciliatory justice, the importance of the settlement process, that it is germane and relevant elsewhere and how it applies in Canada.

We know that te tatau pounamu means the greenstone door for resolving or consolidating peace and harmony. The historical bases for the term are:

> "Te Tatau Pounamu" (greenstone door) was a metaphor of enduring peace, often used in reference to both an event (for example, a marriage between high-ranking people from each side of a conflict) and a precious object.
> Pounamu (greenstone jade) was very highly prized, and a "greenstone door" would be an indestructible force barring the way to further conflict.
> In times of trouble, peace could be secured, ending warfare through a political marriage.
> Peace thus established was likened to a greenstone door.

As you recall, the injustice for Waikato lay in the fact that their land was confiscated in 1864. Shown in Figure 1 are some of the traditional boundaries of Waikato, of the Tainui tribes. (The boundaries vary somewhat, depending on who you talk to.) The shaded part is the Raupatu. The Raupatu meant that 1.2 million acres of land was confiscated. Some of the land at the southern end is that of my father's people.

What was important about the Raupatu loss was the loss of autonomy as well as the loss, in some respects, of the economic base of the Waikato people and the Kīngitanga, a loss of their economic power. They were quite an economic dynamo in their day. I do not have time to go into this but the Government had a master discourse of assimilation, where they basically wanted to turn indigenous peoples into brown Britons. You have heard other speakers here today discussing that policy, emanating from Canada, the United States of America and Australia.

What happened with Waikato was a deliberate policy to relocate the people and take the land. Governor George Grey built the Great South Road for that purpose, to invade the Waikato. In 1863, the Māori, our people, sent an ultimatum: if you cross the Maungatāwhiri River it is war. The Government troops crossed it on July 12th. A number of battles ensued:

> Meremere, 6th November, 1863
> Rangiriri, 20th November, 1863
> Paterangi, January, 1864
> Rangiaowhia, Sunday, 21st February, 1864
> Orākau, 29th March–2nd April, 1864.

None of them were decisive defeats; the biggest loss was afterwards, that is, the loss of the land through law. That was part of the deliberate policy—the whole policy of assimilation—to undo Māori traditional governance systems and tikanga (customary practices), to undo their communal nature. So, by unjust legislation we lost most of our land. The effects of that loss of the land, as it was for indigenous peoples generally, were loss of identity, depression, cultural destruction, devastation and so on—a hugely crippling impact on the welfare, economy, potential development and well-being of the people. Hold that thought for a minute!
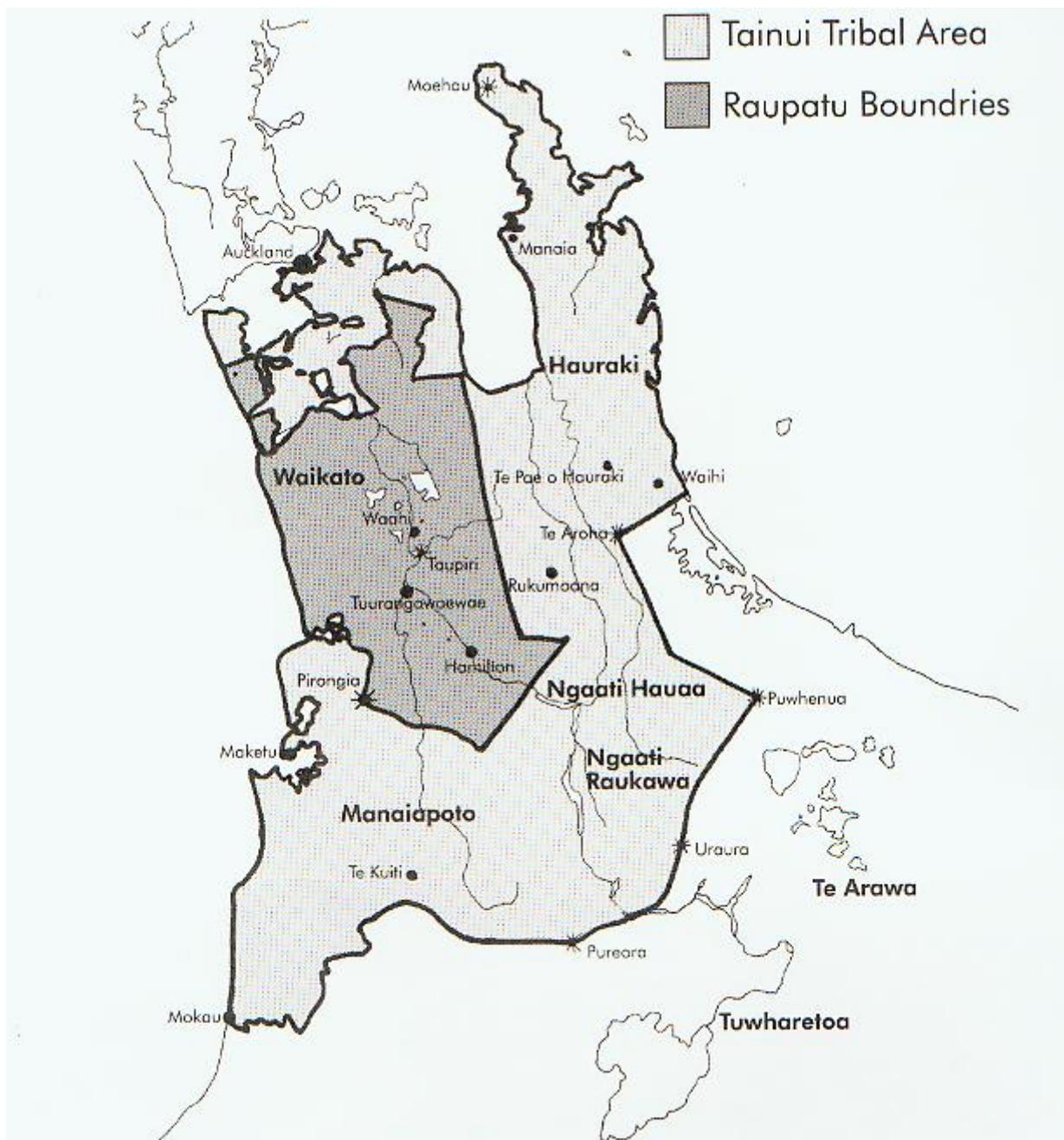
Figure 1. Map showing Tainui tribal area and Raupatu boundaries.

Now we move over to Canada. I am juxtaposing two injustices here. In Canada, they had this residential school system set in place, again under the auspices of assimilation and amalgamation discourse. Over there it was very aggressive, much more aggressive than it was here. Basically, the Government established the residential schools, the purpose of which was to assimilate the indigenous

children. As early as seven-years old, they were wrenched out of their community and placed in these schools for about 10 months of the year. What happened in those schools was detrimental to the well-being of these children. There were a lot of losses incurred: a loss of culture and identity—they were not allowed to speak their language, they were punished for it; loss of their tūrangawaewae (home place); their health, their physical, mental and spiritual health decreased significantly; and some of them lost their lives.

It has been hard to document this but many children died in these residential schools. Some witnesses have been coming forward and saying things like they had severe beating; depending how you define the terms, some would call it torture. Others had really bad health conditions and so a lot of children died from diseases. There were a lot of suicides in these residential schools as well and they lasted for generations.

At present, the Canadian Government is trying to deal with the whole legacy of these residential schools. What occurred in these schools was abuse: emotional, physical and sexual. That legacy left traumatic effects on the communities and the individuals, through generations, and they are still feeling it today.

Having discussed these two grievances, let us rewind to Waikato. The Raupatu grievance occurred in 1864. The day after that Waikato were seeking redress, trying to resolve this injustice. They had been to visit Queen Victoria a number of times, sent numerous petitions and so on. They went to the United Nations with not much success. For them, the start of the fulcrum of change, in terms of the Government wanting to negotiate, was litigation. Waikato took the Crown to court and won. In 1989, Justice Cook of the Court of Appeal told the Government that they needed to negotiate rather than settle by litigation. Ironically, it was the National Government[1] that settled this.

Now, the analysis that I am going to apply to the whole settlement is under this notion of what I call reconciliatory justice. It is about future relationships, co-existence, reconfiguring the power dynamics and empowering indigenous peoples. With this process, which I have written about, I say there are eight giant steps to resolve historic injustices. I call them the eight "R"s, highlighting that it is a process, not an event. It is not a case of we are settled, you shut up and go away. What it is about is peaceful co-existence and development as indigenous peoples, development as freedom, the will or the right to develop as themselves.

The first step in this process for resolving these injustices, the first arm, is recognition. Fundamental in terms of this step is what was done. What are the facts? It is about truth finding. What was done to whom and by whom, and the subsequent effects of the Raupatu or residential schools, which should promote understanding. For Waikato this was very, very significant for reconciliation because the history books said that Waikato were rebels. They were rebelling against the Crown. The history books did not say that the Crown was invading by sending the troops in and then confiscating the land. The local people's, the tribe's, view was the truth. The facts were as they claimed: "No, we were not rebelling, we were defending our land; they unjustly invaded our territory for whatever reason; they unjustly invaded it." After years of direct negotiations, fierce negotiations, that first step was met: recognition of the truth. So in the Raupatu Settlement it actually says that the process was a long process of truth seeking and telling. Our legal adviser at the time, Shane Solomon, said this: "What we are trying to do is get into the public record the real history of what happened to Waikato before the wars, the effects of the wars and the results of the land confiscations."

So, the importance of truth finding, no matter how disturbing! What are the facts? Think about it in terms of the residential schools! Canada is playing the denial game saying the abuse did not happen; if it was abuse it was mild—the typical way of trying to prevent liability. So, truth finding and telling is the first step. What happened, what are the facts? Once this step is accomplished, the past then becomes a place of reference, not residence.

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[1] Editor's note: The National Party is a New Zealand political party.

The next step … I acknowledge that these steps are sequential; they have to go in order. The next step is responsibility, which is acknowledgement of the truth of what happened and why. Who is responsible? This is where private knowledge becomes public and there is the linkage to doing justice, not just talking about it. In the Waikato Raupatu Claim Settlement Act 1995, Clause E states that the Crown acknowledges that it unjustly invaded Waikato, initiated hostilities against the Kīngitanga and confiscated approximately 1.2 million acres of land from the Tainui iwi (tribe).

If you put your legal caps on, that is a huge concession for a Government, a right wing Government at that, the National Government, to acknowledge these past injustices and liability or responsibility for it, but they did. In my view, Jim Bolger (Prime Minister at the time) and Doug Graham (Minister of Justice) were the ones who pioneered this in the National caucus. I think they did an awesome job in getting this through. You have to acknowledge them for their efforts. I think that for Jim Bolger it was his Irish background coming out. So, responsibility is the second step.

The next step is remorse. We have heard a bit about remorse this morning, in terms of peace building and reconciliation. Remorse is very, very important, as Pita Sharples said. If you are not showing any remorse you are not really sorry and we cannot resolve this. How does the Government show remorse for past injustices? One way is by giving a quality apology for the injustices. We have entered into an age of apologies. I think it started from the Waikato Raupatu Settlement. After this and subsequent settlements, people wanted apologies. Also, around the world people were looking at New Zealand and what was going on here. They wanted apologies for different injustices that had gone on. Importantly, you can gauge how remorseful they are from the apology. So it must be a quality apology.

I have analysed how remorseful the Crown apology was for the Raupatu Settlement Act. In Clause 3.6 of the Act, the Crown says by way of an apology (and this is only a snippet of it):

> The Crown expresses profound regret and apologises unreservedly for the suffering and hardship caused to the people of Waikato Tainui.

So, by this admission, they changed the facts. They rewrote the history books, admitted responsibility and are now showing some degree of remorse. I believe they were very remorseful within the political climate. I acknowledge, too, the wording of that clause. It took about two weeks of fierce negotiating; every word counted.

Another important aspect of the apology is who gives it and the setting. In this case, it was given by the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Jim Bolger, to Dame Te Atairangikaahu, at Tūrangawaewae. It was captured in the media. The vicarious liability of the country, the remorse, was being transferred as it were for all the public to see and acknowledge, and in some ways perhaps feel. Also, the mana (prestige, authority) of the apology was increased later in the year; when the Act went through Parliament on 3rd November, 1995, and when Queen Elizabeth II signed and endorsed the Act and the apology to Dame Te Ata. The power of the symbolism there was very, very significant for peace building for the Waikato people. Many of our old people said that these first three steps were the most important steps in reconciling this Raupatu injustice: telling the truth, the Government acknowledging responsibility and, then, a quality apology from the Government, the Prime Minister and the Queen.

Having talked to us, the negotiators on both sides, the Queen was somewhat reluctant to come and do this but she did. After that, the problem was that the floodgates opened. All around the world, different groups started asking Queen Elizabeth to come and apologize to them. But Waikato got the apology and, in terms of reconciliation, that enhanced the mana of the apology for the people.

The next step, the fourth, is restitution—of what was lost, in order to right the imbalance. We have talked a lot about balance today. We lost 1.2 million acres of land. Governor Grey tried to coerce or co-opt King Tāwhiao into trying to let the Raupatu grievance go away; he offered him a pension, a home and so on. Tāwhiao's response was, "I riro whenua atu, me hoki whenua mai" (as land has been taken, so land must be returned). So, there must be some form of restitution. In the Raupatu Settlement, what Waikato finally got by way of restitution was 40,000 acres. Within the Raupatu boundary, the Crown

owned only 90,000 acres. Since it would be unjust to try and take private land to settle this injustice, they offered the 90,000 acres back to Waikato. Waikato accepted it. Then they gifted 50,000 acres back to the Crown; that was the Department of Conservation lands. In terms of goodwill, they gifted that land back for the betterment of the country. So they got 40,000 acres, which I guess is politically pragmatic. It is all they could get apart from the other 50,000 acres. Some of the land they did not want; they felt that it was better to be managed by the Government.

The next step, step five, is reparation. Other reparations must take place. Waikato lost 1.2 million; they got 40,000 back. What Waikato got in terms of reparations, in terms of compensation, was $170 million. What the Government acknowledged, in giving that money, was the wrong that had been done. The claimants were reluctant to accept money for the deaths of all those people. However, what lawyers love doing is quantifying loss. Can you put a price on the loss of life and, also, what was lost financially? Lawyers love quantifying all those things and then coming up with damages. Here, it was acknowledged that in 1995 the Raupatu was worth over a billion dollars. All the Government could offer Waikato was $170 million, plus interest. What Waikato got in the end was about $215 million. There has to be some reparation; it is not a cheap process.

The next step, step six, is redesign of state legal and political institutions. The injustice was a result of unjust laws and institutions, the Suppression of Rebellion Act and the New Zealand Settlement Act 1863. It would be unjust to perpetuate those and similar laws and institutions. What Waikato did was they deliberately negotiated out of the Tainui Māori Trust Board model. That system was too paternalistic. They also negotiated out of the whole Māori Land Court regime, again paternalistic and anachronistic. They established their own self-government entity, the Te Kauhanganui, which is still going very well today. They also introduced a new land title to New Zealand law. You have general title, Māori land and now this new title called Pōtatau Te Wherowhero title. The interesting thing about this step is that the Government is still perpetuating similar injustices, unjust laws and institutions, as in the foreshore and seabed legislation. They are, ironically, a left wing government, the Labour government.

Now the seventh step in terms of reconciling these historic injustices is to refrain from repeating those and similar injustices. It is, I guess, the higher discourse since it is the prevention of the repeating of processes of external domination and the committing of past, present and future injustices.

The last step in this process is the notion of reciprocity or utu. Pita Sharples mentioned this morning that utu was about revenge. Actually, it is not just revenge. Utu is benign as well. Utu is actually about reciprocity, or so I have been taught. It is good for good and bad for bad, to right the balance. In terms of utu, in terms of reconciling these injustices, one of the final steps in reciprocity is for the grievant group to show mercy and forgive—not necessarily forget but forgive the perpetrators and those whom they represent today, to forgive so that we can move forward with reconciliation. A true possibility! The notion of utu is, as you know, still very strong in our minds and hearts. So, reciprocity is the eighth step.

I will just mention one other R that should permeate this whole process. That R is respect. Respect from all groups involved should underpin the process. Pita Sharples discussed that too: the importance of respect, of coming together and trying to discuss this amicably and with resolve, bearing in mind that the outcome we want to achieve is one of reconciliation.

I believe this whole analysis applies to the Ngāi Tahu Settlement, which took place at much the same time. Unfortunately, in my opinion, the process has subsequently lost its mana. In the early 1990s, it was a good process. Now, it has become institutionalized. One of our other traditional concepts that is important here is the notion of ea. Literally, ea means to appear above water or the horizon. Metaphorically, it is used when something has been righted, when the balance has been met, when things have been made in balance, where harmony is now reinstalled. This notion of ea indicates the successful closing of a sequence and the restoration of balance, the restoration of relationships. What Professor Hirini Mead says about ea in his book, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*, is very, very important.

Ea is to indicate the successful closing of a sequence and the restoration of relationships or the securing of peaceful interrelationships which value underpins most tikanga. Ea is satisfaction. In war, the notion of ea refers specifically to revenge, which is a limited and one-sided aim, or towards securing peace between both parties, which is more difficult to achieve. In the case of muru [ritual compensation], relationships have been upset and a new set of relationships is validated at great cost to one party.… In the context of infringements upon tapu [sacredness, ritual restriction], the response selected reduces the level of tapu to a state of noa [unrestrictedness], thereby restoring the balance and so reaching the deserved state of ea. (2003, p. 31)

In terms of the Waikato settlement, was ea achieved? Well, in answer to the question, "How do you see it?" Some of our elders, Hare Puke and Waea Mauriohoho, said something along these lines, "This was a good process for our people. Reconciliation has been made." Then Hari Puke, one of the elders, said, "We've moved off the grievance bus and we're now on the development bus." In his mind, ea appears to have been achieved and that is true for many of our people.

In reflecting on the process for reconciliation, I submit that these processes were part of our traditional laws and institutions. This is how we resolved a lot of our disputes historically and traditionally. You would have a coming together as a collective, recognition of the facts, finding out who was responsible, and some form of remorse and restitution. Sometimes, that restitution was a life to right the balance. There were reparations, some redesigning of the institutions, refraining from repeating similar injustices, and reciprocity. Those are the eight giant steps that lead to reconciliation. There may be more. The points of the process that I have listed may not be exhaustive. Nonetheless, I genuinely believe this is a good process for resolving injustices, past, present and future.

I was asked to write a paper on this process for the Aboriginal Healing Foundation in Canada. There, they are very interested in the process because of the residential school system and the legacy it has left. The Government has invested over a billion dollars in an institution to try and resolve the injustice. It is called the Aboriginal Healing Foundation and they have established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. They have gone around the country collecting people's stories, and they want to learn more from others. Often in Canada and New Zealand, we look to each other and learn a lot from each other. This process of reconciliation was one of my suggestions for them. They are still going through the process. Even though some of these lessons are not directly applicable, I believe that the process and, generally, those steps are useful for resolving most, if not all, injustices.

So, in summary, this process of settling the Waikato Raupatu claim was a good one. It is not perfect but there is a lot to learn, for us and others. This notion of reconciliatory justice is viable and perhaps durable. I believe it is part of our traditional way of resolving disputes, so it is germane elsewhere. Canada's First Nations have been looking at some of the things that we are doing here, including what Dr Pita Sharples talked about. There are the Waikato Raupatu Settlement and Ngāi Tahu Settlement and other injustices are being settled. Whether the settlement is going to be a greenstone door depends on the process. I think that in all things for Māori and Indigenous peoples, process is more important than outcome. Get the process right and the outcome will be right.

Let me conclude with a whakataukī (proverb):

> Me tatau pounamu kia kore ai e pakaru, ake, ake, ake.
> (Let us have a greenstone door that will not be broken ever, ever.)

Tēnā koutou katoa.

A Māori Framework for Family Violence Prevention

Di Grennell
Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Mutunga
Executive Director of the Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium

We have seven iwi (tribal) chief executives as our board for the Amokura Family Violence Prevention Consortium, which could be a challenge. The wonderful thing, however, was that this *take* (concern)—the issue of violence and abuse within whānau (family)—was the first thing they came together to deal with as a collective group, several years ago. That says something about whanaungatanga (relationships) and whakapapa (kinship relationships), that they were prepared to do that. Most of you who are here from Aotearoa/New Zealand understand very well the myriad of issues and conflicts that sit around rūnanga (boards, councils); even the notion of rūnanga is problematic for many of us, for all sorts of reasons. So it is very, very challenging and we are at a time when more than at any other, we are being told that iwi (tribes) are not interested in this issue. I am proud to say that the interest is there; the interest really is in Māori whānau (families, extended families) and places that are safe for our whānau. As you drive into Kaikohe you will see a sign: "Wāhi Tiaki Whanāu—it takes a community to keep a whanāu safe." The kaimahi (workers) of Tai Tokerau from the rūnanga and from Ngāpuhi Iwi Social Services worked with the community to put that sign there.

Together with a number of others, including Tāmati Kruger, I worked on the development of a Māori conceptual framework to look at violence within whānau. When we got together the first thing we had to try and work out was: What is the conceptual framework? That was a challenge because we came from a whole range of backgrounds. Some of us wanted to jump straight to the concepts, others wanted a framework and some wanted to challenge why we were there at all. Although there was a whole range of things, we came up with three imperatives that were fundamental for us in terms of the mahi (work).

The first was to dispel the illusion that violence is normal, that it is acceptable or that it is culturally valid. Already, in the kōrero (speeches) we have listened to today, Moana (Jackson) talked about stories and Linda (Smith) talked about whānau realities and experiences. The stories we tell ourselves are hugely important. The stories we repeat are important. The mythology of violence within Māori whānau needs to be constantly and consistently challenged. So that is important.

Removing the opportunity for violence is not in our view about locking more people up. We have this bizarre thing that happens when we talk in the family violence sector about family violence; there is a little mantra called safety and accountability. The underlying tenet of that often appears to be that accountability means you lock up the perpetrators, usually men, for safety needs. The women leave, even though the most dangerous time for them is after they leave. And then what? Somehow, we find ourselves, if we embark on an anti-violence journey, almost colluding with and lining up next to the Sensible Sentencing Trust, saying: "Yes, lock them up and throw away the key." Somehow we present that as a solution to violence within whānau. We suggest that we make the State responsible for solving violence for us when the origins of violation lie where we know they lie. Why would we do that? In fact, for many of us, removing the opportunity is more about the ihi (psychic power), the wehi (awesomeness) and the mana (prestige, authority) of life. That is because, when you are filled with awe and inspiration, violence becomes not a viable option. That is removing the opportunity.

The third imperative is teaching transformative practice, because it is a journey. We are not there yet. If it was easy it would not be such a long, long road.

So, in terms of the area that we live and operate in, we have got a very young population. Over 50% are under the age of 24 and most of those are under 14. Twenty per cent of them live in poverty by a very conservative measure and probably quite a few more. Certainly, at this time the poverty levels are seriously increasing. That is socio-economic poverty. There is another kind of poverty: a relational

poverty, a poverty of the heart, a poverty of wairuatanga (spirituality) that is just as pervasive and just as damaging and does not relate to money. Along with Māori on the coast and a couple of other places, we (of Northland) are often called the top of the bottom. This means that in nearly every indicator that you can think of we win a prize that you never want to get. If you want to have the least of something we have got the most of it. If you want to have the most of something we have got the least of it. However, we are also awesomely innovative and creative and that is something that is rarely captured in those kinds of negative statistics.

When we come to approach this whole issue, how many of you here are familiar with the field of neuroscience? It is relevant to many of the things that we look at when we start to talk about violence within whānau. All of us can understand that trauma can have a negative effect on the body. Even speaking in front of some of you might raise my heart rate. I might be worried about what you think and there is a change. There are some physiological changes: the heart beat speeds up, the breath changes, the blood pressure changes, all of those things. Those are physiological responses to stress and to trauma. Those of you who have worked with children and young people who have been exposed to stresses will know that sometimes the weight of that trauma and the regularity of it becomes so much that they are unable to turn off those stress-related chemicals, like adrenalin and cortisol and others. So, they are constantly locked into fight, flight or freeze. It is not surprising, then, that sometimes we see what we call unexplained violence. It is actually very logical from where they are. It is not surprising that some of what we need to recapture is the knowledge around how we care for women when they are carrying babies, how we reduce their stress levels, how we support them, how we make sure they are not isolated, how we look after and love and bond and attach with our tamariki (children) so they are not washed with those negative chemicals.

But at a collective level the phenomenon of ethno-stress, which is often referred to by people like Agnes Williams and Winona La Duke, is really a collective response to that intergenerational trauma and dispossession. So, there is a sense in which many of our communities and whānau then become locked—almost a collective fight, flight or freeze response—and we see that the violence begins to turn on ourselves. Hence, violence within the whānau, violence between those who should be most connected. Hence, the flight into the worlds of alcohol and drugs, and the suicides. The freeze: that means that whānau members sit and know and say nothing when our babies are hurt. We have to find some ways of challenging and disrupting the way this is consistently reproduced and internalized and the representations of us as these kinds of people. Often we will say, "Who are the children you know of who have been killed within their whānau?" I have heard Moana say it. I have heard Mereana say it. I have heard many of us say it. Whose faces do we see, tamariki Māori? We are hyper-visible when something goes wrong. We are invisible when it comes to celebrating and doing what is right.

It really comes to me because, as Mereana said, "I have worked in this field." I think I am actually getting less bureaucratic. The more I have thought and reflected, in the end it comes down to two questions for me. How do we change the world and how do we use our powers for good and not for evil? Only two questions! How do we change the world? How do we use our powers for good and not for evil? Because we all have those powers. It could be said that when we walk in the sacred there are very few enemies. We talk so much about being holistic and about wairuatanga and spirituality but we often have very little actual spiritual practice. Part of that, of course, is linked to the fact that much of our spiritual practice was linked to whenua (land) and to places; once we become separated from those places then the practices begin to fall away. This is because the practices are not necessarily based in saying, "I believe a list of things that we subscribe to," but rather, "Here are things that I do that are part of me and part of my place, my whenua."

My other reflection is that, while there is never enough temporal power—so many of us will have been down interesting journeys at different times in organizations around biculturalism and all of these things—it is always wonderful until someone has to hand something over. The theory is wonderful but if the thing that has to get handed over is pūtea (money, resource) it is even more difficult because there is never enough. So, someone has to give some up and hand it back to someone else and that is very difficult. If we stay in that realm, where we are trying to change the world and use our powers for good and not for evil, we will constantly be thwarted because there is never enough. Given the ethno-stress

that we talked about, we are constantly going to be battling each other for it. But there is enough mana. There is enough mana because the source of mana is divine. It is the universe. It is inexhaustible, timeless, and so there is always enough. If we shift to that paradigm and, instead of talking about safety and accountability, we talk about the development of mana and manaakitanga, then maybe we are on a journey towards preventing violence within whānau. An Amokura T-shirt that our men wear says simply, "Man, Mana, Manaakitanga." The mana of a man rests in his capacity for manaakitanga and care.

What are some of the things then that we do—this complicated governance of seven rūnanga chief executives, answerable to seven quite excitable and strong characters in their chairs? It was good to have Naida (Glavish) here last night as one of those people. One of the things that we focus on is education for liberation. So, working with people who will be working with whānau to extend and expand our notion of what that really means, to really get a sense that this is beyond the clinical hour. Some of you might have heard Fiona Cram talking today about how possible it is to cost cultural responsibility and build that into the cost of your service. Almost impossible!

But what we need is education for liberation that helps us to think about what we own. I get very worried around violence within whānau when people say, "Māori need to stand up and own the violence." There are some things I will own. I will own living up to what my parents taught me. I will own what I do with my children and grandchildren. I will not own patriarchy. I will not own colonization. I will not own institutional racism. I will not own socio-economic disparity. I will not own those. I will not take responsibility for those. I will take responsibility for continuing to challenge them at every level because they are perpetuating factors in reproducing the violence. So: knowing what to own, what to claim. Knowing what to challenge, because one of the factors for people working at home is that you do not have the luxury of working at a distance. The people you work with are the people you play sport with and meet in the supermarket; their children go to your children's school. You are probably related to them. You have probably been in relationships with them, whether you like it or not, since before you were born. There is nowhere else to go and so it is very important to know what to challenge and what to do. I think many of our families and our people are now at the stage where, very practically, they own their own stuff. They know that there are some things that are not right. There are some things that are not operating in the realm of mana and tapu (protective restriction) and protection of children, and they want to know what to do. Simply, what to do! What do they do when they go home?

Some of it is very complicated but some of it is really simple. Every time we gather there is an opportunity for manaakitanga and care. We do not need a funded programme to be ourselves. I think we need to step away and think about how many things we can do outside that realm of state funding, move to where we are shifting our thinking and doing the things we already know to be right—moment by moment, day by day, hour by hour, being positive, connecting and celebrating. Celebrating is in itself a form of resistance because we are moving beyond the ways that we have been defined. We need to be able to disrupt the reproduction of violence everywhere we can, consciously creating safe spaces particularly for our tamariki, our children and our young people. At a whānau day recently we supported the marae (village gathering place), the whānau and the kaimahi. They had a whānau day. That is all they did. They came in, they talked about who they were, the children were involved in whanaungatanga. They had a chess tournament. They did "bouncy castle". They did a whole lot of things. Then they went home. For some of those families, that was the first time they had been to the marae for more than two years. Nobody told them they were not good enough. Nobody told them they were not politically aware enough. Nobody tested them on how they responded in whanaungatanga. It was a safe space; so they came and they want to come back.

Those voices of children and young people are hugely important. Dr Michelle Erai who completed her doctorate in the history of consciousness while she was working with us worked with a group of rangatahi (young people) in Kaeo, most famous in Aotearoa for being flooded. She and my daughter spent a year travelling up there, working with groups of rangatahi trying to gain their voice and perceptions of what well-being was. They took and used photographs that represented oranga (well-

being) for the young people and they also had the privilege of taking a group of them to Hawai'i to the Indigenous Social Work Conference. That was a powerful experience.

When the fish and chip shop owner wants to challenge your research ethics, you know you are engaging at the right level. When one of the boys looks online to see if you are okay and that you really are who you said you were, you know that you are starting to make good progress. When the young people are owning what is happening and their people are saying, "Hey, can you come and present your kōrero at our land claims meeting?" "Can you come and talk to our kaumātua rōpū (elders' group)?" Then we know that we are making the kind of connections that over time create change. The very fact that they went to the meeting after the flood was a triumph for those whānau there. Between us all, we managed to raise the pūtea to get the group to Hawai'i and to look after them so that they stopped running round the airport saying things like, "I left my drugs at home." Only one of the young people had been on a plane before. Actually, the most nervous person was one of the parents. We had made a commitment as part of this process of empowerment and liberation not to fill the plane with workers but to take whānau. It was interesting that this woman's biggest fear was whether she would be able to find her way from Matauri Bay to Auckland airport. It was not the travelling once she got on the plane, it was how you do all of those other things. Nevertheless, we can connect, celebrate and empower in the simple. It does not have to be complicated.

So, there are a number of things we could talk about. We could talk about the street in Whāngarei that ran their own community survey, assisted by one of our kaimahi. They rang her to say, "There's heaps of people here. Can you come down and ask the questions?" She helped them ask the questions. They only wanted two things: a self-defence workshop for women, which Mareana Mena Kapa ably gave them; and they wanted to be able to talk about what you do when your neighbours fight. Not about what happens to them, of course! That would be admitting something was going on. So, there are many stories that we could tell.

I would like to conclude by thinking about peace and reconciliation. It is more than an absence of violence. If we are only measuring it in terms of absence we are going the wrong way about it. It is a process. It is not only a future, desired state. It is easy to give up and say "Well, you know, when the peace comes …," or "When it all settles down …," or "When we all get it together …," "When we get the money …" or whatever else it is, "then we'll do something." Too late! The process starts here and now. Our babies cannot wait. I am pushing 50. My children, my grandchildren cannot actually wait for me to keep on deciding whether I have got it right yet. I have so often got it wrong.

We are getting there. Spiritual practice, connection, safety, celebration! Those are the things to me that help to disrupt this cycle, this reproduction of violence, ethno-stress, oppression. Complicated but simple! Complicated but simple! So, in conclusion, you do not need to be working in family violence prevention to prevent violence. You need to know who you are. You need to know what to challenge. You need to know what to own and you need to ask the question, "What would a strong person do?" and then do it now.

I acknowledge Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga for the manaakitanga (hospitality) that they have shown, particularly to those of us who have come under the community-delegate heading. The other people that I would like to acknowledge are our kaumātua here, Sonny Shelford and Sid Kingi, who have travelled with us from Tai Tokerau to support this kaupapa (issue). I acknowledge the length of time that they have spent in that support as a steadying and graceful presence.

Glossary

ihi	psychic power
iwi	tribe, tribal
kaimahi	workers
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa	issue
kōrero	speeches
mahi	work

mana	prestige, authority
manaakitanga	care, hospitality
marae	village gathering place
oranga	well-being
pūtea	money, resource
rangatahi	young people
rōpū	group
rūnanga	boards, councils
take	concern
tamariki	children
wairuatanga	spirituality
wehi	awesomeness
whānau	family, extended family
whakapapa	kinship relationships
whanaungatanga	relationships
whenua	land

Liberation and Violence-Free Strategy

Mereana Pitman
Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Wai

You may have gathered from Moana's (Jackson's) kōrero (presentation) that on Thursday morning the kuia (female elder) who brought me up died; she died in my arms in Hastings Hospital. It took me about an hour and a half to convince her that it was time for her to go and that she should go. So, I have spent the last three days at Whakakī with my mother. My kuia was about 90 and I thought I might begin my kōrero by just talking a little about her.

She was quite a remarkable old lady. She was the eldest sister of Tom, Jerry and Jim Winitana and a number of them. She was the eldest grandchild of my grandfather, Paetai Wilson. When my grandmother died in 1942 and my grandfather died in 1946, she parented my mother and her four brothers and sisters. For us, she was probably one of the most abiding influences in our lives and over the last 50 odd years the most consistent person of my life. She had her leg amputated just before Christmas. She did not quite know how she was going to handle everything and I think some of the things happened to her from the time her leg went.

One of the things I remembered on Friday night, when I had an opportunity to spend some time with her, was that this kuia had never hit me. She had never admonished me for anything. I cannot remember ever, ever, ever being told off by her. I cannot remember ever being challenged by her, being abused by her, being demeaned by her or dehumanized by her or objectified by her or being hit by her. I thought that that was really remarkable. The next day I told that to somebody and they said to me, "Oh, you must have been a spoilt little brat," but actually I was not. She was brought up under the Ringatū church. She was a very frugal old lady. She was very quiet and I think she just loved me and she loved having me around. Aggression never entered our sphere. Whenever I went to her door, she was always pleased to see me. Although we had an extremely frugal upbringing, she taught us some brilliant values, the values of unconditional love and manaakitanga (kindness, hospitality). I cannot remember her asking me for anything, either. That was pretty remarkable.

I thought I would talk a little bit about the values that she gave us, the value of manaakitanga and the value of acceptance, the value of being able to go and talk to somebody and tell everything and be listened to without there being any strings attached. I think that is a remarkable value to be taught. She also taught me the value of love and how to love and how to be loved and how to find love, which I think was pretty amazing. She was 4ft 10in; when I was eight-years old I was as tall as her.

Just a little story! She used to be married to a man called Dick Carr and they lived in Wairoa. They lived next door to my mum and her husband and I lived with them. Dick Carr had a wooden leg. This is the one terrible thing I did to her and we talked about it on Thursday before she died. He had a wooden leg that you screwed in. On Guy Fawkes Day when we were little, they used to have those Tom Thumb crackers, all in a long row. When our grandparents were indulging us they would sit there for hours undoing them so that we could light them and throw them at the dog or the cat. Dick Carr was sitting on a chair by a fence. This is how I remember it. He was undoing these things and throwing them into a bowl under his chair. I was playing out where you entered into the garden. Somebody gave me a packet of matches. You know how when you light a match and you realize, "Oh my God, I've lit a match, I'd better put it back in the packet." I remember putting it back and then the matchbox blew up in my hand. There was no other place to throw it and I threw it in the bowl. Immediately, the 700 fire crackers that the old man had been untying for hours went up in smoke. He promptly stood up and went trying to find his leg. Aunty Pani who was, as I said, a little weeny lady came running out of the house with her slipper and I took off. We had about four acres of garden and I took off into the garden. She chased me all around the garden. I tripped and fell and she fell on top of me. She went—this is the most terrible thing she ever did to me—she went right up to my face with the slipper, "You're a naughty, naughty girl," and that was it. That was the sum total of being disciplined. Anyway, it is a great story.

I have been schooled from when I was a young child. When I was born, there was already a great challenge. I was brought up by a variety of people. There was my Aunty Pani, and I was brought up by my Nanny Whakaro and Buster Katai in Tikitiki for a while. My mother is a Fox from the East Coast. My mother is also a Wirihana from Ngai Tāmanuhiri, and she's a Rawhi and a Kaimoana. My father comes from the North; he is a dissident from the North. My grandfather came to live in Ngāti Kahungunu. He was referred to as the fifth invasion from the North. He came to Nūhaka to work in my grandfather's flax mill and stole my grandmother from Ted Nēpia. I remember meeting Ted Nēpia years ago and he told me, "Oh, you're not related to that Dick Pitman." I said, "Yes I am. I'm his granddaughter." He went, "Him! He's the fifth invader!"

At the time I did not know any of the history between the East Coast and Ngāpuhi. I do not think it was a very good birth for my mother because my father was Ngāpuhi and my mother, all her people were from the Coast. So, I am Ngāti Wai by descent as well. I have come to really, really value being Ngāti Wai as well. It has given me other understandings of other issues.

I was schooled quite early, I think to fulfil what I have subsequently done in my life. I loved whakapapa (geneaology) from a very early age, so got to talk to many people all the time. I travelled extensively with the old people up and down the Coast and mostly around Whakakī, Nūhaka and Waikaremoana. At times I had a very hard upbringing. For instance, when we were nine-years old we went to pick fruit for Jack Robins who had a contract with Watties. Later we worked with Fred Maynard. We would pick up all the cousins on the way. We had a very hard work upbringing. When I went to school, I had the same kind of education as Pita (Sharples). I learnt about everything except us. I guess that most of you in the room are the same. I went to school with the words in my ears from my mother, "You can go to school and be as good as they are." For the first 30 years of my life I thought that that is what I had to do.

I continually aspired to a benchmark that was always changing. I would get to a point where I would think I was as good as they were academically and intellectually and find out that the wretches had moved the goalposts. There actually was no level playing field. I graduated as a psychopaedic nurse early in the piece, over-celebrated at my graduation and got pregnant with my twins. So I have two children and eight mokopuna (grandchildren) and two more mokopuna with my partner. I have twins. I thought it was a great feat to do it once, get pregnant and have a boy and a girl. So I thought, "I'm not going down that road again. I won't have any more children. I'll just bring them up." I brought my children up with my mother, as a solo parent.

When I was 28-years old, I was in the sitting room at my house at Wairoa and saw the invasion of Bastion Point on TV. I left the next week, sold everything and went to Auckland. I joined the Māori land rights movement and the feminist movement. The feminist movement had a great influence on me because it is there that I learnt to be "political" and my life really changed. Everything from there on had a political bent to it. That is where I learnt that personal is political and political is personal, that for every personal action you take there is a political reaction and for every political decision that is made there is a personal price to pay.

It was under the Māori land rights movement that I learnt about the truth of our people. I did not know all those things. I had never been to Parihaka. I knew nothing about Parihaka. I knew nothing about Raglan. I knew nothing about anything. It was there that I learnt about the Te Reo Māori Society (Māori language society) and the activities that were born to work in the language activism. I learnt about justice, land and language there, and the activism around that. I became what is often referred to in very derogatory terms, a Māori activist. I became an activist but I think everybody is an activist who is Māori and makes change.

It was in my time of being an activist that I came to learn about colonization from Philippe Franchette, one of Paulo Friere's protégés who came here in the late '70s and early '80s. He was a Frenchman. It was also through hanging out with various, assorted individuals like Liz Marsden, Shane Jones (I know it's hard) and Hone Harawira (that was okay although it was Hilda who had the brains

and not him). I still to this day admonish Hone for going into Parliament because I think it should have been Hilda and not him; she has more brains and a better sense of justice. Very influential in my time were Donna Awatere and Rebecca Evans. This is the pre "getting into capitalism" stuff that they did. In actual fact, it is a powerful thing, capitalism—the great slut of the world—powerful at seduction, very easy. At that time, it was Donna and Rebecca that conscientized me, basically. There I learnt about political theory and I learnt to marry it to Māori history. That is where I learnt about oppression and what my destiny was. I knew quite early on in the piece, at age 28, that my destiny was the art of liberation. But I only accepted that about two years ago. It takes a while. It was a constant challenge to not put it down.

From those times, I worked initially at the Ponsonby Women's Centre and came under the influence of Miriam Saffiro who was one of the early workers around sexual violence in Aotearoa. From there, I went to work, hands on at the coalface, in Women's Refuge and various rape crisis centres around the country. My life for the next 20 years was working in those centres. Today I remain a volunteer in my own refuge and still love that coalface work. If things get too academic for me or theoretical or whatever, I give it all up and go back to working at the coalface because for me the greatest change that occurs is the change in the women when we educate for liberation. I know that when one woman changes her life and decides to leave the violence, she changes the life of everybody around her. It is something that Freire says, "You cannot change the world but you can change your world and in changing your world the world must adjust to the changes that you make." I firmly believe that.

So, my work over the last 20 years has been in education and counselling. In education, the work has been around liberation, liberation theology and the theories of liberation. My love is marrying theory to practice. There was no template for the working in violence in the 1970s and 80s. You had to jump off the cliff. Some people saw that as bravery, others saw it as stupidity, others saw it as arrogance. It was extremely difficult to talk about violence in the late '70s. When you went to the kaumātua (elders) and kuia they would say, "Oh, it's tapu [sacred, off limits]. Do not talk about those things!" So, you would lift up the tikanga (protocols), the tapu mat, and you would sweep it under there. In the end, I think we were forced out. We were forced to challenge and it was never very acceptable to people. "Mereana Pitman, she's got a big mouth. Mereana Pitman, what does she know? All that she knows is that she's got a big mouth and she should not be saying those things." I tell you, the desire by our people to shut our mouths about it has been great.

So, I joined movements of women and Māori that were in processes of liberation. Most of my work has been based around the liberation of our people. I began counselling about 20 years ago and to this day I remain a counsellor, although not in practice. To this day, I have whole families turn up at my house wanting help. In the middle of a tangi (mourning rites), my cousin wanted to see me and spoke to me about their five-year old mokopuna who had just been raped.

Now, one of the things that I have come to know, analyse and understand is the Government and how they approach the issue of violence. There is no money in this country for Māori to counsel the whole. Everything is done in silos with the Government. There is money for men's group, money for women's groups, money for children but there is no money for all of that work. I was listening to Linda (Smith) today, talking about the kohanga reo (Māori language nests) and how they did that with no money. I think that was really good grounding, having no money, because you just had to work it through. I think we have become very seduced by the money thing and we have actually got to the point of—I think it is what Angela Davis refers to—the industrialization of human misery. We have learnt to industrialize it. We put $80 million into family violence in this country. You can guarantee that $62 million of that will go back to the Crown to pay their people to work with us in silos. Two years ago, two government departments took $35 million of a $62 million handout for family violence. The Police took $14 million for the Family Safety Teams and WINZ (New Zealand Work and Income Department) took $19 million to train the case managers to recognize family violence and refer it to Women's Refuge, who did not get the same amount of funding. A lot of my work in the last 10 years has been lobbying for change inside the Government. I think we are getting there; we seem to be getting there. I will probably die and they will get there and I will miss the whole damn thing.

So, my work has been around liberation and around lobbying. I understand now that when you dispossess a people of their land and their language, that will create self hatred and that is why we kill each other. You think about it. If somebody came into your house tomorrow and said, "We're taking it over. It's our house. You can go and live in the shed at the back. Those photos hanging in your house are our photos now. The food in your fridge is our food. And the blankets that you sleep in are our blankets." Well, 160 years ago that is what the colonial Government did to our great grandparents and or great, great grandparents. They went into their homes and onto their lands and they said, "These are ours now." They managed to rape a few women and children on the way, I might add. They said, "You are not allowed to speak your language anymore. You are not allowed to communicate with each other and actually you can go and live over there where those other people do not know you." If they did not do what they were told, they would cut into the "friendlies" and the kūpapa (Māori who sided with the Pākehā [New Zealanders of European descent] Government), and we were taught to turn our anger onto each other.

Believe me, I know about that stuff. I am a descendent of Ropata Wahawaha. I know what it is like to be called a kūpapa all my life. I am so grateful for Monty Soutar's thesis, where it tells the truth about Ngāti Porou over ensuing generations. When you study violence and Māori, you will come to understand that almost all Māori who commit violence have an intergenerational pattern of violence. When you track that back, when did the self hatred begin? When did we start killing each other? When did we start not-caring about each other? When did we start dehumanizing each other? When we were dehumanized? When we were made less than human; when our lands were taken; when our language was dismissed; when what we thought and what we understood and what we knew for 700 years was taken away. Who do you think is going to pay for that? We are going to pay for it and you are going to pay for it. Hence, as Moana says, to understand violence you must contextualize it. You must understand that every act of violence that we have against each other, all violence, has a whakapapa. Once I understood that, it made it easier for me to work with our people, to track back the story and to encourage them to make the changes themselves.

I want to pick up briefly on the mauri ora (well-being) conceptual framework. Yes, Di (Grennel) is right. We spent about the first two meetings deciding what a conceptual framework was. I was not au fait with it. The Māori conceptual framework on family violence was the first attempt put together by Māori practitioners to have an understanding and analysis around family violence. It was the first time that we did not listen to the Pākehās. It was the first time that we defined for ourselves what the problem was and what the solutions were. It has been really good for me to be part of those frameworks.

At the moment, I co-ordinate the Ngāti Kahungunu Violence Free Iwi Strategy, although I have just handed in my resignation. That strategy arose out of a large number of deaths to do with Ngāti Kahungunu and their children. It is a strategy around ownership and responsibility for our iwi (tribe). Like the guy says, "We do not own the colonization. We do not own the patriarchy but we do own the fact that our own sons and daughters and aunties and uncles and kuia have killed our mokopuna." That is an issue before Ngāti Kahungunu. It has been my job to put the issue before them and then to help our people to come to and arrive at solutions for ourselves. I am not really interested in the solutions of other iwi for us. I am sure Di is not interested in any Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) solutions for Tai Tokerau (Northland). I am interested in how we might bring our people up to the line, conscientize them, help them and still accept them when they take it and step over the line. So, really that is my work.

I would like to thank you for listening to me. At the back of the room is my cousin, Drina Hāwea, probably one of the best educators around the issue of family violence and decolonization work. I would like to pay my respects to John Tangaere, who travelled all the way from Ngāti Kahungunu to be here, and Aunty Kara as well.

E Nānā i ka Hoa Kanaka o Kipa Hewa ke Aloha i ka ʻĪlio
Attend to your Fellow Humans
Lest your Love be Wasted on Dogs

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The title of my presentation is "E Nānā i ka Hoa Kanaka o Kipa Hewa ke Aloha i ka ʻĪlio" (Attend to your fellow humans lest your love be wasted on dogs). I need to provide some context before I begin the talk. Most of you know that our Māori and Hawaiian situations are parallel. We are trying to revitalize a language and, really, we are trying to revitalize a people by way of using the language. Some people do not quite get that, nor did I when I first started into this effort. I thought the language was the main thing. I prioritized it and sometimes forgot about the people, but that is something we always need to remember. I do not know if that resonates with you? I will try to see if my talk resonates with the people here. As I said, there are parallel situations.

One of the main reasons we want to do this is to reconnect to our past. Our past—we are moving away from it very quickly and so it is very difficult to hold on to what we had. Yet, when you think about revitalization, that is the key. You want to take what you had before and make it live again.

We Hawaiians are in a situation of dire straits when it comes to the number of native speakers that we have left. Very few! Unlike here where there are still reasonable numbers, ours are very, very elderly or live in remote places. It is very difficult to get access to them and have really good models to guide us as we move forward. One of our main goals is to create a new generation of native speakers of Hawaiian. Unfortunately, without the guidance of our native speakers we end up reverting to our default mode, which is English. We end up speaking English in Hawaiian, which means that English thoughts are driving what we say, and we are just using Hawaiian to express those thoughts.

We need to engage in research and we need good research to help us reconnect with the past. There are so many aspects of language we have been discussing in the last couple of days. I have been engaging in conversations with some Māori language people and we see that the problems are similar. What is happening is that, as we move away from that fading past, it is getting more and more difficult to grab on to that knowledge and incorporate it into our everyday lives. In keeping with the theme of the conference, these are the three main points I will consider:

Sustaining relationships between collectives and over generations;
Resolving conflict; and
Peacemaking, reconciliation, and restorative justice.

Firstly: sustaining relationships between collectives and over generations. For me, it is not enough to transmit the language across the generations. What we need to do is transmit the zeal that was the impetus for the movement across generations, so that the next generations do not just say, "Oh, okay, they have just handed this down to us." They need to take it from there and roll because there is a long way to go. It took a number of generations to get to this point and it is going to take a number of generations to get back to a balance where Hawaiian people are again in a good state.

Secondly: resolving conflicts. There are always going to be conflicts. What I am going to focus on here is that we have conflicts within ourselves and we do not necessarily have to worry about others. We know that there are conflicts there. Everybody has talked about it. We see it worldwide but we need to know what we can do within ourselves to make ourselves right. We cannot get peace with others unless we have peace within ourselves.

Finally: peacemaking, reconciliation and restorative justice. There have been a lot of wrongs done. I think that they are correctable and we can do our part without constantly engaging in confrontation, although I am not going to preclude the possibility of confrontation. I think that there is a time and a place. As my son said, there was a time for me to engage in confrontation but I am a little older now and I am going to let him do it next time.

I am going to explain the title. It basically glosses as you see: "Attend to your fellow humans lest your love be wasted on dogs." I found this in an article in an old Hawaiian newspaper that came out in 1917, called *Ka Puuhonua o na Hawaii*. In those days the authors often did not sign their names, so I do not know who the author is. It was interesting because the author was complaining in 1917 that the language was diminishing. The number of speakers was going down and he was particularly concerned with the loss of ability to speak Hawaiian. He made the statement that no child under the age of 15 years was capable of speaking proper Hawaiian anymore. If we project that to today, that would mean that our remaining native speakers of Hawaiian would have to be over 106 years old in order to speak the proper Hawaiian. I do not think there are any left. It goes to show that things change. Even today, the native speakers that we have left are very valuable people. They have a lot of knowledge that they retain. But somebody was thinking about this back then and basically issued a challenge to other Hawaiians at the time, saying, "Look, we have got the power; we have got the majority of people in the legislature; we have got the mana (power, authority) in our own hands to rectify this situation; therefore, if we find later on that our language is gone we had better not cry because we will be the ones who stood around and watched it happen."

I wonder if that resonates with people here. We had been put on notice and that was 90 years ago. Of course, there were other incidents before that. We were warned and we let it happen anyway. Now we are in a situation where we can continue to let it happen or we can turn it back the other way. You can see that at that time the author's focus was on ourselves: "We need to fix us. We do not need other people to come and fix us and we do not need to be overly concerned with what other people are doing to us. We have the power to do it and we need to do it."

Things have shifted since then. We adopted a politics of blaming; we put the agency on others and we attributed the cause of all our problems to others. However, we must understand that this is not the case. The only way that we are subordinated is if we are complicit in our own subordination. If not, we can never be subordinated. Consider this quote from the comic strip Pogo: "We have seen the enemy and he is us." It is a very interesting comic strip. It shows one of the Pogo people standing next to the Okefenokee Swamp, which is full of rubbish and pollution, and wondering, "How are we going to get this done?" Then he comes to the realization that we are our own enemy, we are the ones that caused it. To me it suggests that we are the ones that have to pull us out and clean up the mess.

I was very impressed by Moana Jackson's talk at this conference. I focused on one aspect; he said the search for knowledge should always be an ethical process. I thought about the meaning of ethics. We do not actually have a word for ethics in Hawaiian. So what is ethical? I had to go back and think about our Hawaiian values. There are three values—kuleana, maiau/kāpulu and pono. I am going to explain these as I go. Basically, I am saying that we need to adhere to these values and that will be a big help in turning this bad scene around.

Kuleana is generally glossed as right, responsibility, authority. I am going to concentrate on the first two, right and responsibility, and suggest that, over time, as we adopted a politics of blaming, we focused more on the "right" part of it. In other words, we said: we have rights, we should be this, we should be that and we have the rights to things. Yet, we have not engaged in the responsibilities. The responsibilities are what earn us the rights. We have forgotten that half of it. I think that the upholding of both responsibilities and rights is how it was meant to be. If we adopt this and take on these responsibilities, we will get those rights back.

One of the other problems, I think, with understanding kuleana is that we confuse it with aloha (love, compassion). If, for example, we suggest to somebody who is not Hawaiian that he does not have

the kuleana to do something, we experience conflict inside because we think that somehow that means that we do not aloha that person. This is not about aloha, it is about kuleana. Either you have the right or the authority to do something or you do not. This does not mean that it is only for non-Hawaiians. It applies to Hawaiians, too. Not all Hawaiians have the kuleana to do all things. It is quite different, I think, from the Western mentality that says everybody has their individual rights. It is not like that in a Hawaiian mindset. Certainly not traditionally!

Another problem is that we tend to give deference to non-native speakers. What I mean is that you could have a situation where ten people are sitting around talking Hawaiian. A non-speaking person of Hawaiian comes up and what happens? Yes, we switch to English. Why? Because we aloha that person and we do not want that person to feel bad or be left out. But then where is our responsibility to the language and having that language heard in all places, at all times.

A really big problem is the quantification of Hawaiian-ness. That is something that was imposed on us, but we are responsible for accepting it by thinking that we know one person is more Hawaiian than another or if I speak Hawaiian then I am more Hawaiian than somebody else, or if I do the hula then I am more Hawaiian than another person who does not do the hula. These are really problematic things. You are Hawaiian because you are Hawaiian. As a number of speakers have said, it is the genealogy, the whakapapa, that makes you Hawaiian; it is not the trappings. It is not whether you wear the Hawaiian shirt. It is not whether you have the brown face. It is not whether you speak the language. Those are things that I had confused early on. I started to realize it is not about those things. It is really about the genealogy, what we call the moʻokūʻauhau.

Now, going back to Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians, I think there are roles for non-Hawaiians. In a multicultural society, we need everybody if we are going to revitalize the Hawaiian language and we need support from all quarters if we want to revitalize the Hawaiian people. We cannot exclude anybody. What we have to understand is that Hawaiians need to take the lead in this and non-Hawaiians need to recognize and support that. If non-Hawaiians are truly about support, then they are not going to be thinking about their own well-being first; they will be thinking about the well-being of Hawaiians. So, there is a place for everyone.

Another aspect of kuleana has to do with how we treat knowledge. One of the things that I think is different between Western and traditional Hawaiian ways of treating knowledge is that with Western knowledge you try to get it out there so that everybody knows that you have got it, whereas that is not important to Hawaiians. We do not have to know that we have knowledge; we do not want to just put our knowledge out there because anybody can get it, including enemies. You have a responsibility to take care of that knowledge and make sure that it gets to the right people to take it on to further generations. We can see this in the way that students come to our classes in the Western institutions. The teacher has no right to choose which students are going to be in the class. Whoever has the money and whoever gets in line first gets into the class: the teacher has to give up his or her knowledge to all comers. Right!

Similarly with researchers: we feel that as researchers we have the right to go into any community, even our own communities. Let me just say this: when we become part of the institution, the Western institution, that sometimes puts us outside our own communities. We are not the same any more when we are coming back to our communities. We cannot assume that we have the right to the knowledge in the community or that, when we ask somebody about ancient Hawaiian religion, somebody is just going to tell us. You hear some researchers saying, "These people, they will not co-operate and I have got a grant." So! A grant does not mean anything to us. Anyway, we need to recognize that there is a kuleana about knowledge and we need to maintain that kuleana.

Finally, and this is something that I think should resonate with the academic community, we all know that we have to publish or perish. I guess you have the PBRF (Performance-Based Research Fund); we end up writing any kind of crap and putting it out there so we can chalk up the numbers. There is nothing right about that to my mind. I think it leads to what the Māori scholar, Graham Smith, has termed "the privatized academic". What he meant by that is the academic that sits in the office,

churns out crap and chalks up the numbers but never gets out in the community and helps the people. I think that is something that we have to be aware of and consider. This is not a kuleana to ourselves, it is a kuleana to our people. Some people become very willing participants in the "publish or perish" game. Others like me are doing it under duress, hoping to change the situation at some point in time but knowing I am just "chicken shit". Till I can find a way to change that situation, I am going to be doing it under duress. I guess even doing presentations like this is kind of "under duress", too, because they go on the CV.

Another concept is maiau. Maiau has to do with neatness or being careful in work, meticulous. Its opposite is kāpulu, which means careless or slovenly. That is one of the things, even before I started getting into Hawaiian, that I heard the old folks say. They would use kāpulu when basically scolding you for not doing it right. The Hawaiian value of maiau is very important. From a Western perspective it seems like a psychological disorder; they call it "anal retentiveness". Yet, it was normal for Hawaiians: to be clean and do things right, and if you did it wrong there was a price to pay.

I want to give an example of something that has happened. Bear with me, please, those people who are not linguistically inclined! This is a phrase "e hele ana paha". This is the way you say: "I am going to go perhaps," or, "I might go." What happened is that early on somebody, a Hawaiian, wrote one of the more popular texts for learning Hawaiian. This is basic stuff, first year Hawaiian. In that popular text, they wrote that it should be "e hele paha ana." Now, all that person had to do was a little reading and they would have seen that it is not like that. (Notice, I am not using a singular pronoun because I am not giving away the gender, and we do not have to do that if we are speaking in a Polynesian language.) Every other example is "e hele ana paha." What happened with the introduction of "e hele paha ana" is that that kāpulu has now gone from one generation to another. A lot of students learn it that way. It is very difficult when they get into advanced classes and they are still doing it like that. I do not know what happens at the first year level. Maybe our teachers are just excellent. Because they taught that lesson so well, it stuck in our students' minds. We have got to correct it. It is going to take a long time. I have been trying to correct it for years and people are still doing it. They assume that the word paha is like an adverb and it should go next to hele. It was kāpulu work and it has caused problems that we need to fix now. That is why we have to be careful when we do our research. I know some of my work has been kāpulu, too, and I am going to have to live with that.

Finally: pono. This is a major word for us. Here are all the glosses that are in our Hawaiian dictionary:

pono. 1. nvs. Goodness, uprightness, morality, moral qualities, correct or proper procedure, excellence, wellbeing, prosperity, welfare, benefit, behalf, equity, sake, true condition or nature, duty; moral, fitting, proper, righteous, right, upright, just, virtuous, fair, beneficial, successful, in perfect order, accurate, correct, eased, relieved; should, ought, must, necessary. (Pukui & Elbert, 1986/1895)

Some of these include righteousness and balance. I think that pono is probably one of the best words that we have for ethics and particularly with regard to research.

I am going to give an example here that is somewhat controversial. The word piʻikoi means to take honours that are not due. Now we have had a number of people who have made their names by talking about the colonization of Hawaiʻi. That knowledge has come down here so that even Māori are saying that Hawaiians are colonized, too. Well there is a young scholar who has been doing research and making the claim that we never were colonized; that we should not be trying to get sovereignty; we were always sovereign and we still are sovereign. Relate this to Iraq, which is still sovereign but occupied. It is making a distinction between illegal occupation and colonization. We get mixed up because the implications and ramifications of colonization are similar to those of occupation. It is a technical difference. It does not make a whole lot of difference. We could say the difference between occupation and colonization is not such a big deal. But there are people who made their names off talking about colonization; they have been using the "stiff arm" approach to research and holding this guy back. I have talked to people who said that, when they went into the particular field, they were

instructed by their professors to go out and collect any kind of information that could debunk this guy's work. One guy told me that he tried for a year and a half and could not find anything and is now writing his dissertation on the same topic.

It is time to conclude. What I am saying is that we cannot be blaming others and we cannot just focus on our rights. We must focus on our responsibility; we have got to get out there and take care of things. Simple as that! We have got to do that while we maintain our traditional values. We should not be confused about those values. We need to understand what those values are there for and we need to use them to move ahead. That is how we will revitalize the language and through the language we will help to revitalize the people.

"Indigenes" in Dialogue: Reflections on the Place of Traditional Knowledges in Pacific Discussions of Gender, Faith, Peace, Reconciliation and Good Governance

Tamasailau Sua`al`i-Sauni

It is my privilege and honour to address you at this particular conference with its theme that is close to my heart. It is a conference looking to celebrate critically our Pacific knowledges with respect and their rightful place alongside those other knowledges that dominate our modern Pacific lives. When I read the programme, I saw the word Samoa in brackets after my name. I thought that I'd better preface my talk by saying that I do not claim to speak for Samoa but I do claim a deep sense of connection to Samoa. I especially claim a connection to the village of Saoluafata where my pute, my umbilical cord, is buried. I claim a love for my Samoan indigenous references, inspired in me by my maternal aunt Naoupu and which was inspired in her by her father, my late maternal grandfather Saonalote from Saoluafata. I claim a deep bond with my late paternal grandmother, Aileiu, from Iva and Saleaumua. It is to their spirits, knowledges and gifts that I owe my sense of being Samoan, good and bad, and my love for Samoa and things Samoan.

When I was invited to give this address it seemed that it was by chance. It was by chance because Joe Te Rito happened to walk into Tracey's (McIntosh) office on the day that I had just left her a copy of our recently published book, *Pacific Indigenous Dialogue*. It was by chance because he happened to pick up the book from her table, open it and read it. It was by chance because, as one of the organizers of this conference, he found the content to be of relevance and significance to this conference.

However, I think that it was also not by chance. I suggest that my standing here before you today talking about *Pacific Indigenous Dialogue* may have been by designation rather than by chance. His Highness Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi, Head of State of Samoa and one of the editors and keynote contributors to our book, talks of the Samoan idea of faasinomaga as designation. The meaning of the Samoan word faasinomaga can be found in the word faasino, which means to direct or point towards. The suffix -maga turns the transitive verb faasino into a noun, hence faasinomaga. Some have translated faasinomaga as identity. The idea that it might also be understood as designation helps to bring closer to mind the idea that this identity, this faasinomaga, is one that has already been apportioned, designed, or designated.

The suggestion is that it is an apportionment or designation that is divinely defined and that, although our human grasp of this faasinomaga is always challenged, it is nevertheless still always there within grasp. Tui Atua explains that a person or group has, upon birth, already an apportionment or an inheritance that is always available to them as a consequence of their genealogical connections to their families, ancestors, land, seas, skies, animals, cosmos and all the gods. This apportionment or inheritance is tangible and intangible, material and immaterial, limited and ongoing, secular and sacred. It may be as varied as access to land, to a title, gift or talent or merely to an opportunity. So, opportunities like today don't necessarily happen by chance. They can also happen by designation. Either way, it is a pleasure to be here to talk a little about the interfaith, intercultural dialogue that was held in Samoa in December 2005, where over 50 indigenous people from around the Pacific met to talk and reflect on the place of traditional knowledges and indigenous discussions of peace, faith, gender, reconciliation and good governance.

These are my reflections on the 2005 Samoa Colloquium as a participant and presenter and, then later, co-editor of the Proceedings text. I want to reflect on the Colloquium and the dialogue that took place, not in terms of what we had to say about peace, faith, gender, reconciliation and good governance but in terms of some of the learnings that I took away from that dialogue on how we as indigenes shared with each other and how this sharing has come to inform my current approach to teaching about our traditional Pacific knowledges.

The vision for the 2005 Samoa Colloquium was to bring together indigenes of different faiths from across the Pacific to dialogue openly, as family in the Pacific, on the themes of peace, faith, gender, reconciliation and good governance. Today, inter-religious or interfaith dialogues are supported and motivated by a mix of ecumenical desires and political anxieties, that is, anxieties over terrorist activities believed to be religiously driven. For New Zealand and Australia, the political crises of Bougainville, Solomon Islands, Fiji and Tonga have created new meaning to giving aid to the Pacific region. Development is now not only about developing the economies and public infrastructures of Pacific Island nation states to the gold standard of so called developed nations. It is also about how to teach the native inhabitants of these island nations to protect themselves from themselves.

The liberal capitalist wants to know whether he or she can holiday in the Pacific without the riots of uncivilized natives spoiling their tourist fantasy. So, for governments such as New Zealand or Australia the impetus for funding such a dialogue is not only about enhancing or reviving dying Pacific knowledges. It is also, if not more so, about finding ways to assure the liberal capitalists that their fantasies can still be fulfilled.

What the organizers of the Colloquium wanted was to hold a safe forum where we as indigenes could debate in person what being indigenous meant and how that might be celebrated alongside other meanings or explanations of self, community, life and purpose. This meant that we had to appear in person, share in person and do some deep thinking. We had to make some brave journeys down pathways that some have said are not culturally appropriate. It meant being open to admitting that we do hold a lot of hang-ups about who we are as Pacific individuals and/or as a Pacific people with a shared culture that can sometimes be exclusionary and unjust as well as dynamic, embracing, loving and healing. Culture, organized religion and politics are so closely linked in the contemporary indigenous Pacific context that often they are practically and conceptually inextricable.

A lot of our hang-ups about being an indigene in the Pacific today are direct consequences of our colonial histories. They are the dark, unspoken of and "invisibilized" legacies of our much embraced Christian faith. This raises what some Samoans have referred to as the dualistic, a.k.a. schizoid, personality of some Samoans. In my presentation at this 2005 Samoa Colloquium—which involved reflecting on the keynote address by Father Godfrey Onah, an Igbo Nigerian Catholic Professor at Pontifical Urban University, Rome, on African traditional religion and its similarities and differences with Samoan indigenous religion—I gave an example of this dualistic Samoan personality. I spoke of how, as a raised Samoan Seventh Day Adventist (SDA), I was always intrigued by the way in which my parents, especially my father, seemed to move so uneasily between his indigenous self, that is being a matai or Samoan chief, for example, and his Christian Adventist self. As a somewhat fundamentalist Adventist, my father would often preach to me about the importance of keeping the Sabbath, abiding by the Ten Commandments, especially the one about honouring thy father, and the importance of not eating pork or drinking wine, the last of which I have been unable to keep very well. In his early years, my father was quite adamant, particularly before he became a grandparent that we as Adventists were not allowed to participate in faaSamoa or Samoan customs and traditions.

The SDA religion was introduced to Samoa in the early 1880s. In the early days of Adventism in Samoa, the Adventist church was often described as Palagi, meaning European or Western church, that is, a church that only Palagi (European or want to be European people) attended. The reason for this was twofold, according to Iiga Kalapu. Firstly, most if not all of the early adherents of the SDA church were afakasi or half caste Samoans. Secondly, a key teaching in the Adventist religious doctrines was that Adventists must renounce beliefs in their indigenous customs of old, especially those such as the use of fine mats or ie toga, wearing a traditional tattoo or female malu or male pe`a, or even taking on a matai or chiefly title. When, during the early 1980s, my father took on his first chiefly title Luamanuvae from his stepfather's family, I was too young to appreciate what this meant for him as a Samoan and, by then, a staunch Adventist.

When he took on his second title Leauanae from his mother's side, which was a few years after receiving the Luamanuvae title, he seemed from my outsider view a little more comfortable with his matai self. By the time of his most recent title bestowal from his biological father's family, which was

done three or four years ago, his comfort levels with being a matai seemed now to be more natural. Despite this growing acceptance of his matai role, my father continues to exhibit discomfort when the two worlds collide.

These tensions or contradictions of self seem to come out at moments such as when he reasons that we, his children, must pay for all of his expenses whenever he has to front up to the Samoan Lands and Titles Court. When he is living in Samoa, it's not so bad but when he is living in New Zealand it can get pretty expensive. My father would reason that he, as the matai of the family, must front up to these court cases to protect our inheritance, our designated rights to land and our authority or pule over those lands, and our rights to the resources that these lands and chiefly titles give us. It is when he is probed further about the origins or logic of this matai pule or authority that the tensions and contradictions arise. My father refuses to admit that there is an indigenous Samoan religion that has a supreme God called Tagaloaalelagi, whose presence and legitimacy underscores the very phrases, words and imageries he uses when he gives his Samoan speeches as a matai. His refusal is not so much because he doesn't necessarily believe in Tagaloaalelagi, that he was the God of Samoa. His refusal is based on a belief, an Adventist derived belief, that Tagaloaalelagi is no longer God of Samoa. His current practice of things Samoan, things considered Samoan customs, seem more pragmatic than anything else. But his actions to me belie his words. His eyes say to me that he is internally struggling with the idea that God could be God Jehovah and God Tagaloaalelagi, God Creator and God Progenitor. His eyes say to me that he wants to believe that the two could co-exist but he has had no experience of such a co-existence.

I say this not because I am any kind of psychotherapist; in fact, as a sociologist I am actively discouraged to go down this path. But my Samoan training—the training I gained from my grandmother, aunt and my mentors—says that his eyes and body language, when compared with those of my grandmother, his mother, spoke of a disbelief. My grandmother's eyes and body language told me that she believed in a co-existence between her Samoan indigenous or traditional religion and her Christian religion. My father's eyes and body language told me otherwise.

My dad grew up in a time during the 1950s when Christianity had firmly grounded its monocultural roots in the psyches of Samoans in Samoa and the condemnations proffered by the missionaries about Samoan customs could be found in Samoan condemnations of the same. My father's mother, on the other hand, grew up during the 1920s in a Samoa that was still enjoying an indigenous psyche not yet fully subscribing to the new religions of Christianity, capitalism and modernity. As a child growing up and then as an adult, I would watch my grandmother's eyes and body language as she engaged herself in different Samoan customary practices on the one hand and church activities, roles and responsibilities on the other. As an untitled woman, she had no qualms about standing up at a public event and giving a speech, usually the duty of a matai, if she felt the occasion warranted it. She had no qualms dancing in traditional style as if she were the taupou or village maiden if she felt so moved, and she had no qualms acting the role of a submissive wife in church when she believed it was her role to support her husband. What intrigued me was not that she played these roles but the way in which she played them. What I picked up from my grandmother was that the relationship between being Samoan and being a Christian were not necessarily at odds. They existed in their own spheres. Through her demeanour, she demonstrated a verve, a sense of self that celebrated access, identity and comfort with both worlds. When she was Samoan she was Samoan. When she was Christian she was Christian. There was no paradox of being for her. She believed in one and the other. There was no discomfort or sense of betrayal when she engaged in the practices of one and then the other.

The same level of comfort, confidence and unapologetic movement between both religious cultures did not come across to me when I observed my father and his various engagements with being matai and being Christian. Maybe it is a male thing. This discomfort was brought home to me when I was writing the piece for the Samoa Colloquium; on discussing with him my paper, he pronounced rather defensively: "Sailau there's no such thing as pre- or post-Christianity. There's just Christianity."

The schizoid nature of this denial is perhaps reflected in the simultaneously amusing and frustrating reality of having to cope with the somewhat arbitrary decisions about what we should do, or not do, as a family for family events. This somewhat dualistic mentality was brought home to me most recently

when preparing to take a fine mat to the funeral of one of my husband's aunts (my husband's family is Seventh Day Adventist as well). My father said to me that I should not give the fine mat to this funeral because the family are SDA, but instead to give it to him so he can use it for another family event involving non-SDA. When I promptly told him that that didn't make any sense to me, he got, unsurprisingly, very irate. Since I was talking with him by phone it was easier to be amused than frustrated.

My point is that, in the revival and reclamation of our traditional knowledges, the question of why and for whom we are reviving these traditions is important. I raise these stories about our everyday struggles because they offer us a real, if somewhat raw, account of what we must work through in order to get at the verities of our traditional knowledges and their applicability to our lives today.

There are many writings that explore the impact of Christianity on Samoan society but few that examine in detail the nuances of the shifts between belief systems, as between the Tagaloa and Christian religions. Our Samoa dialogue and its text go some way towards addressing that. For Samoan Christians, that is, the bulk of the Samoan population, while Christianity may have sheltered some from the potential abuses of faaSamoa, it also deprived them of some of its richness. Part of that richness, I would argue, lies in the old pedagogies for making a point, for conveying a message.

I want to turn briefly to the idea of the Pacific methodology or way for motivating real dialogue. It was suggested by the organizers of our Colloquium that this methodology is based on the spirit of family. As can be the case with Pasifika indigenous-run conferences, there was a lot of cynicism about motivation and probable outcomes for our 2005 interfaith, intercultural Colloquium. One participant in our epilogue talked about how he reluctantly attended the Colloquium out of obedience to his bishop. Given the December 28–30 date for the Colloquium, he was thinking, and I quote his words, "Yeah another one of those meetings that blows much hot air and goes nowhere." Thankfully, this participant from American Samoa came to feel that, after his initial reluctance, he was pleased to have taken part. I will return to the specific comments of this participant later.

The timing of the Colloquium, just after Christmas and just before the New Year, created a natural spiritual environment for reflecting on past achievements and future hopes for the year ahead. It was a symbolic time for celebration and for reflection. It was also a time for family, a time when family could come together to bond, relax, reflect and just be with one another. This choice of timing for the Samoa Colloquium was, for all these reasons, important in the project of developing a spirit of dialogue among Colloquium participants that would reflect a spirit of family, of sharing as family.

In thinking about the aim of dialoguing, we thought it was essential that participants felt that they could share their views, express them openly and have them respected. The hang-ups we inherit from our colonial and personal histories are always present but at inter-religious and intercultural dialogues about indigenous concepts of peace and good governance these hang-ups seem even more present, especially when one wanted to go down the road of gender and equality in the church. Some of these hang-ups were definitely felt to be simmering close to the surface during the presentation of our gentle, but equally fiery, sister Jenny Plane Te Paa, who gave a wonderful keynote address, "Kia Rongoa te Reo a te Wahine, Let the Voices of Women be Heard".

Jenny's paper caused a fiery discussion afterwards when a number of Samoan nuns expressed in no uncertain terms, to the surprise of a number of Samoan delegates, an absolute agreement and affiliation with Jenny's main thesis that: "Indigenous women are being seriously disadvantaged by indigenous and other male dominance across the leadership spectrum and especially as this is being exercised in both cultural and church contexts." Jenny had the nuns all nodding their heads. They also agreed strongly with her assertion that, "the greatest obstacle to peace and good governance in the South Pacific is the structural, attitudinal and behavioural devaluing and exclusion of women from critical leadership and decision-making roles in both the church and society." As an Adventist, I found it really interesting watching the nuns and the priests having this debate.

Examples of the exclusion of Samoan women from critical leadership and decision-making roles in contemporary Samoan church and society are aplenty in my own Adventist church. For me, as a woman of Samoan heritage, this exclusion of Samoan women from critical leadership and decision-making roles is yet another example of the negative consequences of the enduring legacies, not only of our colonial histories, but also of our contemporary practices, on marginalized groups within our societies, namely, but not exclusively, our own women and children. This contemporary condition of gender bias and female powerlessness seems contrary to our stories of old where three of Samoa's most celebrated paramount title holders were women, Nafanua, Salamasina, Gatoaitele. Part of their power as paramount title holders lay in the fact that they were women. Without romanticizing our past, looking to the past for empowerment and affirmation can be fruitful for making it possible to live a culture where women are revered and respected.

Karen Lupe, a New Zealand based Samoan psychotherapist, describes the Samoan indigenous consciousness as "matriarchally biased". Using our indigenous stories of origin, she describes how the act of giving birth is the privilege of the female. She argues that this gives the female state of being spiritual power and status, evident in Samoan roles such as the feagaiga or sacred peacemaker status. All peacekeeping roles and responsibilities are usually held or carried out by females and/or their descendents.

The sacredness of these peacekeeping roles derives from the belief that life is sacred. Women as carriers and producers of life take on that sacredness as mediators between the temporal and divine. Men as partners in the making and sustaining of life share in the spirituality of life. The idea of a Samoan self as a spiritual and relational self is captured in traditional Samoan concepts such as va tapuia, the sacred space between people and all living things, and va fealoaloai, the relational space between all of these things.

Whereas the va tapuia emphasizes the sacredness of the spaces between people and all living things, the va fealoaloa`i emphasizes the idea that people exist in inextricable genealogical and complementary relationship to another. Both demand a constant search for balance and harmony in relationships. This means that motivating a dialogue in the spirit of family lies in the promotion of the idea that coming together to dialogue should be like the coming together of a family for a family meeting. It is coming together in the spirit of accepting that we take the good with the bad, the mediocre with the over- and under-achievers, the procrastinators with the conscientious and so on. We dialogue in ways that celebrate our diversity graciously, with care for the development of the soul as well as the mind and body.

What this meant for the organizers was that the meeting had to stress the importance of participants being in dialogue, in person. They had to be present at the Colloquium body, mind and spirit. It also meant that the set up of all meetings—pre- and post-Colloquium, proper, formal and informal—had to give adequate emotional and physical space for participants to relate to one another and share in person. The success of this approach can be measured by the impact the Colloquium had on the number of initially cynical participants who, by the end of the Colloquium, felt re-energized and full of optimism for what could be. It could also be measured by the number of ongoing dialogues and invitations to dialogue further as a group and with other groups.

The idea of creating a spirit of family took the emphasis away from the pressures of meeting funding deliverables to delivering on what the Colloquium organizers saw as their version of a Pacific indigenous form of dialogue, dialoguing in the spirit of family. This form also took into account that different cultural protocols were coming together in this one gathering. As host nation, Samoan cultural protocols had priority. However, the decision to prioritize "developing the spirit of family" meant that the Samoans, the hosts, had to be open to compromising on these cultural protocols. This compromise is most apparent in the official photograph of the Colloquium participants. I'm told that, according to some cultural protocols, what might be described as Samoan tikanga (custom), the dignitaries would not be allowed to stand wherever they pleased. They would have to sit in the front. Yet, there is a whole number of dignitaries just standing at the back and in the middle and all the women are in the front. (A number of dignitaries who were women as well would have had to sit in the front anyway.) This

flexibility in what might be tikanga, or faaSamoa, or pono in Hawaiian, speaks of a need for openness of mind and spirit, an openness that can assist meaningfully towards assessing wisely what we want to hold onto from the past and what we do not.

Apart from the overtly religious content of the Samoan Colloquium, its aims were very similar in design to this conference. Themes of peace, governance and reconciliation are explicit to both meetings. The themes of gender and equality and interfaith dialogue are implicit.

The place of traditional knowledges and contemporary and indigenous Pacific discussions of these themes, though obvious, are not without tension. Our 2005 Samoa intercultural, inter-religious dialogue is being extended in many ways. For me, the teachings and learnings from the Colloquium have not only been about how we as indigenes can dialogue more openly and meaningfully in academic conference-type settings but also about how we might share our everyday experiences of our struggles of indigeneity so that we can, like my grandmother, find comfort and zeal in having different worldviews and ways of doing things.

As in our Colloquium proceedings, I leave my final words to the two participants who provided us with our epilogue, Father Andrew Murray, a Palagi Australian political philosopher, and Monsignor Etuale Lealofi, a Samoan priest. In his epilogue statement, Father Andrew put himself in a somewhat vulnerable position. Father Andrew engaged in a way of peace, to use Father Ojibway's words. (Father Ojibway's speech is recorded later in these Proceedings.) To help reconcile the pain that his own people and culture, that of white Australia, imposed on his Aboriginal brothers and sisters, Father Andrew opened himself up to negative criticism. More importantly, he opened himself up to the creation of a real and genuine spirit of dialogue, a dialogue that admits pain imposed and shares equally in the reconciliation of that pain and in the celebration of potential growth and healing. Father Andrew's admission may have been the designated opportunity for Kevin Rudd's apology to the Aborigines in February this year. Father Andrew shares:

> I am an Australian of European descent. That means that I belong to the New World, a world with a beginning but with no precedents. It is imagined to have begun afresh in new, empty lands, without human tradition. Therefore, the Christian religion which I grew up with was uncomplicated by prior religions of the land, unlike those countries here in the Pacific which we call missionary. In my youth and even during the time when I first studied theology, I assumed both that this was a normal situation and that the religion we practised was therefore pure. My first assumption was destroyed when I went to Europe two decades ago and learnt that even there and in Rome itself Christian shrines are built on top of ancient pagan temples and that the memories remain. My second assumption has been destroyed here in this Colloquium. I would like, therefore, to recognize the presence in this Colloquium of my Aboriginal sister and to acknowledge that the Australian nation and the Australian church will not become mature until we are able to make our own the understandings and meanings of the land achieved by Aboriginal peoples through tens of thousands of years and, indeed, until we take on as our own the pain that they have suffered through the dislocation that we brought.

Father Etuale Lealofi's epilogue comments, in a compressed version, are my final comments. They are significant as an ending note because he, as a Samoan, gets the last word. They are also significant here because I want to end on the point about reclaiming and owning our traditional indigenous knowledges. The search for the verities and these knowledges is, as Etuale says, revisiting old questions but in new contexts. He shares:

> The Colloquium reawakened in me a couple of questions that used to nag at me when I was a young priest in the early '70s. One: is the indigenous religion of Samoa which the Christian missioners were supposed to have stamped out, really dead, or is it still alive under the guise of Christianity? Two: at a time when feelings of nationalism were surging all over the world and reaction against colonialism, would the Pacific be affected and, if so, would Christianity be identified as part of that colonialism and thus be rejected along with everything else associated with colonialism?

The first question resurfaced, especially during the presentation of the Reverend Professor Godfrey Onah where he graphically and vividly described the traditional African belief regarding the spirit world in a hierarchy of a supreme God, the divinity, the spirits and the ancestors. He said that many cultural groups in Africa had no cult of the supreme God, although all acts of worship were directed to the supreme God but indirectly through the divinities, the good spirits and the ancestors. It reminded me of what I believe to have been the way the Samoans dealt with their gods. While Tagaloa was acknowledged to be the supreme God, in practice it was the lesser spirits, the gods of the various daily activities—house building, boat building, fishing, bush cutting—and their tapu (ritual restrictions) that the Samoans had to deal with in their daily lives. In the traditional religion of Samoa, there was the faataulaitu, dealer with the spirits, the medicine man who can give an explanation, prescribe a remedy for illnesses and make known the causes for extraordinary happenings. There is no equivalent of the faataulaitu in Christianity. So even the most apparently Christian of our Christians will seek out in times of crises the so called fofo or massage practices, which is more than a massage, or the faipele, the card dealer, fortune teller. It is these practices which are still rampant today that originally raised for me the question regarding the state of the indigenous religion in Samoa.

Like Etuale, I believe that Pacific traditional knowledges and our indigenous religious cultures have much to teach the world—the academic, religious and cultural world—about the human spirit and about its opportunities and designations.

Māori Innovation and Reconciliation

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Introduction

This paper sketches a theory of Māori and considers their approach to problem solving in the theoretical context provided. A new entity on the political scene, the Māori Party, is discussed, and Māori initiatives that address the fundamental issue of Māori survival as a people are reviewed.

An Independent Māori Voice in Parliament

When the Māori Party entered Parliament for the first time, in September 2005, their four Members[1] of Parliament (MPs) brought with them the mandate from their people[2] to be a strong and independent Māori voice in Parliament in this country's search for solutions for contentious problems. I've been asked by Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga to comment on processes used within the Māori Party to achieve kotahitanga (unity).

The other 117 legislators in the nation's principal debating chamber,[3] the country's readers, listeners and viewers through the media,[4] people on electronic networks in this country and beyond, and the Māori Party's 23,000 members are growing in their understanding of what is meant by a "strong and independent Māori voice." The four Māori Party MPs are learning also. They have spoken on every issue that has come before Parliament since September 2005. Collectively they have delivered almost 500 speeches in Parliament, an average of nearly 125 speeches each. This compares with an average of about 40 parliamentary speeches for the busier Māori who represent other political parties in the House and is about a third more than the busiest amongst the other Māori parliamentarians.[5]

Besides having a reputation for being well documented and carefully crafted, the speeches of the Māori Party are distinctively Māori. They reflect kaupapa tuku iho (inherited values), particularly those nine kaupapa (values) that are embodied in the party's constitution.[6]

This paper looks at how these kaupapa tuku iho are woven into the activities of the Māori people and of the four Māori Party MPs, in particular. These values are central to a major task of the Māori Party, namely, to maximize the party's contribution to the survival of Māori as a people.

I will consider how the expression of kaupapa tuku iho assists with the management of the affairs of the Māori Party in particular, and explore how they influence the caucus room behaviour of the four Māori Party MPs in their search for solutions to controversial issues.

Descriptive Theory of Māori as a People[7]

Māori were all alone on these islands[8] for at least 600 years. Māori shaped their own worldviews and grew in number. They prospered. Part of their worldview were kaupapa that the 21st century Māori

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[1] Co-leaders Tariana Turia (Taihauāuru) and Pita Sharples (Tāmaki Mākaurau), along with Hone Harawira (Taitokerau) and Te Ururoa Flavell (Waiariki). Their electorates appear in brackets.

[2] Particularly from the four Māori electorates that they represent.

[3] There are 121 members in the House at this time.

[4] Especially Māori radio and television.

[5] Metiria Turei (Greens) and Shane Jones (Labour) are level pegging with approximately 90 speeches each in the House since September 2005.

[6] Many kaupapa tuku iho are embodied in Māori worldviews that distinguish Māori from other people in the 21st century; these kaupapa tuku iho were shaped by tūpuna Māori (Māori ancestors) during centuries of isolation that ended 200 years ago.

[7] This section reflects a school of thought that is emerging at Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

[8] Principally, Te Ika a Māui (North Island), Te Waka a Māui (South Island) and Wharekauri (Chatham Islands).

have inherited and continue to express. These are preferences. They are states, circumstances or positions that appeal to Māori. The expression of these kaupapa or values is uplifting, a source of enrichment and an avenue to satisfaction and well-being. Kaupapa are values, something that we would rather have than do without (Henderson, Thompson, & Henderson, 2006, p. 19).

The Māori Party has adopted nine kaupapa tuku iho (policies based on inherited values).Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Te Whare Wānanga o Te Pihopatanga and Māori tertiary education institutions have each adopted an identical set of ten.

A Māori business network (Te Rōpū Pakihi o Horowhenua me Kāpiti), one of a dozen such networks in this country, works with the same set of kaupapa as these institutions. Earlier this year, it conducted a competition among its member businesses on the expression of kaupapa tuku iho in their commercial activity. These businesses seek to express kaupapa, subject to working through the financial and other constraints they must necessarily address.

The theory of Māori as a people commences with the assumption that Māori will seek to maximize the expression of kaupapa tuku iho subject to financial and/or other constraints. Alternatively, Māori will seek to maximize the returns from the activity in which they are engaged, subject to the expression of kaupapa tuku iho as a constraint.

Each of these approaches is consistent with the assumption that Māori will commit to doing those things that contribute to the survival of Māori as a people. This will happen when a substantial and growing number of people of Māori ancestry are living according to kaupapa tuku iho and tikanga tuku iho (policies, practices and organizational arrangements that express the values).

Māori, as a distinct cultural group, continue to exist because they are determined to survive as a people. They don't say this but they certainly act this way. They will seek to negotiate any constraints imposed on them by kāwanatanga (the government) or other forces, including constitutional and other impositions originating from the non-Māori electorate.

There are many kaupapa tuku iho. Prominent among these, and widely accepted among Māori, are the following, with the English approximations[9] in brackets: manaakitanga (generosity), rangatiratanga (chiefly ways), whanaungatanga (family ways), kotahitanga (unity), wairuatanga (spirituality), ūkaipōtanga (nurturing), pūkengatanga (scholarship), kaitiakitanga (guardianship), whakapapa (genealogy) and te reo (the Māori language). These are values, the expression of which, Māori find uplifting. This cannot be said, necessarily, for the non-Māori.

The two Māori tertiary education institutions, introduced above, express these ten kaupapa in all of their operations through the application of selected tikanga ("right" ways of doing things). The word tikanga derives from tika, meaning right. This is so in their teaching, creative activity and administration. A staff member of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Elizabeth Cook, is presenting a paper later on the expression of these kaupapa in the resolving of staff and student disciplinary issues. Te Wānanga o Raukawa is known for its exploratory work in the adaptation and refinement of kaupapa tuku iho and tikanga tuku iho (Mead, 2003, p. 313).

Māori Party Processes
The Māori Party have embedded in their constitution the following nine kaupapa tuku iho: manaakitanga (generosity), rangatiratanga (chiefly ways), whanaungatanga (family ways), kotahitanga (unity), wairuatanga (spirituality), mana whenua (identity with land and place), kaitiakitanga (guardianship), mana tūpuna (genealogy) and te reo (the language). Differences between this list and the list previously presented are not significant.

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[9] The Māori words convey many subtleties that are not captured in the approximations. In working with kaupapa, it is critical to recognize this.

While Parliament is in session, the caucus of the Māori Party meets weekly. Typically, two or three pieces of legislation are on the agenda. In giving consideration to legislative proposals, a checklist of a dozen questions is drawn on. First on the list is: "Will the proposed legislation contribute to the survival of Māori as a people?" The answer to this question resides in the extent to which the proposed legislation gives expression to the kaupapa tuku iho in the party's constitution. Such is the centrality of kaupapa tuku iho in the affairs of the Māori Party.

When the Māori Party contested their first election in 2005, there were sceptics who predicted that the party would implode because of the very different personalities represented in the team of four. They were widely known for their independence of thought and strength of commitment to their own ideas. Moreover, they were from different major iwi (tribes), with a history of well recorded warring encounters within iwi and among them.

There have been many occasions in caucus when divisions among the four members were deep and strikingly obvious. When this occurs, it is common for the MPs to ask themselves what advice they might find in the kaupapa tuku iho of the party. What approach to the legislative proposal would give expression to one or more of the kaupapa? That is, they would look for tikanga (right ways) to do this.

One approach that the caucus follows is to work through the kaupapa of the party (found in the constitution), one by one, in search of tikanga to express kaupapa to the satisfaction of all four MPs. Occasionally, this step-by-step process has not been needed: the most satisfying tikanga has become apparent as soon as the question is asked about what advice is in the kaupapa.

The resolution of tough questions occurs when the MPs see the potential to address such questions in ways that are values based, namely through giving life to the kaupapa. They will know this through the enrichment felt and known in their Māori hearts and minds when opportunities are taken to express inherited values rather than not to express them. On two or three occasions, consensus has not been reached and this has been announced in the House and to the nation.[10] Potential long-term destablilizing effects of the differences have not come to pass. Tension has been short lived. Strong preference for the expression of kotahitanga (unity), a prominent kaupapa tuku iho in the affairs of the party, has protected the party.

Māori Survival Initiatives (Tikanga)
Returning to Māori as a people, it can be seen that they have engaged in a wide range of initiatives, that we will call tikanga, which have contributed to raising and maintaining the profile of Māori as a distinct cultural group. These have been sustaining of Māori as a people.

Each of these tikanga can be identified as an avenue toward expressing one or more kaupapa tuku iho. Examples of tikanga are presented in the left panel of the table on the next page. Offered in the right panel is comment on the expression of kaupapa. Eight categories of initiatives or tikanga are presented in this table.

The first category comprises rōpū tuku iho (inherited groups). These are whakapapa (geneaologically) based groups. Over 600 marae (meeting grounds)[11] and associated whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi continue to be maintained.[12] They are widely spread across Te Ika a Māui (North Island), Te Waka a Māui (South Island) and Wharekauri (Chatham Islands). It is on marae that the expression of all kaupapa tuku iho can be experienced most comprehensively. The marae is the

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[10] One example was the Te Arawa Lakes Settlement Bill that saw two of the four MPs supporting the iwi's endorsement of the bill while two abstained. The difficulty for the pair who abstained resided with the Treaty of Waitangi settlement process that underpinned the bill. A second example was the Employment Relations (Probationary Employment) Amendment Bill (the Mapp Bill). This found three of the MPs supporting the first reading, that is, referral of the bill to a select committee; one of the four was opposed. At the second reading all opposed the bill's passage and kotahitanga was restored.
[11] There are 622 listings for marae in *Te Aka Kūmara o Aotearoa (TAKOA),* a directory of Māori organizations and resources. The directory is self listing, so cannot be considered complete.
[12] The words in brackets are approximations of the Māori words that are listed.

principal home of whānau, hapū and iwi and, typically, they are well maintained and thoroughly respected.

Table 1
Examples of Contributions to the Survival of Māori as a People
Māori Initiatives/Tikanga and Related Kaupapa

Māori Initiatives/Tikanga	Kaupapa being expressed
Rōpū tuku iho. Continuing existence of marae and associated whānau, hapu and iwi	When each of these tikanga is assessed for its contribution to the expression of the ten kaupapa introduced above (manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, wairuatanga, ūkaipōtanga, pūkengatanga, kaitiakitanga, whakapapa and te reo) it can be explained, with ease, that with few exceptions each initiative (that is, tikanga in this context) is expressive of all ten kaupapa.
Socio-Political. Establishment of the Kingitanga, 1858– Young Māori Leaders' Hui, 1890s– Rātana Movement, 1920s– Māori Battalion, 1939– Mōrehu (of returned servicemen) Māori Women's Welfare League, 1950– New Zealand Māori Council, 1962– Tōrangapū Māori, 2004–	
Religion. Recognition of Māori as a distinct cultural group Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, 1928–	Most of these tikanga yield multiple benefits in terms of the values. This might explain why these tikanga enjoy continuing support by te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea, the Māori people.
Cultural. Engagement in Kapa haka (performing art) National Festivals, 1972– Manu kōrero (speech making) events, 1965– Māori art exhibitions e.g. Te Māori, 1984	As noted in the text, the pursuit of these tikanga, and others with similar potential, is consistent with the notion that implementation of the kaupapa-tikanga framework will contribute positively to the prospects of Māori survival as a people.
Economic. The formation of Rōpū Pakihi Māori (Māori business networks), including Federation of Māori Authorities, 1987–	Individuals and rōpū (groups) who look to maximize their contribution to the survival of Māori as a people will, predictably, look for ways to pursue their affairs so as to give expression to kaupapa tuku iho by choosing tikanga to do so. The innovative Māori will canvass a range of tikanga in search of initiatives that will maximize the values that have been inherited.
Communications. Māori entry into Radio, 1982– Television, 2004–	
Education. The creation of Kohanga Reo (language nests), 1982– Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori values-based schools), 1985– Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 1981–	
Sport. The organization of Māori regional and national events and teams, for example, New Zealand Natives rugby team, 1888–	

Following ngā rōpū tuku iho, the other seven categories listed in the left column of the table give a hint of the wide range of domains in which tikanga have been initiated by Māori. All hapū and iwi have

participated in these initiatives. Actual initiatives and their diversity are much more numerous than appears in, or is suggested by, this table.

As a footnote to the last category, sport, we can draw on a secondary school netball competition in Australia in June, 2008. The final match was contested by two teams from New Zealand. One was New Zealand's national secondary school netball team; the other team, Aotearoa, was a team of Māori secondary school students.[13] For the latter team, who lost in the final, I can say with a high level of confidence, that they would have been excited by having been party to the process of giving expression to many of the kaupapa discussed in the right hand panel of this table. To have won the final would have been a bonus.

Choice of Kaupapa

Among taonga tuku iho (inherited treasures) are kaupapa tuku iho (inherited values) and tikanga tuku iho (inherited right ways of doing things) to express the values. The combination of kaupapa and tikanga provides a problem-solving model that is based on values that Māori want to express. To do so is uplifting, a source of joy, and an avenue to experience enrichment. This identifies Māori as a distinctive group in the global cultural mosaic.

Not only did we inherit an approximation of physical perfection, according to a museum in Chicago,[14] we are, more importantly, the beneficiaries of an absolutely unique view of the world. This must be the case. Our tūpuna (ancestors) shaped this view in the centuries of isolation when they lived all alone on these islands, totally uninterrupted by short-or long-term visitors other than birds traversing the globe on their annual migrations.

There are many other kaupapa besides those I have mentioned; the particular selection is not too important to the process that I have described. Choice of kaupapa is subsidiary to ensuring diversity across them, from manaakitanga (generosity) to kaitiakitanga (guardianship), from whanaungatanga (family ways) to pūkengatanga (scholarship), from kotahitanga (unity), to ūkaipōtanga (nurturing), from wairuatanga to rangatiratanga (chiefly ways), from whakapapa to te reo (the Māori language). Any institution, as with Te Wānanga o Raukawa, can shape its planning, reporting and assessment of performance around a choice of 10 kaupapa that reflect a great deal of diversity, and sufficient for the purposes of the institution.

On Being Innovative

For each kaupapa there are lots of right ways to do things. When we can't think of any more, our imagination to dream up tikanga has stalled. The supply of tikanga is limited only by our ability to imagine new ones. The greater our ability to think up new tikanga, the more promising is our potential to be innovative.

Some tikanga will be more fruitful than others. In working with combinations of kaupapa and tikanga to solve tough problems, to reconcile differences and to achieve peace, especially within Māori communities, the challenge is to find the most uplifting match of kaupapa and tikanga from all of the possible combinations that our imagination can produce. The final step could require the balancing of risk preferences. That process could be assisted by giving consideration to the prioritizing of kaupapa within the membership of the decision making group. This is a subject for further investigation.

This is a process that is, by its nature, innovative. More than that, it is based on values that have stood the test of time and that we cherish because of the rewards we experience by giving expression to them. A special reward is that this process affirms our distinctiveness as a people. This is Māori innovation. It is not an adaptation of some imported procedures. This is a gift to us, te kākano i ruia mai

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[13] The Aotearoa team is selected at the annual Māori netball tournament, a high profile event now 21 years old. (Email dated June 18, 2008, from Mereana Selby, Tumuaki (Principal) of Te Wānanga o Raukawa).

[14] On a visit by the author to a museum in Chicago in the early 1960s, he encountered a statue of a person about six feet tall, of brownish complexion and with a balanced physique. The display had the label "Perfect Human Specimen—New Zealand Māori"!

i Rangiātea, the seed broadcast from Rangiātea, commonly known as Māori. This is why we will survive as a people and enjoy doing so.

I am not aware of any other such model.

To Conclude

With the assistance of the left-hand panel of the table, let's note a few spheres of activity in which ordinary Māori people have chosen to be different. The kaupapa-tikanga framework, on which we have drawn in this paper, makes us as:

kaumātua (elders) of rōpū tuku iho,
politicians in the Māori Party,
priests in Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa,
promoters and performers of Māori cultural events,
Māori entrepreneurs,
administrators of rōpū tikanga Māori,
Māori radio or television broadcasters,
teachers and creators of knowledge in Māori tertiary education institutions,
participants in Māori sporting activity, and
different from counterparts elsewhere in the world, *if we want to be*.

Table 1 presents evidence that we do. For this we are grateful to our tūpuna (ancestors) for the gift of the kaupapa-tikanga framework that we have inherited (Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2008).

Glossary

hapū	sub-tribe
iwi	tribes
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa	values
kaupapa tuku iho	inherited values, policies based on inherited values
kotahitanga	unity
mana tūpuna	genealogy
mana whenua	identity with land and place
manaakitanga	generosity
marae	meeting grounds
pūkengatanga	scholarship
rangatiratanga	chiefly ways
rōpū	groups
rōpū tuku iho	inherited groups
rōpū pakihi	business network
te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea	the seed broadcast from Rangiātea; Māori
taonga tuku iho	inherited treasures
te reo	the Māori language
tikanga	"right" ways of doing things
tikanga tuku iho	inherited "right" ways of doing things
tūpuna	ancestors
ūkaipōtanga	nurturing
wairuatanga	spirituality
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	extended family
whanaungatanga	family ways

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Preventing the Effects of the "Colonial Dome of Thinking" as it Continues to Assimilate Aboriginal Knowledge

Jim Everett
Pura-lia Meenamatta
Tasmanian Aboriginal Leader

I am very honoured to be here. I have not spoken at a conference outside of Australia for probably 20 years and the last one I spoke at, where I was a keynote, was in Tasmania. I was the only Aboriginal speaker amongst a heap of archaeologists and anthropologists. So, I feel in great company today. Thank you.

I am not a stranger here in New Zealand. I was here in 1965–66 working around the coast on an oil tanker, delivering oil all around the coast. Then we did a trip up through the Persian Gulf and on the way back we pulled into Darwin. I signed off in Darwin but I had a great look around the coast of New Zealand during 65 and 66 and I remember a really wonderful Christmas at Dunedin.

One of the things I noticed on the way over here, in the airport at the Melbourne end. I went into the international news agency. I thought I would go and check which Aboriginal authors are in there. I went firstly to the Australiana section. I hunted through and hunted through. Not one Aboriginal writer! There were a couple of non-Aboriginal writers who write about Aborigines but there were no Aboriginal writers. I was amazed. I went through the whole bookshop looking around and I could not find one Aboriginal author in the international news agency, either under the Australiana or anywhere else in that bookshop—which is telling about the Australia that we live in.

I want to cast some thoughts about where I am going with this by reading a poem that I wrote in 2000 when I was driving along the road with my cousin Buck Brown, who is an Aboriginal heritage officer. It is simply called "On The Road With Buck". It turned round this discussion as we were driving along. I was writing as we were going. We kept pulling up and having a yarn and then fixing up the writing a bit and then away we would go. This is the poem that came out. I think it is relevant to some of the things that we deal with in Australia.

> One day I was driving with Buck Brown along the coast
> and we was talking about white co's on our land
> until the talk got real intense and I wouldn't want to boast
> but we worked it all out from the start right to the end.
>
> Now it's easy enough to see, well it is to you and me,
> why white fellows do their thing wrong way round.
> Their Old Men made a structure with God being He
> so that men had all the power on the ground.
>
> Then they made their people's minds fit the Christian mould
> and they made a lot of boats to sail the seas
> so they set to sail the seas in search of land and gold
> to plunder other lands and never pay the fees.
>
> So they did an' found the gold, an' took our lands on the way
> for that's the evil sort of system we now know
> and they came with hungry death and blooded silver as their pay
> to rape our Mother for a new nation to build and grow.

And they took our tribal land rights because they said we wasn't here
and the land grab was a killing thing with us against the flow
till they beat us and confined us and filled us full of fear
with a story of terra nullius we were crippled with nowhere else to go.

It's a lie we know for sure in its Christian sort of thing
and they educate themselves in the lies the priest has told
but they believe it as a glory from the spirit of their king
for his power is protected by the lies that came from old.

Now it's easy enough to see, well it is to you and me,
that the Old Men's system has bled them dry.
As we look they embrace it 'cause it's strong for them to be
and it gives them power over land they make to die.

For the lie they still ignore is our terror with a price
a terra nullius sort of thing that can't see black,
for their embrace holds them tight, as if it were a vice,
and they believe it's the only way to hold us back.

For the thing that holds their thinking is a system made by them
like a bottle full of history and a story full of mud
for it hides their crimes against us to be sure we can't condemn
their values of indulgence and the money smeared with blood.

And it holds them to a cost beyond their minds of what they do
with their endless rape of our Great Mother and the plunder of our lands.
So you see, bro, they still educate they're right in what they do
while they defend themselves against our cries and our demands.

And they're taking a lot of our mob with them as they climb their ivory tower
till together they're like waves scrambling madly on the shoals
while we watch them jump and tumble for white money and its power
for this power gives them status while the whiteys' own their souls.

So there it is, Old Co, and we know their greed won't do them good
for our Great Mother will take control in a sorry end.
So we do what we do until our spirits are understood
for there's no way we're joining this mob round the bend.

We got a job that ain't got space for the way these fellows head.
It's a picture, don't you reckon, with a sad and bitter show
an' the devil these fellows pray to will come to claim the dead
but our Great Mother is the power that'll take them when they go.

Yeah, bro, it's easy enough to see, well it is to you and me,
why white fellows do their thing wrong way round.
But when their devil goes a running they'll really come to see
the final price will be their end and no tears from us will flow.

So take heed, Old Co, that we do our things in a strong and pure way
And we always live with the way she has made for us to grow
And hold no sorrow and shed no tears for the way they end their day
cause we told them for two hundred years, but they didn't wanna know.

In Australia we have got big problems. Grog is getting out of control. Child sex abuse is right around the country. There is a lack of law and order that keeps things in place and Aboriginal communities have no resources to be able to take an intervention into these white communities and try and straighten them out.

Figure 1. Preminghana. Land handed back to Tasmanian Aboriginal community via the Aboriginal Lands Act 1995.

This place is called Preminghana, which is what I have got written on the back of my shirt. Preminghana is the traditional name of this country, here in the very northwest of the state. It was handed back to us in 1995 and we spent a lot of time there with community camps taking up lots of young people. There are big stone petroglyphs that weigh half a ton with very big carvings on these rocks, meanings of which we no longer know. But it is a very important place.

In the top right of the map in Figure 2 is Mt Cameron West, which is where Preminghana is. We go there. Down to the south east is Hobart. That is where John Bowan came in 1803 and put the flag up. He claimed Tasmania for the king. In the 1830s, Robinson rounded our people up and took them up there to Wybalenna. They were there until 1848 and 47 survivors were then transferred down south to Oyster Cove, which is south of Hobart. They died out there. Their graves were grave robbed. Eventually, after a big struggle by our people in 1984, where we reoccupied Oyster Cove as a sovereign place, the Tasmanian Government was forced to hand back that collection of human remains, which we cremated at Oyster Cove that very same year.
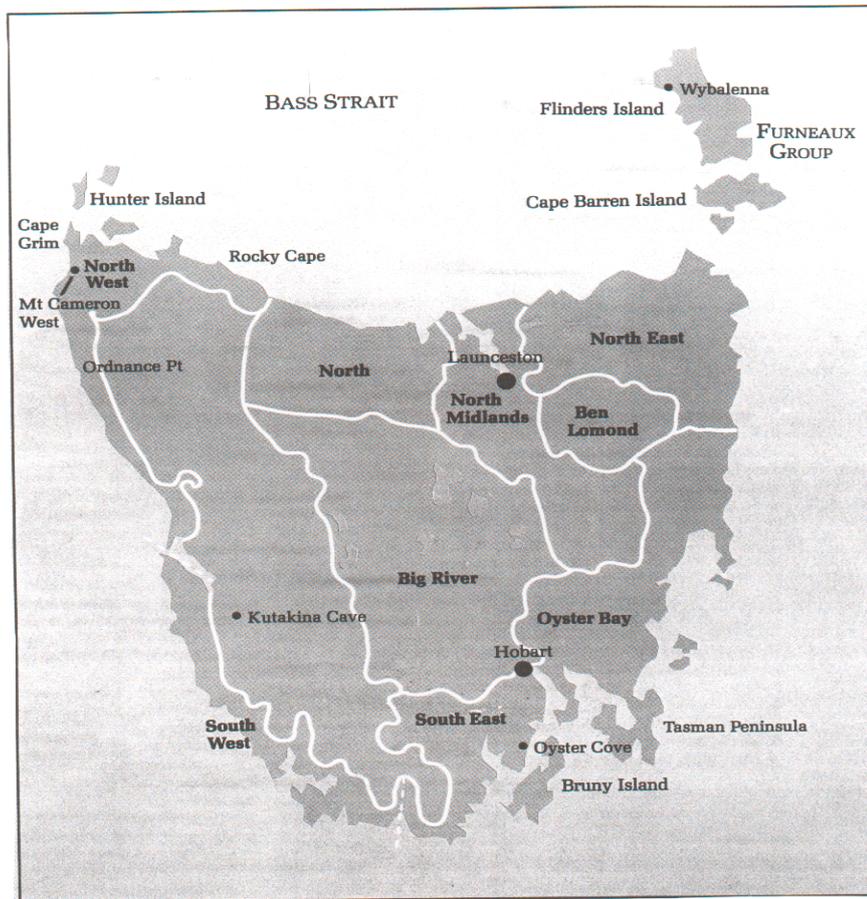
Figure 2. Map of Tasmania showing tribal boundaries. Not considered accurate by Tasmanian Aborigines but nevertheless used as a guide.

So that was a big turning point for us. If you go into the Aboriginal struggle in Australia you can understand the difficulties we have in relating to each other. In talking about reconciliation, we need to reconcile with ourselves because of all of the different nations we have, so many differences. Differences of how they live, differences of how they see things, difference of how the invaders had arrived. And I take from the earlier statements by Laiana (Wong) that they are not colonized, they are illegally occupied. I think that exists in Australia, although we still talk about them being colonizers. There are 500 different cultural groups in our country, including Tasmania. There is something like 1500 languages. So you see for us to be able to work together in a political struggle and also develop our cultural needs in our communities—we are 500 different communities to develop—it is a big job, a really big job.

We had the Tent Embassy in 1972 and then things built up. I did not really get involved with all of this until early 1980, although I had been quietly moving around on some political stuff from 1969 onwards. It was through the heady years of the 1980s that we were in control of the political agenda, with the Government chasing along behind us on a national scale. It was immense. For my community, it was a two-fold thing. Right until we started pushing really hard in the late '70s and going into the 1980s, we had been written out of existence in the books they were teaching from in schools. There were no Tasmanian Aborigines. We had to go and fight our way out of non-existence. We probably still have a lot of anger in our community because of the way we were treated, not simply by history but in that period of time when we were coming into our political expression and the resistant white Tasmanian community came so heavily against us. We got stronger and stronger, refusing to be beaten. Finally, we are now so well accepted that the Government has handed back about 20 parcels of land, including the whole of Cape Barren Island which is a very important island to us.

Figure 3. View from Cape Barren Island looking across Franklin Sound at Flinders Island, Strezlecki Peaks.

This photograph is taken from Cape Barren Island looking north. The land on the other side of the water is Flinders Island. My parents were born on Cape Barren Island and my mother and father moved over to Flinders Island, where I was born in 1942. My mother was the first Aboriginal woman allowed to have a baby in the district hospital at White Mark on Flinders Island. I am that baby. So, it was as late as 1942 before an Aboriginal woman was allowed in that hospital. All of the other women either had a home birth or they had to go across to the Launceston General Hospital on mainland Tasmania.

We have changed a lot of these things. We have got a lot of those islands back up there. We now have control of almost the total mutton bird industry, which is slowly being turned back into a community industry and not so much a commercial industry anymore. It is the cultural aspect of it that our community is concerned with, more than the commercial interests. I think that that is the really important thing for us to have.

While I am talking about those years, we grew up knowing that we had a Māori bloodline in my family through the Everett family. Today I have worn this greenstone for the first time. It was presented to me by two Māori friends in the 1980s, so I brought it here to wear today.

The most important thing I really wanted to talk about is this. Everybody knows about colonization. Everybody knows about what the invaders do. We have all got the same stories. Again I take from Laiana that you can talk about the ills in your community forever but, if you do not get off your butt and do something, nothing happens in those communities. This is where I think I am heading in my later years. In fact, I have only just sort of semi retired; I went on the age pension a week before I came over here. I am in my 66th year. It is very difficult to get a job. I do some small consultancy work and stuff like that. The beauty of it is as I thought: "This is good. I can go and work in the community and I do not have to keep worrying about where my next pay is coming from. At least I have got some money to keep feeding me." That is what I really wanted to do. I have been in all these government jobs. I have been in organizations and all of that kind of stuff and, at the end of the day, they are controlled. They are part of a corporate process with Government. They have some way of making you go in a circle. In our country, you have got to meet the conditions of grant if you are an organization. They want to bang on your door all day, asking for your performance indicators. You cannot have any more money released until you have got those performance indicators in. You have to know how many women came in, how many kids came in under the age of 12, and so on. It is hard to step aside from it. It is difficult because you have got to have these resources in your community.

In our community it is difficult because we have got really big issues about Aboriginal identity that have been borne out of the Government's programmes. In 1980, when the Commonwealth Government set up the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Commission, it created a division in our community. Those of us you can call the old guard do not identify as Australian citizens. But the ABSEC (Aboriginal Child, Family and Community Care State Secretariat) structure insisted that, if you were to participate in it, you had to enrol on the Australian electoral role and you had to be an Australian citizen. We all stood back from it. Probably a mistake that we should not have made! We should probably have said to one another, "Throw away your principles! Let's grab this thing and make it work so it's not taken up by somebody that's going to make a mess of it." But we did not. It was a blunder in my view. And so ABSEC turned out to be the thing that broke the back of our community because what it did was allow in all of these people who are sus-Aboriginal people. We call them "tick-a-boxes". You tick-a-box when you go to university if you want to identify as Aboriginal, tick-a-box if you want to be Aboriginal to get something from the Government.

When ABSEC was set up, we had seven community-based Aboriginal organizations. Within two years of ABSEC being established, we had a regional council of ABSEC established in Tasmania. Our seven organizations grew to 35 community-based organizations. For most of them, we did not know the people who had set them up because they tick a box. So we were stuck with this. It has dropped a little bit over the last few years. Now we have got 28 but the Government knows how to play that situation off, because the Commonwealth Government recognizes the 28 community-based organizations while the State Government recognizes only 14. They recognize 14 because our organizations, our strong organizations, have been working on the State Government and made them take the responsibility through the Office of Aboriginal Affairs for confirming Aboriginality. It may seem a mistake to let the State Government have that role but, because we have so many fights amongst ourselves about Aboriginality if we centre it in one of our organizations, it is better to put it over there and have a way of controlling how it works and at the same time not having one organization being held responsible for it. That would undermine their ability in working with their community. So, that is what happened. Now we have got 14 organizations being funded by the State and the Commonwealth. But the other 14 not funded by the State are funded by the Commonwealth anyway. As a result we have got these two lots of organizations at loggerheads over resources, about what Aboriginality is in terms of practice in the community and things like that. Going back to that principle of "no use moaning about what actually exists there," you have got to bite the bullet and do something.

I will not talk much about the "colonial dome of thinking" because everyone knows about the colonial dome of thinking. You maybe have it in different language but, simply, there is a colonial dome of thinking. It comprises capitalism and a whole range of institutions that are not in the best interests of Aboriginal people. The colonial dome of thinking is that global colonial dome of thinking that has convinced everybody that the West is the way the world should be. My argument has always been that Aboriginal people should go and redefine this world so that they understand where they are going, rather than be led by this false view of what the world is about. My understanding has developed through the teachers that I have had, people like David Maljarley, Bill Nijy, Kevin Gilbert, people I have actually grown up with, excepting Bill Nijy. I did not meet Bill but I have read his material: that our First Nation is not a nation of people, it is a nation of everything of our country; all of those other entities of our country are brothers and sisters of our citizenship to the Earth Mother. That is my understanding of what our Aboriginality is: that all of the connections in there are those spiritual things that Patricio (Dominguez) was talking about yesterday. I believe firmly in that and that we must redefine our world in terms of those cultural principles: that our nation is not a nation of people who stand superior over all of the other citizens of our Earth Mother. So that is the colonial dome of thinking and the redefining of those spaces that we have heard so much talk about here today.

My response? The response that I suggest is a simple one. I have heard it mentioned here a few times and my response is very similar to the ones that I have been hearing in discussions outside of this room when we socialize. That is to go and focus back into our own communities. Do not turn your back on your communities to face the enemy. Every energy you waste on those enemies you take away from your community. Those of us who have the wish and will and the energy to work in our communities must face our communities. We must put our energies, our skills and experience back into those

communities and give our young people a lift, to give them some themes that really mean being Aboriginal, being Hawaiian, being Samoan …. All of our Aboriginality needs to be focused on our own community leaders, and to step away from this thing that we keep being led back to face. We should not be doing it. It takes away. We cannot afford it. Community education to me is the most important thing—our cultural and spiritual education and the things that my good friend Vicky Grieves and Irene Watson talk about in their papers. They are the things that I believe we have to take back into our communities and revive for our young people so they are able to step into the future knowing what their Aboriginality is. It is not just a word. It is tangible. Our spirituality is a fact. I call it the fact reality. It is a fact that all our country is there. It is a reality that we connect with it spiritually. We are not playing with these gods. We are talking about the real connections.

I want to read you another poem to finish with, perhaps to redeem a little bit of the anger of the first poem. This is, I think, the next step. This poem is called "Blue Tears in Manalargenna Country". Manalargenna Country is my old patriarchal ancestor, father of Wapiti who married or at least had a liaison with a passing Māori by the name of Maitai, son of Te Pahi and the daughter Betsy, who was my great, great grandmother.

> blue tears in manalargenna country
> warbling water moving fast in a creek-bed journey
> past the weathered myrtles that look over tea tree stands
> spiked with pepper-trees on green carpets of moss
> over the quartz stoned bed on white sands in water
> with creek walls of green under small fern sentinels
> and where sassafras trees poke out amongst white trunks
> the water calls in colour a history of blue tears
> with myrtle leaves of all colours settled on the green carpet
> and others in the water's journey along small rapids
> until caught on the walls of green moss where they gather
> in the stillness of silent life over the warbling water
> with its song of a history when people in its memory
> celebrated the water song in the high blue country
> and on down to low country at the feet of mountains
> where the stillness follows tea tree trails along a snaking creek
> through the criss-crosses of whitish trunks at water's edge
> letting water speak in low tones as it passes over silent sands
> until again its journey speeds and water sings its colours
> as reminders to the wind's lament of watery blue tears
> yet birds are still and the rocky quartz sings alone
> as a vocal in water's song of warbling in a silent bed
> while pepper-trees show a reddish green under myrtle's shimmer
> of greenish white and black colours in the wind's icy sting
> letting the light string its way over rainbow rocks
> and green with white on the mossy furs of carpet floors
> in tea tree stands and rotting spars of trees now gone
> while onwards the warbling water in its snake creek journey
> with spiritual memories of a history and love for country
> reminding those who can hear its song in new worlds
> to bring back shared journeys on a land of blue tears.

Talanoa: The Tongan Common People's Critical Talk in Aotearoa New Zealand

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Lita Foliaki
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Semisi Manisela Prescott
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Sione
First, I would like on behalf of my colleagues to pay my respects to the tangata whenua (people of the land).

It's a bounty and a blessing for us to have been invited to share our basket of knowledge with this rich pool of indigenous knowledge. It is timely that our indigenous knowledge finds its rightful place in our globalized village, this small piece of rock called Earth. Hopefully, the telling of our perspectives will add to what has already been shared, not only to enrich but also to continue to stir the spirit. As indigenous peoples, we know this will lift our conversation to the realm of spirit, where the knowledge is deeper, the relationship closer and the knowledge higher. Hopefully, body, mind and spirit will continue to advance us as equal partners, as equal seekers of knowledge and not as one of a senior–junior relationship.

Linitā
In preparing our talk with you on this subject of talanoa, we decided that when each of us has got something to say then we'll just come in and talk. There are publications on the subject but this is like the live show, like producing a situation that is real. It is real because talanoa is the institution where knowledge is created. It is also a means of realizing how power is constructed in the Tongan language and culture.

Lita
You may have noticed that Mere (the chairperson) introduced me as working for a health board and not in an academic institution, so I'm the odd one out. But this represents an element of talanoa in that it is inclusive. If talanoa wasn't inclusive and it belonged exclusively to academics, I would not be involved in this talanoa; so an important element of talanoa is its inclusiveness. There's a degree of familiarity assumed between the participants of talanoa. On the other hand, not being academic is an advantage to me. If my colleagues are clever enough they would know how to manage the odd one out in a talanoa. But if they're really, really clever, you wouldn't notice that there's any management going on at all. It would be beneath, quite, quite beneath what is recognized.

In saying that talanoa is inclusive, you cannot take talanoa out of the rest of the mode of communication that happens in Tongan culture. I think talanoa is more like negotiation. Implicit in that is an assumption that there's some equality between the parties engaged in the negotiation and in that sense an equality in knowledge. Talanoa is that process within Tongan culture which is inclusive of people with different levels of knowledge, meaning that people with different status—in this case different professional status—are allowed to converse. So what does that imply? That there is a source of knowledge that we all have access to and that we bring to this talanoa.

Semisi

For me, talanoa has been a process of discovery. Unlike my colleagues, I came to New Zealand very early in my life and have had to reconnect with my Tonganness. It is still very much a case of not taking for granted the aspects and characteristics of talanoa that we do unconsciously. Until you use this mechanism, as I did for my PhD, it's simply a label. Then you start learning about the aspects of it, how it works and, more importantly, the depth of culture and spirit that comes with it. In collecting the data for my own research, there were different methods that could be drawn on: interviews, questionnaires, surveys, etc. But for me to use those methods with my own people was akin to the dental process of extracting teeth. An interview or a survey is an academic process for the removal or extraction of knowledge. Talanoa needed to go further than that. I needed to connect with the people that I was talking with. It wasn't a simple procedure of "tell me what you know" but rather a sharing of ideas, a sharing of realities, a sharing of understanding.

The real benefit that came from my study was the richness of data and knowledge that was gained at the end of the process. Having said that, I was not the only one that was learning. It had to be a sharing. The boundaries needed to be level or, rather, there were no boundaries; and if there were boundaries you negotiated to get them removed. It had to be equal. You had to share in the laughs. You had to sit patiently and listen to the stories being told. The interpretation came afterwards because it was what they chose to share with you. With the "dental procedure", you go in with an idea of expecting something and some knowledge; I have a question to ask you and I'd like you to answer it. With talanoa, it's not that. I went in there and they volunteered to tell me what their stories were. They did the editing themselves. It was an experience or relationship that was absolutely voluntary. You can imagine how my ethics committee took the application when they asked, "What questions are you going to ask them?" and I answered, "Well, nothing. I don't want to ask them anything." I would just say to those participating, "We've got a topic that I'd like to talk about." Then they just went on from there, with a nudge now and then so as not to go and talk about the rugby for three hours! At the end, I felt richer and hopefully they did, too. The depth and the sharing is absolutely rewarding for those of you who may choose to engage in talanoa in that way in a research environment.

Sione

I want to further deconstruct the meaning of talanoa. It is made up of two concepts tala and noa. I think it is fitting for a researcher to clarify the differences between talanoa and other forms of tala, talking or sharing stories. Talanoa is different from talanga. Talanga is more a debate; you have set the agenda, you walk in with your agenda and you begin to debate or argue points. Talanoa is open, very inclusive. Tala means to tell and it indicates that our culture is largely oral, where we tell rather than write. Talanoa is to tell a story, to have a conversation. Tohi is to write and tohinoa is to record your daily life, your whole life history; we call a diary tohinoa. Noa might resonate with tangata whenua as the concept of noa means it's safe, it's open, as opposed to the other end of the continuum, tapu (sacred, restricted). Noa also means the depth of, the degree of depth that you look into the issue. It means that the closer the relationship in the practice of talanoa, the deeper the relationship will be. This is because layers of barriers will be removed and opened up, and the superficial sharing will be done away. You'll begin to dig deeper as researcher and co-researcher (your participant). You'll begin to give and take, rather than you probing and trying to take.

There are a number of things happening with the process of talanoa as a tool for research. One is to establish the relationship. That's why we have long salutations. We connect first and foremost to the spirit of our ancestors, then we connect to us who are here in the present time and then we try to weave the same strands for our future generation. That is key because, without mutual trust and respect, people who guard knowledge may not open up. Talanoa can be employed to establish the relationship before you use the same device, talanoa, to share knowledge. So, knowledge is co-constructive rather than being constructed by one person only; the notion of co-ownership of knowledge emerges. In Auckland, for instance, Pasifika communities have been asking: "You've been researching us for many years and you do your PhD on our back. Where's the benefit for us?" That's one of the reasons why talanoa is a more appropriate tool to use when you work with the community.

Linitā

At the moment, I'm considering how power is realized and lived in Tongan society, and how it has been done so over many years. I think talanoa is a form of power. As teachers and Tongan migrants, we know that our hearts and souls and minds go together. We can't separate them nor can we suppress our feelings. Talanoa is not just telling a story, it is not just the content of the story. There are the eyes of the person who tells the story; the voice or message that is not said in the story, the unsaid part; and then leaving something for those who listen to make the connection. When they make that connection, you can see it on their faces. They start smiling because they have arrived there, and then they start extrapolating. The collective wisdom is at work.

Let me say that migrants like ourselves think we have a community in New Zealand but we have created it in our minds. The belief in the collective wisdom, the community wisdom, how would you know that is true? You would only know that if you talanoa, if you talk from the heart. I believe the depth of the community wisdom is like going to the ground; it's like your heart sinks really deep; that's why we're kind of in awe of our ancestors, because they go deep. Depth is actually drawn from the whenua, from the land. It has to be. So, talanoa mā fana, the heart draws upon the depth of the whenua and the words that come from such depth rise with actual authority; that's the power that I'm talking about.

How is it that this talanoa is not realized? I believe it is because nobody has got any authority over knowledge, that we all have been colonized. We are speaking Pālangi (white person, English language) and that means Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) knowledge. Consequently, no-one has got any authority except the gurus from elsewhere. Indigenous knowledge, in my view, is our search for authority, and authority comes from the depth of our souls, of our hearts, into the whenua (land). To have our connection with our land de-powered is where we're caught, and all of us are swimming at the moment. We are not tangata whenua o Aotearoa (indigenous people of New Zealand), we are migrants. This means, for us as migrants, that where there are other opportunities, so called, we move off. Tangata whenua look and say, "Here they come. They will take what they take, and off they go when the grass is greener elsewhere."

Many of us from Tonga fail to acknowledge that fear comes from this floating, this not being deeply grounded. That's the new knowledge that we can contribute to migrants who come to Aotearoa, how we might go deeper in understanding the whenua Aotearoa, that is, the people of Aotearoa. By speaking Māori for a start! We don't want to say that, as we can get cut off at the knees because nobody looks to the Māori language as the source of the wisdom of collective knowledge that I'm talking about. But we might be able to talanoa as we've done with Mere over here, talanoa till the sun rises again at six o'clock in the morning. Our hearts kind of merge with energy so that, if I say something really colonized, Mere will say, "You're so colonized, Linitā," and she knows I won't get angry for being labelled that. Not many of us could ordinarily do this. That's the māfana, the energy. I think you say mahana in Māori. To talk in depth you require energy for the spirit. That's why many of our indigenous peoples can rave on in the "first language" (English) but there's no depth in it. We all go to sleep. The separation of the mind and heart is problematic. That's "wasted" in my view; many of us are so wasted in our thinking. When your heart makes a decision—as Lita says, it's the heart that makes the decision—the mind doesn't feel anything; it's the heart that feels and listens. Is that a new framework? No it's not. It's the framework that we used to have.

In my research, going back to 2000, I only looked at one aspect of talanoa, which is pō talanoa, the talk in the night. That is a metaphor for a space where Tongan people come together where there's no requirements by the "mainstream" for them to work. It's a space in time where you can connect and relate, at night, when you can talk your issues and so capture of moment. In Tongan, pō means to catch, it also means the night. So pō is the space or the moment we create, we recreate and we deconstruct, all at the same time, with tears rolling, while the mouth is laughing and the heart yearns to be in Tonga.

You can see that there are opportunities in Aotearoa, yet you know they are very difficult to arrive at. They are constructed by somebody else for their purpose. You dreamt as though they are meant for you, only to realize they're not for you. Because your mind is now open and your heart can see and

make decisions, you realize that your talk will have to be transformative. That's when the transformative potential of talanoa comes in. My colleagues will say, "Get on with it, just move on." I don't want to think this is the recipe for discovering ourselves in Aotearoa. No, the issue is the power in talanoa to make us Tongans construct the frame upon which to talk about ourselves and bring our stories to Aotearoa, to contribute to understanding the new land. We have Tongan concepts that are so similar to Māori concepts, but the context and the relationships are political. That's new for us. So this talanoa must be political; if not, it won't lift our hearts and the soul would have to go deeper.

Semisi

Part of talanoa is that it's got to be humorous. We have an expression which means "taking the mickey out of" the next speaker. That's part of the relationship and what needs to be established for dialogue to be open and frank. It's a sharing that is almost unreserved, but that's not to say that there is no method behind the madness. There is method there.

I was reading in one article that, although talanoa is not in the Fijian dictionary, you can ask anyone in Suva what it means and they'll tell you. That's how entrenched it is in their culture. So we can't monopolize the word and say it's ours, it's Tongan. It is a way of communicating and establishing relationships that is shared across the Pacific. Nevertheless, as Tongans, we have a way of doing it. In a faikava which is where we would have a hingoa matāpule and the kava ceremony, we wouldn't even be using Lita, Linitā or Sione. We'd all take on the title of the family or lineage that we come from. That is so that I can address you properly. When you bring that lineage with you, your history with you because of that name, the depth of the discussion and dialogue is entrenched in a whole history. You are actually talking for your whole iwi, your tribe, your family, your bloodline. That's part of the essence of the Tongan talanoa.

I was listening to a woman on Tangata Pasifika. Now, on TV, time is of the essence. When she was given the opportunity to say her bit about the issue, she spent 30–45 seconds, which is a long time on TV, telling us where she was from, the village, who she was and who her parents were. It was no accident because that's the way we communicate. Before you can speak, you've got to establish your line, your position, your context and that's all part of talanoa. With Tongan talanoa, the salutation that Sione talked about earlier on is all part of breaking down the barriers so that there are no seats and tables in front of us; there's nothing holding us back from sharing some of our most personal feelings, our whole history.

Linitā

Oh, we do hold something back. We don't lay everything up there for everybody!

Semisi

That's because we Tongans talk in the abstract. I could make a comment about the fact that that thing keeps falling off her coat, and say that in the nicest way, but in actual fact I'm attacking her.

Lita

But that is an expression of the depth of a relationship. I think it's true about Māori–Pacific relationships in New Zealand. The minute that a Pacific can disagree strongly with a Māori, that will show that the relationship is deepening. As long as we are too respectful to each other, the relationship is still superficial. When you as Pacific are confident enough to take the mickey out of tangata whenua, that is when I would say that the relationship is deepening. But it won't happen without enough talanoa. It won't happen until we share enough. When you're maheni (to be accustomed to or familiar with) with someone, you understand what their little mannerisms mean without their saying much. That's when the understanding has gone beyond the need to describe with words what is going on. We will not be maheni as Māori and Pacific if we don't spend enough time with each other.

Let me say that there's an element of complete, self-indulgent pleasure seeking in talanoa. Pō talanoa means to talk through the night and it's an end in itself. It gains a rhythm, there's a flow.

Sione

That point that Lita made that there isn't maheni within tangata whenua and tangata moananui (people of the Pacific), I think there needs to be more talanoa. It's about exploring the noa within us. If we go back into the past, we will we acknowledge the cultural affinity, the common history, the genealogies, and we will dig from the rich knowledge and gems of wisdom that our common ancestors have prepared and put in store for us. I think the more we talanoa the more we will go deeper, enhancing our relationship and uncovering the wisdom that is laid hidden for us to bring forth.

One way of exploring the noa is through acknowledging the dimension that is within us as spiritual beings, as human beings. This device is used by our artists in the context of writing music and choreography. The punaki or expert in these arts goes into a form of whakaʻoʻonoa , looking into the vastness, looking to the depths of his or her spirit. I think we haven't done that enough; we are increasingly losing the significant role of the spirit dimension in enriching our knowledge and complementing the formal knowledge that we have today. These are things that we need to bear in mind: to look into the noa, the inclusiveness, the depth of the knowledge of our ancestors and our relationship as tangata whenua and tangata moananui a kiwa (people of the Pacific), also to look into the human spirit, the innate knowledge that is there. It's not about how much you know, it's about how much you innovate and imagine; that's where new knowledge will come from.

Linitā

We have an indication that this talanoa will continue. We will take it on as a task requiring us to create new spaces in our workplace, to speak together, to talanoa together, to write down these ideas so as to explore the power of imagination in talanoa.

I have to be mindful that the word noa in the Tongan language can mean other things, too. Heavily influenced by mathematical thinking from the West, noa is taken to mean nought, zero, nothing. But the mathematical noa really is a point of reference; it's not zero meaning empty, nothing. In Tongan, noa also means not able to speak, dumb. We might have to consider the possibility of how we come together; maybe no-one will speak because we will be asking what language are we going to talanoa in, Māori or Tongan or English? We will be advancing the English language even further if tangata whenua and Tongans aren't going to use Tongan and Māori to talanoa in. That's the *take* (issue) in front of us all. We will have to start with the words and expressions that we have that are very similar and then take it further.

I was fascinated with all the "-tanga" words that our speaker (Professor Winiata) this morning was presenting as forming the framework for Māori. We Tongans have not got such a framework. We have been allowing the frames to be constructed for us, until moments like this. Our hearts are moved because we now realize we've got to create a framework to conceptualize our thinking, a talanoa framework. The four of us work together; we do a lot of talanoa together. We will advance our thinking after this. We will write it in Tongan, so the Tongan speakers can read about what we do in a context where we come face to face with non-Tongans like yourselves. We'll have to deepen our thinking in our hearts about our contribution to living, anga-e-nofo, in Aotearoa.

So from our side, to be inclusive is like our dream. I don't know what you, the Māori, would like us to be. To just come along and join in and open up? How far do you bring us in? We know from our own fale (house), you go as far as the lounge and then you spend most of the time in the kitchen but you don't go as far as the bedroom. Our coming together in your fale, your land, we will be looking for some clarity, some depth. We will be looking to see how clear you are in the authority of your knowledge; that's the cue in my view.

We are trying to have some authority on Tongan matters in Aotearoa. The Pālangis are looking to us as immigrants for ideas when they are constructing policy. If we can't draw on something different in terms of position and standpoint, they won't bother with us because they've already got ideas.

There's hope, there's struggles and there's courage. There's courage amongst all of us, not just to see you but to hear you and be able to speak with you in Māori, as well as expect a reply beyond "Mālō

e lelei." I will give an example to show how difficult this is, from the interface of learning and teaching in secondary school. We worked on a project at Mt Roskill Grammar with Mere Kepa. The Tongans used to come along in the evening, see Mere and say, "Hello, Mere." Mere would turn round and say, "Mālō ʻetau lava." It blew them away because they didn't expect a Māori to greet them in their own language. The intonation was so right. From that day, the Tongans would come along and start talking away in Tongan to Mere. Mere would go, "Io…" Mere Kepa was involved in in-depth conversations with Tongans and meanwhile the Tongans would only say, "Kia ora." I have seen how Mere's efforts contributed to that relationship which goes back to 1991. This is 2008 and I know that the issue of the language we use is not going to go away.

Semisi

In terms of the research that many of you are probably going to undertake, I know you will have your own form of talanoa. I realize that when I was using it for my research I was taking a means of communication that was precious to my people and using it in an environment that was abstract and foreign. My plea to you, if you are going to use it, is that it is more than a tool. It is a way that belongs to your people, so look after it and don't twist it. Don't bastardize it! Otherwise it will be lost. Preserve it for what it is, in depth. It will enrich your research. That's the way I employed it and I would challenge any academic who intends to use something from their culture to further research in an appropriate way and to do so in that spirit of preservation in sustaining your own way of doing things.

Sione

It has been an honour for us to share our experience and understanding of the concept and practice of talanoa. It is a concept that is broader than mere tools of communication, methodology or research. We have attempted to put it in the context of sharing knowledge, co-owning knowledge and respecting any form of knowledge. Hopefully, one day talanoa will contribute to the advancement of our knowledge and indigenous knowledge, in particular.

Glossary

anga-e-nofo	living
Aotearoa	New Zealand
fale	house
māfana	energy
maheni	to be accustomed to or familiar with
mālō e lelei	greetings
Moananui (a Kiwa)	Pacific
noa	safe; the depth of; a point of reference; dumb
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pālangi	white person, English language
pō	night, to catch/capture
punake	expert, as in an artist(music) or a poet
tala	talking, sharing stories, words, histories
take	issue
talanoa	to tell stories, relate experiences, a research method
tangata whenua	people of the land, indigenous people of New Zealand
tangata	person, people
tohi	to write
tohinoa	record your daily life, diary
whenua	land

The Great Healing: Reflections on Spirituality and Ceremonies of Peace in North America

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Franciscan Friar of the Atonement
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Chairperson, Leadership Task Force of the National Tekakwitha Conference

It is a great gift to be with you and to share this short time with you.

In my recent travels, I was going through an airport with my cousin who is a federal tribal judge, a very radical woman, a great woman. We both hate going through security. Given her status as a judge, she can get away with things. She pulled aside the head of the security gate personnel and said, "Why do you have the Native Americans, the indigenous, go through security? What are you afraid of?" He said, "We're afraid that you might hijack the plane." She said, "We're indigenous people, where would we go? Do I say to the pilot take me to Arizona? Not much of a hijacking!"

I bring you greetings from my elders of the Fond du Lac in upstate Minnesota, woodland people who live by the lakes and the great lake of Superior. Those lakes and woods form our story and who we are as a people, probably no less than your ocean and your islands form who you are. Certainly, the words of peace and harmony in our tradition are ones of great responsibility and honour, requiring respect and humility. I think a gathering in these hours and in this place is in a profound way a ceremony of peace, a way of harmony, a time of healing. I come to you now with thanksgiving in my heart and pray, as our Iroquois brothers and sisters do, that we put our hearts and minds together as one. In my language, Chippewa, we say, "Let it be that way!"

Among the many tribes, there is a tradition of gathering and making a prayer bundle. The purpose of the gathering of ritual instruments—sometimes including a pipe, feathers, herbs, simple treasured gifts from others and the most sacred and precious of our possessions passed down in families from one generation to another—is essentially to form a peacemaking bundle. We pray with it before the Creator to live a good life and in a good way. We share the way of the pipe for peace when needed or when appropriate. In these ways we respect the paths of the elders who live life circumscribed by prayer. The material instruments in and of themselves are not that remarkable. When gathered together, they are a powerful symbol of our way of life, the way of peace before God and all creation. I find that I have approached these reflections with you like unfolding the bindings and skin of the bundle I carry in my heart and memory, trying to place everything in respectful and proper order and praying that it makes for wisdom and clear hearts. Let it be that way!

This morning, I am hoping to explore the spirituality of peace and some methods of peace and their consequences, reflected in the light, history and experience of the tribes of North America. Sharing the meanings, technologies and the methods of conflict resolution and social restoration in this kind of conference is profoundly important for the health of the world. As I begin, I pray that our deliberations will help us see and get us towards sharing the larger understanding of the spirituality of peace and the power of harmony across cultures. As for our elders, through to limitless generations, this understanding will sustain us to do our best to keep the world and its stories alive. For me, this is the Great Healing.

The noted American naturalist and writer, Barry Lopez, reminds us of a possibility that is essential to entertain on any journey of peace. He says, referring to those who are searchers of the past (archaeologists),

> We search for order in chaos wherever we go. We worry about what is lost. In our best moments, we remember to ask ourselves what we are doing, whom we are benefiting by these acts. One of

the great dreams of humankind must be to find some place between the extremes of nature and civilization where it is possible to live without regret.

Reflecting on the many ways of peace and the hundreds of tribal nations in North America, we see this is no easy task. Certainly, generalizations are dangerous. I find, however, it can be said that peacemaking is born and nurtured in the ordinariness of life and in necessary relationships with all that live and move on the earth, all that constitute our communal and inter-tribal lifeways. That peacemaking grows with the ceremonies of life and in the experiences of the sacred that feed the individual and the community soul. Peacemaking is on this path where we decide, as peoples of this earth, to join creation in going in one direction, living without regret. Let it be that way!

The way of peace, whether in metaphors of living, making or building peace, is essential to the Great Healing and is at the heart of our circle of ceremonial and religious life. The way of peace is to regain, over and over again, daily, weekly, seasonally, the harmony and balance found in the mind and heart of the Creator. The Great Healing thus implies for us a singular purpose and a capacity for a great life, where we as individuals and in our collective experience participate knowingly and fully with every living being in the conversation between heaven and earth. In this way, we reconstitute and bring to life the vibrant past and the emerging future; we recognize that every encounter with life is holy and overflowing with possibility and potential. It is always a good day to be indigenous.

The way of peace, the search for harmony, is a true cultural value for us, prior to and extensive beyond conflict, urging the indigenous towards rituals of purification and ways of reconciliation and restoration. This human act of consciousness and reflected choice for non-violence is a paradox of seeming weakness, engaging strength with its own power to transform the fate of the community in time and place. Why? Violence—unresolved conflict with one another and with creation—is being human outside our limits. Our intuition of limits is what the post-industrial world is now beginning to comprehend and see in us, perhaps for the first time, the strength of spirit and capacity for the holy that can transform this blind march to ecocide and global conflict for a time we cannot yet imagine.

We have choices to make and counsel fires to tend. The memory of time and space is an essential component of reflections on peace, where harmony resides both within and without. We lack a sense of comprehensiveness in this reflection. Especially, we fail to remember that the history of peacemaking in our tribal cultures is as long, or longer, than the inspired story of Israel. Our history is no less sacred and no less a kind of knowledge and experience of the holy. Our sacred history and yours have to be brought into the dialogues on peace, for the memory of our ancestors both informs and requires it. The real and profound memory of their living stories of origin and emergence, wisdom and social organization, is critical to understanding the ways of peace because those stories shape the spiritual foundations for all indigenous in terms of space and time.

The people are the caretakers of the land, the rivers, the oceans. The rituals and their timing in life are calculated as a means of staying worthy of these gifts. Here, we must wrestle with the felt collisions of cyclic and linear time, and the odd conception of land as personal possession and source of power and, thus, a source of conflict. We need to make sense of it and take it seriously. The noted Kiowa writer, N. Scott Momaday, says this, "I am interested in the way that a human being looks at a given landscape and takes possession of it in his blood and in his brain." We Americans need to know more than ever before—indeed more than we can imagine—who and what we are with respect to the earth and the sky. I am talking about an active imagination and the concept of an American, an indigenous, land ethic.

What Momaday says of America can apply to all our home lands. It is important to understand the sense of place as essential to our identity as a people and as a consequence of exile and dispersion from ancestral lands. The removals in North America have wounded and, in far too many cases, destroyed the very capacity of the tribes to understand themselves or the cosmos around them in their ceremonial practices and lifeways. Our sense of dislocation is a critical factor in understanding the past and, into the present, the role of resistance, the choice of non-violence over violence, living with the wounds of defeat and the wastelands of modern American life and monoculture. For many indigenous, the

experience of exile and of life in the cities is fundamental to understanding how we had sought and still seek to find peace for ourselves as tribal nations and, today, as diverse peoples in a national and international community of indigenous. In this context, the images and ways of peace are essentially acts of imagination about nature and the purpose of life, rooted in place.

The American contemplative monk, Thomas Merton, a non-Indian but a mystic and activist no less, describes that reality in this way: "This is the land where you have given me roots in eternity. Oh God of heaven and earth, this is the burning promised land, the house of God, the gate of heaven, the place of peace, the place of silence, the place of wrestling with the angel." In the United States, we have still not gotten over the mythic notion of the tribes as noble savages or mystic warriors of the 18th century imagination, where the Indians have a special knowledge of harmonious life. Nor has American culture embraced the reality that the tribes are a unique and essential part of the American story and the ideal of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The life and traditions of the indigenous in the Americas have been in crisis for over 500 years, in ways unknown and unimaginable before European contact. Our understanding of the methods of peace and conflict has to be measured by this reality. It is not enough to focus on the pre-contact period, marked by the memory of the prophets of peace, and say that we know the real traditions or the meaning of peace extending into our own time.

The colonial American eras are marked by mostly reluctant accommodation, resistance to war or war-making and our manifold defeats as people. So much of what we think we know about this period is marked by the disappearance, disintegration and dislocation of the tribes. They found their spiritual ritual path patterns lost forever before the foreign experience in their homeland and the diverse contemporary experience of cultural, religious and political resistance—while what remains, the core, is reflective of the experience of the 15th century onward. There is a search for new methods of restoration and reconciliation. These can, and must be, for our future, to know life once again in harmony and peace. We are seeking to be whole again on our own terms, spiritual, social, political, economic and educational. It is now a task for us all to find an indigenous common ground that connects the personal, the tribal, the national and the global purpose that is wholly justice making and peaceful.

From the Yupik of Alaska to the Miccosukee of Florida, from the Passamaquoddy of Maine to the Quechan of California, it can be said that our stories identify and embody the experience of our origins. In mythic time, these stories contain and amplify history as a cautionary tale of what not to repeat on the one hand and, on the other, of how to be in a balanced and harmonious relationship with creation in all its forms and lifeways. This creative tension is part of life in story time. All that is real is story. The excellent Laguna Pueblo writer, Lesley Martin Marmon Sylko, tells us this part of the story. She says of creation: "Thought woman is sitting in her room and whatever she thinks about appears. She thought of her sisters and together they created the universe. She is thinking of a story now."

I will tell you something about stories. They are not just entertainment. Don't be fooled! You do not have anything if you do not have stories. They are all we have to fight off illness and death. The colonizers' evil is mighty but it cannot stand up to our stories, so they try to destroy them so that the stories are confused or forgotten. They would like that. They would be happy because we would then be defenceless. "He rubbed his belly. 'See I keep them here. Here put your hand on it and see. It is moving. There is life here for the people.'" In the belly of the story, the rituals and ceremony are still growing. The only cure I know is good ceremony. That is what she said: "Sun rise!"

Rarely do we find in the defining stories of tribal cultures the dualities or categories of opposition between the sacred and profane, the microcosm and macrocosm, war and peace. Rather, all things and beings are engaged with and in conversation with the great purpose of creation itself. The stories of origin and emergence, the cautionary tales of relationships with animals, spirits, tricksters and the like, are teaching the ways of wisdom in harmony, purpose in peace and respect in relationships. Until we can imagine a worldview in this way, we cannot authentically know the meaning of peace as indigenous live, pray and act with peace. Seen in this context, the stories of one's tribal history and mythic origins connect and inform, shape and engage with the individual community. The cycles of ceremony and

stories maintain in a visible way the harmony and balance of life for the individual in the community and in the world around them.

Black Elk, of the Catholic faith and a traditional elder of the last century, says this:

> Peace comes within the souls of men when they realize their relationship, their oneness with the universe and all its power and when they realize that the centre of the universe dwells in Wakan Tanka, the great mysterious, and the sinner is really everywhere. It is within each of us.

Those who know the experience and self-questioning of the unavoidable conflicts inflicted on the soul seem to have wrestled with the consequence of the fragile, textured interweave of politics and survival, subsistence and prayer. Thus they know the dynamic web of life. The visionary prophets of the tribal nations perceive the web of life as felt and real. When they stood apart in the struggles, which led towards the path of violence and fractures of the people, they, I believe, understood the purpose of being peacemakers. Conflict makes a break in the pattern of life, like the fault line in ice, like the newly fired pot—when it breaks nothing is the same again.

The prophets have told the people that they recognize in that moment that the web of life is poorly served, perhaps nearly ruined, or their fragile part in it is; and that reparation, restoration and reclamation is needed. Conflict—the violent choice, the alienation from the other—renews awareness of the connections that bind one life to another, one circumstance or condition to another. This latter is for us the mystery of connections, the mystery of peace. It brings into the light the experience of the web of life as a moral challenge: to stir oneself and the community to remain a faithful participant and to be present to a larger arc of meaning. What is that? To live fully, to act fully and to learn fully. When the peacemakers could do no other, they found the wisdom to rest in the web itself, to trust even in the face of rejection, resistance and violence and to see the sacrifice of life as a gift. We do not know the lasting impacts of the loss of a number of teachings of these men and women, whom the tribes respectfully call prophets. Hundreds of tribes vanished within the first ten generations of European contact and we lost their wealth of insight and teachings. We have some of their stories and legends from that pre-contact period. While these give us a glimpse of the unique legacy of these extraordinary men and women, they are merely fragments of their story of life.

The more contemporary prophets were peacekeepers. In the colonial and American pre-Indian war period, some of the Delaware prophets, the prophets of the Shawnee and others, sought to revive the older patterns, which included some measures of both political and religious resistance to the conquest and the inner tribal solidarity of the Federation. Likewise, there were a host of leaders, both men and women, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, who led resistance and revival movements in the tribes and to France, either because of contact with Christianity or in rejection of it.

These leaders have a unique place in the history making of the United States. Together with the ancient and historic American prophets they provide a rich tapestry, mostly obscured and unacknowledged, of American life and self-understanding. This lack of acknowledgement must change. We must learn, as one people, the wisdom we all share. The prophets of peace of the Americas, in legend and in memory, were in the main far more pragmatic and realistic than we give them credit for. Their instructions for and methods of leadership of the tribal communities were substantially aimed at changing the conditions their peoples faced, with the seemingly unending cycles of inner tribal conflict and internal disunity. There is nothing sentimental or easy about this approach to life but, rather, everything ancient and powerful in their sense of personal and communal purpose and destiny. Their instructions tell us that when there is pain, violence and social turmoil, whether from within or from without, you cannot be hurried through. Life must be what it is. The community must be honest about both feeling and knowing, so that the balance and harmony lost, and by sheer struggle regained, is true, deep and lasting. That is wisdom.

In confronting the complex conflicts of the war, leadership was shown by chiefs from the 17th century through to the early 20th century. It is critical to understand the depth and character of resistance as an essential wrestling with the nature of righteous peace as a consequence of the struggle

for freedom. These leaders of war had to marshal resistance to European expansion and commit to the defence of their people. In the end, they had to understand the reality of defeat and dislocation as a lasting experience and make peace with it. Life itself was their sun dance and their sacrifice. It seems to me that the grammar of indigenous peacemaking thus needs to embrace the realities of both resistance and defeat, and the patterns of possible restoration, reconciliation and rebirth, which connect the indigenous personal, familial and communal global decisions of the soul. To avoid struggling with these questions will distort what accumulated wisdom we now possess and struggle to articulate on our own terms and hold as a sacred legacy for the generations to come. We have yet to describe adequately the dialogue of the American Indian chiefs of war and peace in such a way that the violence (which the defence of life imposes from without) and the radical non-violence (in the face of cultural and religious extermination experienced from within) make cultural, spiritual and communal sense in the healing of our collective memories.

In fact, just last week, the Canadian Commission on Reconciliation published its book *From Truth to Reconciliation*, announcing plainly—in the light of systematic sexual abuse by the religious Christian community—that reconciliation is a process that enables adversaries to rebuild relations to move toward a shared future together. My sisters and brothers, we must remember that songs of peace have always included verses of lament as powerful as any choruses of joy. The many examples of rituals of peacemaking or resolution, peace building or prevention, in and of themselves are easily described or accessible and understandable. Simple words, gestures, materials of daily life are elevated to the sacred in their preservation, the gathering for prayer, the communal sharing and the harmony with a larger universe. However, it is the preconditions and consequences of such ritual action that are the most difficult to engage and appreciate in the depth of meaning they impart to us.

A chief from the north-west coastal area says this: "Every part of the earth is sacred to my people. Every shining needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing and hummingbird and insect is holy in the memory and experience of my people. Here my people find peace." The everyday activities provide this core experience for many of our tribes. The Makah, in hunting the whale in the north-west, renew their unity with their ancestors in timeless time. The Peyote, to the central south-west, do the same in gathering pinion nuts. The Cosca experience the creation of fire, the paradoxical character of human life; fire is the phenomenon they participate in but cannot activate. All the traditions and methods of sustaining life are religious in character and speak about the people and how they are to live and move on the earth. Food gathering and production, hunting and fishing, all have the character of an acting mythic story, which brings together action and prayer for balance in sustaining life. This is likewise true of what seemed to be mundane daily actions for the tribes: fire starting, drawing water and tool making.

Moreover, the architecture and traditional arts certainly reflect an orientation towards an honour and respect (by the makers and those that possess their work) for the balance of creation between the four directions, the heavens and the earth. Native arts, materials and storytelling reflected the core understanding that time is coherent and purposeful, alive as we are in the present time with respect to what is past and what is to come. It teaches us that we as human beings are not the centre of the earth's attention nor do we control it. Rather, it is we who enter into the vitalities and rhythms of life and there learn our wisdom from our small place within them.

With knowing the rituals and ceremonies of peace comes the understanding that we are all implicated in each other. By that, I mean what our indigenous brothers and sisters mean by all our relations, not only between human beings but between all beings, each with their own name and knowledge of heaven and earth, beings we did not make and which we cannot control. Our relationships with all these realities bring us to an understanding that peace is essentially an ecology. We are implicated in all our relations, they are implicated in us. If we do not respect and honour our limits as human beings, the ecology of the human community is out of balance. If we are out of balance with creation—which we are just a part of—and we take too much, they die and we die. Peacemaking is a route, an ecology of life. Life with the spirits dwells in everything under the heavens and moves in the heavens themselves. As one tribe's chant breathes out into the universe: "the legs of the earth are my legs, the arms of the earth are my arms, the hands of the earth are my hands."

From our perspective in contemporary time, we can see that the forced removal of our tribes to reservations, the sharing of lands with tribes from other regions (as in the case of Oklahoma) and the institutionalization of generations of children in both government and church schools in the 19th century through to the mid-20th century, gave us some gifts. It gave us a common language and, over the long term lived contact with other tribes and cultures enabled greater understanding and sensitivity to tribal differences. We suffered under the ill-conceived Federal Relocation Program begun in the 1950s, where over half of all our tribal-based members from the reservations were forced into the cities. In the cities, there came awareness among the dispersed tribal members of the need to belong to an inter-tribal community. This awareness and the attempt to work together impacted profoundly on the health of our social, cultural, political and artistic life as urban Indians and, by extension, impacted on our family members at home. Over generations, inter-tribal life has had to recognize and embrace a new way. The practical means of accommodation and adaptation for the sake of harmony and mutual support has lain primarily in social and cultural events such as traditional dance, honouring of elders and inclusion of youth.

Our urban Indian brothers and sisters had to learn how to take care of themselves by establishing centres for social, political, cultural and economic programmes and related support systems. These methods of adaptation and cultural flexibility in the integration of modern urban life are complementary to the conflict-resolution rituals and methods of earlier times, and are just as important. They help to restore a sense of identity and dignity out of the pathology of social and cultural isolation, alienation and what should be seen as criminal abandonment of moral and legal responsibility by our Federal Government.

It is not easy to say that inter-tribal violence and wars were not uncommon and long-lasting. The need to avoid ongoing conflicts necessitated the formation of skills and techniques for gathering tribal societies and facilitating other preconditions. Many of our rituals were employed in the pursuit of trade, territorial claims in a marriage, owning of inter-tribal relations and methods of honour and respect. Such experience has enabled the empowerment of tribal elders and governments to establish and support regional, national and, now, international organizations to protect and further indigenous life and treaty rights, economic development, political recognition, ecological justice and mutual enrichment.

One of our great leaders internationally, Chief Oren Lyons of Onondaga, said in his address to the United Nations Conference on Indigenous Peoples:

> In the beginning we were told that human beings who walked about on the earth had been provided with all the things necessary for life. We were instructed to carry love for one another and show great respect for other beings of the earth. When people cease to respect and express gratitude for these many things then all life will be destroyed and human life on this planet will come to an end.

The people who are living on this planet need to break with the narrow concept of human liberation and begin to see liberation as something that needs to be extended to the whole of the natural world. What is needed is liberation of all things that support life: the air, the waters, the trees, all that supports the sacred web of life. The traditional native people hold the key to the reversal of this process, which comes from Western civilization and holds the threat of unimaginable future suffering and destruction. An essential and core value, which cuts across and through all these efforts towards justice and peace and a host of issues in modern international relations, is a spirituality and ethic of this earth in all its wonders.

I have learned much in unfolding these thoughts on ways of peace and harmony. First and foremost, peace is a mystery, a mystery of connections. The challenge is related to our imagination about ourselves at this time in our collective and indigenous experience; it requires an intentional standing on the edge of things; and risking a leap into the unknown, the unthinkable, the unsaid. This is the spiritual way. It is a way of life that is far deeper than methods, strategy or even ritual patterns. In typing up my

bundle of beautiful gifts, I am overwhelmed with the host of conclusions that my reflections invoke and cause me to share.

It takes community to nurture peace and to understand its lessons, which are rooted deeply in life. Peace is a human act that is also humanizing. Community is what human beings must have to be human in any sense. In modern Western culture, community is what we deny ourselves in the name of individual wealth and security, unsustainable growth and self-centred freedom. I have learnt that human harmony and human development are essential to one another and imply such mutuality. Human harmony and its progress has its reflection in a vast multitude of tribal traditions in America, embodying a history that is relevant for our continent's story and ways of life that are ancient, visionary, prophetic and profoundly needed in our time. In reflecting on peace, a different interpretation of history is essential, for us to be known in place and time, in our own way, as individuals and as a community.

Over and over again, we are faced with the choice to be ourselves as we remember our purpose. Such an approach to history is a way of remembering suffering without blinking. For this history to have any relevance to this time requires a sense in each of us of our place in eternal time, in story time, where history is a path to renewal and not denial. Peace—like conflict, violence and the criminality of war—has consequences. It is also an act of imagination that envisions more than conflict and violence and, in the end, must embrace even the broken heart of the war maker on the way home. As Martin Luther King Junior has said of America's national disgrace of racism, "Our confidence must be in justice. The arc of the moral universe is long but it bends towards justice."

Peace is, for the American Indian indigenous, intimately and resolutely concerned with harmony and balance in life, as the measure and intention for life, given by the Creator and sustained for a larger destiny than we can know. It needs to be acknowledged in every ritual that we celebrate. We are genuinely human beings. We make the decision to join creation, going in one direction. A good friend and a profoundly wise woman, Paula Gunn Allen, who recently passed, sums up much of my attempt in wandering along with this bundle I carry. She says this, and I leave this with you as a challenge:

> Being good, holy or politically responsible means being able to accept whatever life brings. That includes just about everything we usually think of as unacceptable like disease, death and violence. Walking in balance and harmony in a sacred manner requires staying in our bodies, accepting its discomforts, decaying, witherings, its blossomings, and respecting them. Your body is also a planet, replete with creatures that live and move on it. Walking in balance requires knowing that living and dying are twin beings, gifts of our Mother the Earth. Honouring her ways does not mean cheating her of your flesh, your pain, your joy, your sensuality, your desires, your frustrations, your met and unmet needs, your emotions, your life. In the end, you cannot cheat her successfully but, in an attempt to do so, you can do great harm to the delicate and subtle balance of the vital processes of planetary being. Healing the self means committing ourselves to a whole-hearted willingness to be what and who we are—beings frail and fragile, strong and passionate, neurotic and balanced, diseased and whole, partial and complete, stingy and generous, safe and dangerous, twisted and straight, storm tossed and quiescent, bound and free.

My sisters and brothers, when all manner of things are described, the lasting task of the indigenous of the New World and indeed everywhere is to teach us to care about the most obvious and probably the most difficult of truths: how to remember and how to forgive, how to do the spiritual work of turning hope into reality and indifference into love, for the children of every living thing.

For me this is the Great Healing. Let it be that way.

Working Hard to Make Stubborn Issues Peaceful

Paul Reeves
Te Atiawa
Former Governor General of New Zealand
Former Chairperson of the Fiji Constitution Review Commission

Some years ago when the military government of Brazil threw the poet Thiago de Mello into prison, he found that a former inmate had scrawled the words of one of his own poems on the cell of the wall: "It is dark but I sing because the dawn will come."

We should not be surprised that poetry has been the one constant when life is in upheaval. Poetry speaks of solace, comfort and hope in times of loss and deprivation. When human communication in real time fails, poetry succeeds. The words of Te Whiti o Rongomai, the prophet, always convey the power of the poet who shares the predicament of his people, gives them the opportunity to think about things together and places them within a larger understanding.

So it was that, when the final batch of prisoners returned to Parihaka, they were greeted by Te Whiti in these words:

> You were not imprisoned for heinous crime or theft but for upholding the words of Te Whiti. In such a case, prison houses lose their disgrace and become houses of joy … You were imprisoned for the land, for the chieftainship and for godliness. A sea fish lying dead on the sand taints the atmosphere for miles around but the fact of your unjust imprisonment is now known far and near throughout the world.

Some years ago, I joined the hīkoi (pilgrimage) from Taranaki that revisited the sites where the prisoners had been sent to in the South Island. Even by bus and ferry it was a tiring journey. In the late 19th century, it was a hazardous journey from Taranaki to Dunedin, Hokitika, Lyttelton or Ripapa Island. Ngā iwi (the tribes) of Taranaki tell the story of a ship carrying prisoners from Parihaka to Dunedin that threatened to tip over. Māori were lowered into the sea; they held onto ropes attached to the side and were told that if they let go they would be shot.

The time spent by these men in Dunedin is well documented. A hulk called *The Success* was used to transport the prisoners between work sites and the Dunedin jail. The jail ended its life as the Queen's Drive boating shed and now lies under Portobello Road. The prisoners returned to Parihaka in batches. Some died in exile. Three are buried in paupers' graves in Dunedin's northern cemetery and their names are Wātene Tūpuhi (24), Piriranga (60) and Panirau Pitiroi (45). At least one prisoner, Te Whao, stayed in Dunedin. His descendents, the Duff family, live there to this day.

These Taranaki men were prisoners of conscience who went into exile to assert their ownership of land that had been wrongfully confiscated. They had an unshakable belief that they were morally right and they had shared a profound sense of loyalty to Te Whiti. In fact, they stated that they had not been taken prisoner but had surrendered as instructed. As Hone Awhi put it:

> Te Whiti said we would be put in jail but that he would be in gaol with us. We are in jail through him and we are not sorry for it. We are not fighting. We gave ourselves

away. Nobody took us. I believe what Te Whiti said. I believe he is with us now, but cannot explain it.

Let us go forward from the 1880s to 1917, a period of less than 40 years. Māori had enlisted for World War One, notably from Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou and Te Arawa. Waikato and Taranaki had shown a distinct apathy towards fighting for the Crown. The catastrophic events of the 19th century were too close and too painful.

In 1917, the New Zealand Government began a programme of conscripting Māori and targeted the Western electorate, covering the Taranaki and Waikato tribes. Eligible young men from Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto were balloted, including members of the King's family, and notably the King's son. None of them presented themselves at the Army office and eventually they were taken to Narrow Neck on Auckland's North Shore. To show her support for them, Princess Te Puea came and stood at the gate to the camp. The Defence Minister, Sir James Allen, travelled to Ngāruawāhia to persuade the Waikato leaders to co-operate. Tupu Taingawāhia disdainfully replied to Allen: "Who will suffer? My people cannot suffer more that they have done in the loss of their lands and their mana [prestige, authority]."

It is an issue that touched my family personally. I bear the name of my mother's brother, Alfred Sparks, who was a seaman on the Union Steamship Company's vessel *Pateena*. He enlisted in 1915. He had been brought up in Waikawa pā (village), Picton, and belonged to the Puketapu hapū (sub-tribal kin group) of Te Atiawa. Alfred joined the Māori Pioneer Battalion and during the course of an eventful military career he was wounded, fined for losing equipment, promoted, treated for syphilis and awarded the Military Medal. The citation reads:

> For conspicuous good work and devotion to duty in Ypres sector during the period 1–7 October 1917. This NCO has set a splendid example to his section by his coolness under fire. He has always carried out the work entrusted to him well and is a most reliable NCO.

Our family has always understood that after the war Alfred Sparks was not welcome back in Taranaki. Eventually, in 1958, he drowned while fishing in Palliser Bay.

For several years, Māori Television has featured Anzac Day (a day commemorating New Zealanders killed in war and honouring returned servicemen and women). Gallipoli is referred to extensively even though more New Zealanders were killed at the battle of Passchendale. Some suggest that this was the great nation-building experience in spite of the fact that women and Māori are largely absent from the narrative. The older generation may decide to go to war but it is the young who pay the cost. Last year I was greatly moved when I visited the cemetery on the edge of Florence and saw Māori and Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) lying side by side, most in their early 20s and many killed in late July 1944. I recognized some familiar names: Henare, Naera, Hetet.

But there is something hegemonic here; one master principle is predominating over other views that ought to have a voice. Next year could we not explore the ambivalence, reluctance, uncertainty and opposition to war that is also part of our history? Should we not also recognize our tūpuna (ancestors) for whom World War One was the colonizer's war, not theirs?

Today's challenges to peace and security come from conflicts within states, whether it be disputed political authority, constitutional crises, civil disorder and/or communal violence. Don McKinnon, until recently the Secretary General of the Commonwealth, has said "that the Commonwealth has no battalions and therefore does not intervene militarily. It uses the force

of argument rather than the argument of force to help parties pull back from the brink and bring them to the negotiating table."

This is what we call the *good offices* function of the Commonwealth and it is a practical contribution to preventative diplomacy. It means someone has to commit themselves to a country knowing it is going to take time to build up relationships. Whatever they do has to show inclusiveness and impartiality. They are there only because they have been invited by the Government; they work locally but sometimes internationally, in conjunction with organizations like the United Nations, the European Union, the Carter Centre, the Pacific Forum and Caricom (Carribean Community).

One day, Don (McKinnon) rang me. He wanted me to go to Guyana and assured me that it would only mean a couple of visits. Would I be his Special Envoy? So, from 2002 till 2006, I made not two but twelve visits to Guyana, a country that sits on the north-west shoulder of South America and is a long way from Aotearoa/New Zealand. President Bharret Jagdeo had told Don that he did not want a Caribbean, an Asian, an African, a Canadian or a Brit (British person). That narrowed the field so it came down to me, the "bitser" from the South Pacific whose previous involvement with Fiji had alerted him to what happens when sugar had been the founding crop of the colonizers. In the case of Guyana, the colonizers were the Dutch and the English. Sugar is a labour-intensive crop. In the 18th century Africans were brought to Guyana as slaves. After emancipation, when the Africans were no longer willing to work for miserable wages, indentured labour from Northern India was recruited for vast sugar plantations. Afro-Guyanese now make up 33% of the population, Indo-Guyanese 48% and indigenous peoples (Caribs, Arawaks, Makushi and Wapishana) about 12%.

Guyana is a country burdened with international debt, awash with crime, poverty and drugs, and unable to stem the flow of illegal arms from neighbouring Surinam. The drug barons are better armed than the police and a poll of young people showed that 47% expected to leave the country in the next five years. Guyana's people have always been its greatest export. Politically, Guyana, like Grenada and Cuba, had a Marxist-Leninist base. The constitution reflects both the Westminster and Philadelphia (American) systems of government, with an executive president who chairs the cabinet but is outside the Parliament. President Jagdeo is a Moscow-trained economist in his mid-40s. I soon decided that Marxist-Leninism means micro management from a central source and the party in power is much more important than the parliament. Policy is formulated in Freedom House, the headquarters of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), rather than at the National Assembly, which does not meet very often.

My terms of reference were to:

promote the development of an environment in which Guyana can transcend its still largely ethnic politics and find a way to build inclusiveness and unity; and
encourage the resumption of dialogue between the leaders of the principal political parties and a wider dialogue involving civil society.

Soon after I got to Guyana, discussions between the President and the Leader of the Opposition broke down and the Opposition walked out of Parliament. I had to get them back and that became a little easier when God, in his infinite wisdom, decided to take the Leader of the Opposition to his eternal rest. So we brokered a deal. We asked Sir Michael Davies, who had been clerk of the British House of Lords, to do a "needs assessment" of the constitution and parliament. Using his report, we set about strengthening the parliament by reinforcing the select committees, bringing in an Australian, Jim Pender, to update the standing orders, and generally supporting the Speaker and the Clerk of the House. That took a long time and is still a work in progress.

An election was due to be held in 2006 and the Elections Commission, headed by a very volatile Commissioner, was woefully unprepared. We commissioned Doctor Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, the head of the Ghana Electoral Commission. He and others streamlined systems and hastened preparations for the General Election. As it turned out, no one was killed, the election was reasonably free and fair and the Afro Guyanese Opposition was consigned to a further term of powerlessness.

I discovered that when people come together around a contentious issue they want immediate action and these take up all their energies. In fact, people with power and authority are more used to using them than suspending them in order to listen. Much of the time, I supplied a sympathetic ear. If you focus on a purpose, dialogue becomes like negotiation and the elements of openness and spontaneity can get compromised.

Dialogue is not all sweetness and light. Otherwise it runs the risk if being a rehearsal of old platitudes and clichés. Dialogue that is abandoned midway is meaningless. Dialogue means joining the struggle with as much goodness, strength and wisdom as we can demonstrate. I found that it was a big step for someone to say something fresh and direct. Dialogue has to include the expression of disagreement. We have to be ready to engage with people we do not normally enjoy hearing. There was plenty of that in Guyana.

The credibility and neutrality of the Envoy is crucial. I had to be honest and consistent in what I said. I had to build a working relationship with the President of Guyana. After all, I was there only because he had invited me. This was a relationship that grew over time through engagement and solid discussion. We had a lot of banter every time we met, mainly over what we wore, whether it was a suit or the guayabera, the elegant but informal shirt common throughout the Caribbean.

So how is Guyana now? Sporadic violence still occurs but they are moving down the bumpy road to peace, defined not simply as the absence of violence but the robust presence and effectiveness of democratic processes underpinned by the rule of law. The political culture of distrust is still there but the nature of the political debate has improved. Carolyn Rodriguez, an Amerindian, who as the Minister of Amerindian Affairs came here as a guest of the New Zealand Government in 2007, now holds the important portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In 1995 and 1996, I chaired the Fiji Constitution Review Commission. With some significant differences, our report became the basis of the 1997 Constitution which still survives in a decapitated form. The essence of our report is contained in our introduction:

> The unity of this nation is a continuous process of discovery and enrichment, nothing remains fixed forever. Progress in a multi-ethnic society is achieved when its citizens realise that what is good for their neighbour must ultimately be good for them as well, when difference and diversity are seen not as sources of division and distrust, but strength and inspiration.

The 2006 elections in Fiji resulted in a victory for the Soqosoqo Duvata ni Lewenivanua (SDL) party and its leader, Laisenia Qarase, became the Prime Minister. His government introduced three controversial pieces of legislation: the Indigenous Claims Tribunal Bill, the Customary Fisheries Bill (Qoliqoli Bill) and the Promotion of Reconciliation, Tolerance and Unity Bill. The Republic of Fiji Military Forces (RFMF) believed these bills potentially destabilized Fiji and, after a standoff, Commodore Bainimarama announced that he had taken over executive power and dismissed the elected Government of Mr Qarase. He also declared a state of emergency. The Commodore actually delayed the coup by one day for the sake of an important rugby match.

Once again, Don McKinnon rang me up and I travelled to Fiji at the beginning of December 2007 as the representative of the Commonwealth Secretary General and at the invitation of the interim Prime Minister. I suggested to Commodore Bainimarama that he allow me to facilitate a political dialogue that would involve him and the leaders of the main political parties. At the same time, his government had initiated a Peoples' Charter process which, by consultations and discussion, seeks to produce a document that will chart Fiji's future. It may be the subject of a referendum later this year. Fiji has also pledged to hold elections no later than March 2009. The international community sees the elections as an essential step on the way back to constitutional democracy but the prospect of meeting the deadline appears very slim.

In February 2008, the Commodore agreed to our proposed political dialogue and I returned to Fiji at the beginning of March. The other leaders, with the exception of Mahendra Chaudhry, were willing but at the last moment the Prime Minister pulled out. Since then I have been in contact with the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) in Wellington and the European Union. I have visited Stephen Smith, the Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and briefed the Pacific Forum Foreign Ministers here in Auckland. I was due to return to Fiji on Tuesday 13th May but this was cancelled as the Prime Minister told me he favoured not the parallel political dialogue but the Peoples' Charter process. In the meantime, the United Nations has shown that it, too, wants to get involved in Fiji.

It is a volatile, ever changing situation, but present indications are that my return at the end of June will take place. Right now, my task is to demonstrate my impartiality, neutrality, credibility and discretion. I stay in touch with Commodore Bainmarama and with key members of civil society.

Ratu Joni Madraiwiwi, the former Vice-President of Fiji, has recently spoken of indigenous rights within the context of present-day Fiji, where indigenous Fijians now form the majority of the population. He makes the point that the complexities of applying the concept of indigenous rights are not straightforward. Indigenous rights are a category of human rights and not a superior form of rights. The Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples cannot be read without acknowledging the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments.

The Declaration, which New Zealand has not adopted to its shame, is protective in nature. It seeks to safeguard indigenous peoples and their way of life by providing for self-determination and the means to control their own destinies. "What does this mean in a country where the Fijians are now in the majority?" asks Ratu Joni. It is now the minority communities who need to be protected and the long-term electoral future for Fiji may lie in some system of proportional representation.

The ownership and use of resources remains a challenge. It is ironic that the military, which is overwhelmingly Fijian in composition, is suspicious of attempts to drive an indigenous agenda. The Qoliqoli Bill, hotly debated in Fiji, attempted to enshrine traditional or customary fishing rights and was cited as a justification for the 2006 coup. But this issue has been raised by the Fijian chiefs since the late 19th century and will not fade away. It will call for a delicate balancing of indigenous rights with the public interest. A middle course has to be found.

Ratu Joni concludes:

> Context is critical because (rights) are not exercised in a vacuum. Where Fijians are now in a majority, other factors come into play and have to be considered. At the same time, the protective principles enshrined in the Declaration bear closer and careful

scrutiny because there are rights such as language, identity, traditional knowledge, resources, lands and culture, the protection and enhancement of which is not racist but an affirmation of human rights generally. The continuing task for a multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic society such as ours is creating the space that allows indigenous' and others' rights to develop and mutually reinforce each other. It yet remains our greatest challenge.

Therefore, as an indigenous person what was it that I took to those situations? There are three points I think. One was a determination to analyze the post-colonial situation and really try and work out where power now lies. Secondly, a desire to recognize indigenous voices struggling to be heard. Thirdly, I had the constant question, where do indigenous people figure in this situation? I found that the answer for Guyana and Fiji was not the same but different.

Glossary

hapū	sub-tribal kin group
hīkoi	pilgrimage
mana	prestige, authority
ngā iwi	the tribes
pā	village
tūpuna	ancestors

Concluding Address

Michael Walker
Whakatōhea
Co-director, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

I have to confess I stand in awe of what we have seen here these last few days and recognize the challenge of attempting to sum up what we have seen in the presence of those of superior knowledge.

One thing I can do, perhaps, is reflect back to people some of the things that have been said and, where I can, provide a little explanation. First is the derivation of this conference, the way it came about. When we established Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga six years ago there were some very, very serious challenges. What we recognized was that, if we were looking to transform New Zealand society so that Māori participate in all aspects of society and the economy and do that fully, then we needed to be able to bring four different audiences or groups of people together. We cut the world up into four and those four were: the Māori community; the academic community on whom we depend for support in the training of students and in acknowledgement of the achievements of those students as they go forward to succeed us; we also needed the support of the national community; and of the international and indigenous communities.

I hope you will excuse me if I take a commercial break here. One of the ways that we can actually begin to measure recognition by the national and the Māori communities is that people are willing to open their cheque books and assist us financially. And it is right that we should recognize the value of their contributions. Our Gold Sponsor is The University of Waikato. Silver Sponsors are the Ministry of Health, Te Puni Kōkiri, the Māori Education Trust, the Families Commission, the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, the Ministry of Social Development and the Office of Treaty Settlements. I would like to thank all of them on behalf of Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga for their generosity.

Reflecting back to you again, the diversity of the people and the presentations has been a stunning experience for me. I like to joke that I am the office boy who keeps the computers going around our place at Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga. Unfortunately, that job has been made redundant and so now I am unemployed and otherwise unemployable.

We have had spell-binding presentations, all of us being able to hear the keynotes. Unfortunately, we have not been able to go to everything among the parallel sessions; we have had to make selections. I have seen revitalization of language through verbal challenge—anything but peacemaking—and through American football as a way of revitalizing the Hawaiian language. And I have heard about the challenge of getting white-coated scientists to hui (gather) here in New Zealand.

Out of this we begin to think about peacemaking. Today we heard from Father Paul Ojibway about peacemaking as an act of imagination: the ability to imagine a better future, to rise above hurt and pain and anger, to rise above those and to imagine a better future, shared with our adversary in our place and our time. And so we came together at this hui to assert our humanity and remember that it is okay to aspire to succeed, to aspire to achieve and to be prepared to claim our place in the sun, wherever our place may be. We also have to remember that as we reassert our own humanity there are those who still have to learn to work with us. We must educate them to work with us so that we can all share our common humanity in the future as we go forward.

PART B

VARIOUS PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE CONFERENCE

Service in Practice, Practice in Service: Negotiating a Path to the Future

Annabel Ahuriri-Driscoll, Maui Hudson, Virginia Baker, Maria Hepi
Institute of Environmental Science and Research (ESR) Ltd
Carl Mika, Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

Abstract

The sustainability of cultural knowledge and practices, and environments to support these, are subject to the pressures of a globalising Western society. Traditional Māori healers find themselves at the centre of such impacts and experience a unique set of tensions in working to sustain a healing tradition dependent on maintaining the integrity of both the environment and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge). In addition to balancing their existing relationships between the environment and traditional knowledge, they must also forge new relationships and practices in the development of health services.

The practice of traditional healing is founded on the notion of service to the community, where practitioners respond to a "calling" and commonly have a gift for the work. The practices of traditional healers evolve from serving the people, and notions of koha (gift, donation) and reciprocity permeate this relationship. However, within the health system concepts of practice and service are substantially different. Services are delivered to clients and rely on consistent application of skills by professionals organized around particular specialties. This alters the nature of the therapeutic relationship and the expectations of both the healer and the community. Transitioning from a 'practice'-based approach to one of 'service' delivery requires careful negotiation of challenges in terms of changing relationships, expectations of quality and maintenance of capacity.

Research and evaluation have a distinct role to play in developing a pathway to the future in both the retention and development of indigenous health knowledge that informs traditional healing, and in producing the type of evidence necessary to support the development of rongoā (healing) services within *mainstream* health systems.

Introduction

Rongoā Māori (traditional Māori healing) is a holistic system of healing that has developed out of Māori cultural traditions. It has a long history of usage and credibility among Māori, and increased interest in its revival and sustainability has prompted calls for its formalisation within the New Zealand public health system (Durie, Potaka, K. Ratima & M. Ratima, 1993; Jones, 2000a).

The research project discussed was funded by the Ministry of Health (MoH) in 2006 to scope the future of rongoā Māori. The main objectives were to: (a) examine the contribution of rongoā Māori to indigenous well-being and (b) identify issues for the ongoing sustainability of traditional Māori healing in New Zealand.

In keeping with the project focus, the research process was led by Māori researchers in collaboration with traditional healers and Māori stakeholders. Two literature reviews were undertaken: one to provide understanding of international developments in traditional medicine, and a second to review national policy/literature related to rongoā Māori specifically. Nine focus groups were held in five communities (Auckland, Whakatāne, Taumarunui, Wellington and Christchurch) to explore current rongoā practice, service delivery and the drivers and barriers to its ongoing utilisation. Participants included healers and their associates and health and local government stakeholders.

Rongoā Māori Practice

Although an array of views regarding a definition of rongoā is evident, there is a degree of consensus regarding its broad, holistic focus, the underlying spiritual element and the importance of authenticity in definition and practice. Durie et al. (1993) refer to a broad range of healing practices within rongoā Māori underpinned by a Māori worldview and conceptualisation of well-being. Several modalities are identified, including ritenga and karakia (invocations and rituals involved with healing), rongoā (physical remedies derived from trees, leaves, berries, fruits, bark and moss), mirimiri/romiromi (similar to massage/physiotherapy), wai/hauwai (use of water/steam to heal), surgical interventions and matakite (prophecy, second sight or intuition). Durie et al. also note considerable diversity in the application of particular modalities.

This is supported by Jones (2000a), who identifies that contemporary Māori healers do not follow a prescribed model or approach to healing. Jones relates this to cultural tradition and a long history of oral transmission of knowledge, leading to a specificity of healing methods employed by Māori that vary according to region, iwi (tribe), hapū (sub-tribe) and whānau (extended family).

A central proposition of McGowan's thesis (2000) is of taha wairua (spiritual side) as the basis of rongoā Māori. This is linked to the traditional beliefs held by Māori regarding causes of sickness, namely, that illness occurs as a result of not living "harmoniously" or in a balanced way (Parsons, 1995), or through a transgression of tapu (restricted, sacred) (Jones, 2000a). The rituals of karakia invoked in traditional healing address what Māori consider to be these key factors in the aetiology of illness (McGowan, 2000). However, although there is increasing acceptance of aspects of rongoā Māori pertaining to physical remedies, the spiritual dimension is less amenable to mainstream health validation.

The observed geographic and tribal variations in rongoā practice raise an interesting point with regards to authenticity. Where practice varies widely, on what bases should "authentic practice" be determined? These would need to be sufficiently general in order to recognize local diversity. Concerns with authenticity and safe practice have been long held, ostensibly prompting the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907, which was framed in terms of protecting the health of Māori people from practitioners of dubious pedigree (Jones, 2000a). These concerns persist today, most often raised by healers themselves. Traditional healers interviewed by Hill (2003) identified the need to develop codes of ethical conduct in order to protect people from being abused or further exploited by those who are not authentic healers.

Rongoā Māori Infrastructure

Despite active attempts to suppress healing practice and deny its legitimacy, rongoā Māori has survived through the continuing practice of healers and its utilisation by Māori communities. In recent years it has experienced a revival (Jones, 2000a). Further to this, Ngā Ringa Whakahaere o te Iwi Māori, a national board of Māori healers, was established in 1993. This was a conscious move taken by healers and their followers to adopt a more public profile and seek recognition as part of the National Health Service (Durie, 1998). Although the board does not represent all healers, it advocates on behalf of affiliated members and for more formal recognition of traditional healing practices. The board has also been involved in formulating accreditation procedures for healers and has contributed to the development of national traditional healing service standards (Durie, 1996; MoH, 1999).

Movements toward formalising the funding and delivery of rongoā Māori were supported by the development of a framework for purchasing traditional healing services in the late 1990s (Durie, 1996; Jones, 2000a). Subsequently, MoH published a set of standards for traditional Māori healing (MoH, 1999), which forms the basis of current rongoā services, funded and provided both independently of and in conjunction with "conventional" health care services. MoH administers rongoā contracts to 16 organizations which, in turn, support approximately 30 Whare Oranga (houses/buildings of well-being). The Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) funds three of these rongoā providers to deliver accident rehabilitation and treatment services. An additional 45 Whare Oranga are registered with Ngā Ringa Whakahaere o te Iwi Māori.

Taonga Tuku Iho—Treasures of Our Heritage (MoH, 2006) outlines a framework for strengthening the provision of rongoā services throughout the country in four main areas: improving the quality of rongoā services; creating leadership to strengthen safe practice through networking and quality assurance; increasing the capacity and capability of rongoā services; and constructing a work-plan for research and evaluation activities. Through these funding and policy developments, traditional Māori healing currently holds a legitimate, albeit marginalised, place within the New Zealand health system.

Contribution to Well-being

Traditional healing contributes to Māori well-being and development in two key ways: firstly, through the health benefits that its range of diagnostic and treatment modalities offers clients, and the employment and vocational opportunities for Māori associated with rongoā service development; and, secondly and perhaps less tangibly, through the empowerment and strength that the retention and revitalisation of mātauranga, tikanga (customs, traditions) and te reo Māori (the Māori language)—each encompassed within rongoā practice—can bring for Māori people.

In a pathway towards tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), the integration of rongoā within publicly funded health services is a significant step, enabling Māori consumers wider health service delivery choice and culturally appropriate care, consistent with Māori values and that nurtures cultural identity (Jones, 2000a). This has the potential to improve Māori access to health care, reducing barriers associated with expense and appropriateness/appeal (Jones, 2000b). At a health-systems level, the availability and accessibility of rongoā as a service validates and affirms the legitimacy of mātauranga Māori in relation to health and well-being. Incorporating traditional healing alongside Western medical approaches is also compatible with objectives inherent in Māori development, providing the potential to bolster existing health services and to reclaim a valuable Māori cultural asset (Jones, 2000a).

A Sustainability Lens

Sustainability and sustainable development are Western terms coined in relatively recent times but that relate to concepts understood and practised by indigenous peoples for centuries (Matunga, 2002). These terms fit within a broad, ecological understanding of health, encompassing notions of prudent resource utilisation in order to ensure these for future generations.

Local, holistic knowledge has a key role in the development of sophisticated, responsive sustainability approaches (Brown, Grootjans, Ritchie, Townsend & Verrinder, 2005). Traditional values and knowledge are increasingly relevant in enhancing understanding of the environment, providing a basis for strengthening cultural identity and in developing economic opportunities (Harmsworth, 2002). Māori have adopted and adapted notions of sustainable development to incorporate Māori autonomy and self-determination within holistic development and a strategic direction towards advancement.

In the case of rongoā, sustainability applies in two primary ways: sustainability of environmental resources supplying the rongoā (environmental well-being), and sustainability of the practice of rongoā Māori in terms of knowledge retention, validation of the practice and its utilisation (cultural and social well-being). Economic well-being, although not often emphasised in considerations of rongoā, is central to enabling healers to sustain their rongoā practice. A number of unresolved questions pertaining to sustainability exist which are important to consider:

> Sustainable for how long? A generation, one hundred years, one thousand years? Sustainable for whom? Present generations, all future generations, all species of this generation, all species for all future generations? Sustainable at what level? Families, cities, nations, globally, economies? Sustainable under what conditions? Present western standards of living, small subsistence communities, some future "Star Trek" culture? What ought to be sustained? Personal income, social and cultural diversity, GNP, bio-diversity, individual consumption, personal freedom and choice, material frugality? (Luke, 1995, pp. 21–22, cited in Perkins & Thorns, 1998, p. 7)

With regard to rongoā, the temporal element most often discussed is its traditional nature, and the need for its continuation and application in a contemporary context. The length of time that rongoā

practice should be sustained is not discussed explicitly; presumably this is intended to be of unlimited duration, spanning all future generations. The question of for whom rongoā should be sustained is also not addressed specifically but it is discussed mostly in relation to Māori health gain and development (Durie et al., 1993; Durie, 1996, 2006; Jones, 2000a; McGowan, 2000), and rongoā service specifications mention tangata māuiui (unwell people) and clients as key recipients (MoH, 1999; MoH, n.d.). Lack of information about demand for rongoā Māori is cited as a major shortcoming of current understandings (Jones, 2000a), with the proportion of people that would use traditional Māori healing services if they were more readily available unknown.

The literature notes the locally specific nature of rongoā practice among hapū and iwi but national-level development has also taken place with the establishment of Ngā Ringa Whakahaere and the work of MoH (Durie, 1998). Jones (2000b) cites the importance of maintaining regional and tribal distinctions in healing traditions as well as individual differences between healers, but he also emphasises the importance of some form of collective activity for healers to have any influence at a political level. The conditions in which work to sustain rongoā has been undertaken are primarily health-system based and health benefit has been most commonly proposed as the rationale for retention of rongoā knowledge and practice. Durie (1996) perceives that traditional Māori healers have significant advantages in being able to deliver Māori health gain—firstly, through having the confidence of a large number of Māori people who may experience difficulty in accessing mainstream health care and, secondly, being at a stage in organization and development where they can enter into dialogue with health authorities. Retention of the practice for its own sake is not widely supported and, in fact, Durie warns against this. In terms of what ought to be sustained, herbal remedies have been the primary focus of efforts to sustain rongoā, although a range of diagnostic and treatment modalities, including taha wairua, are mentioned in the literature.

Thus, literature-based considerations of rongoā at the current time lie generally in sustainability for health and the perpetuation of the practice with support from and integration within the health infrastructure. However, some concerns are raised about the extent to which traditional healing practised from a Māori paradigm can fit within Western frameworks such as health systems.

Integration and Integrity

Concerns regarding the implications of integration, namely in subjecting a traditional practice to Western scientific criteria, have been raised by a number of writers (Jones, 2000a; McGowan, 2000; Parsons, 1995) and were also iterated by workshop participants. These concerns were not fully resolved but were tempered by pragmatic considerations. Among these was the acknowledgement of the need to verify rongoā practice in relation to health gain in order to achieve a vision of rongoā Māori "sitting alongside Western medicine with equal recognition" and "as a mainstream service, the first port of call for Māori and others". The sustainability of traditional Māori healing as both a practice and as a service emerged as distinct but linked issues within the current research project. It was generally accepted that the practice of traditional Māori healing would continue regardless of institutional support as its practitioners respond to a calling and commonly have a gift for the work. However, there were concerns about the lack of training opportunities and the loss of some of the depth of mātauranga Māori as healers pass away. Retaining this mātauranga is essential for maintaining an effective practice. The development of sustainable services was seen as a way to enhance awareness and perpetuate the practices/traditions of rongoā, creating opportunities to train a new generation of healers. Stakeholders and healers alike noted the importance of service development underpinned by quality assurance mechanisms, acceptable to both healers and mainstream providers and based on traditional practices informed and supported by evidence of effectiveness.
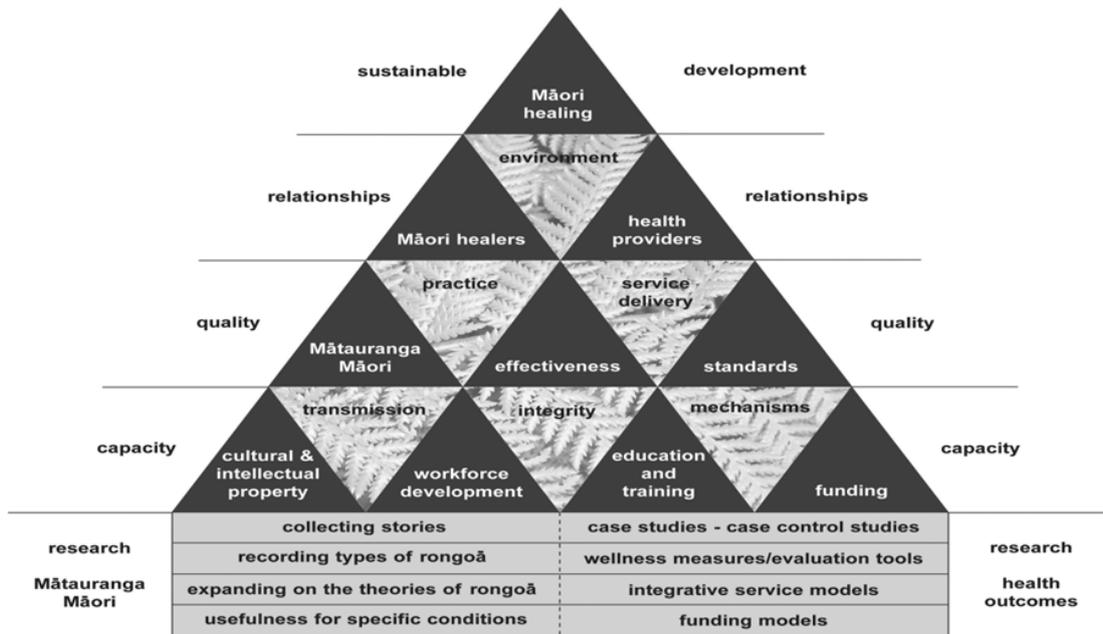
Figure 1. Key elements that contribute to the sustainable development of Māori healing practices (diagram adapted from Pathways to Whānau Ora depiction (MoH, 2002).

Building upon focus group discussion findings and reviews of relevant literature, Figure 1 (above) outlines key elements that contribute to the sustainable development of Māori healing practices. The key areas to the side of the diagram reflect the central research themes, which also align with the goals of the *Rongoā Development Plan* (MoH, 2006). As a whole, the diagram is consistent with the issues identified and strategic objectives outlined for the development of traditional medicine in the Western Pacific region, based on the work of the World Health Organization (WHO, 2002).

Sustainable development for traditional Māori healing refers to the recognition of rongoā Māori practices and services, as a legitimate and viable option for health service consumers. Sustainability of traditions and practices is sought via development of services. For this to be achieved services need to be widely available in operation alongside and with the support of healthcare providers. The holistic nature of Māori healing practice means that the issues that impact upon its sustainability will not only be confined to the traditional health sector. Other agencies, both Māori and mainstream at national and local levels, can contribute to the development of traditional Māori healing by supporting the following key areas: the establishment of relationships, the maintenance of quality and the enhancement of capacity.

Relationships have been central to the development of rongoā Māori services over the past decade and will remain an important feature for the foreseeable future. Healers are responsible for maintaining relationships with a growing number of parties to support their ongoing practice and, increasingly, with agencies from outside the health sector whose activities impact on their kaitiaki (guardian) responsibilities in the environment. Effective leadership from healers, health providers and funders and environmental agencies will be required to progress relationships and develop effective policies at a national level.

Quality is another key area supporting the sustainable development of Māori healing. Maintaining the mātauranga Māori underpinning rongoā and establishing quality standards to inform service specifications are equally important. This area also encompasses the development of a rigorous and robust evidence base to show the effectiveness of both the practice and specific services.

The capacity to deliver and sustain Māori healing was highlighted by a number of participants. Moving from local, individual healer-based practice towards coordinated profession-based activities requires an increase in the organizational capacity of practitioners, drawing upon expertise in administrative, legal, policy and research areas. This support is necessary to address issues ranging from

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the transmission of knowledge, acknowledgement and protection of cultural and intellectual property rights, and the provision of training opportunities through to developing mechanisms that support funding and workforce development, including considerations of certification and registration.

Research and evaluation have a role to play in providing a supportive foundation for many of the elements identified in this framework. These functions will directly support the consolidation of the existing evidence base and can assist in further developing processes and measures to assess the effectiveness of Māori healing practices. Findings pertaining to the generation and documentation of mātauranga Māori may also result, that will support ongoing practice and potentially inform the development of future service standards. The focus of any further research, mātauranga or health, will likely determine the most appropriate funding avenues.

In addition to central themes and goals, Figure 1 identifies the pathways necessary for development. These comprise a central focus surrounded by relevant issues to be negotiated or particular parties to be engaged.

The environment within which Māori healing exists incorporates both te ao Māori (the Māori world) and te ao hurihuri (the modern world). The environment itself plays a central part in the philosophy and processes of Māori healing. The close connection of Māori healing to the natural environment places healers in the unique position of being able to develop relationships that span the divide between environmental health and population health sectors and agencies. Healers are most likely to engage with the primary healthcare environment through existing health providers who can provide administrative support and strategic advice.

The practice of Māori healing has existed for centuries. However, the structures that traditionally sustained it are slowly eroding. Societies today are less connected with the natural environment, and traditional systems of education and training are not accorded the same status as in the past. For traditional Māori healing to move forward, it must be based on a sound understanding of mātauranga Māori in addition to knowledge of the effectiveness of specific interventions. This will likely require a change in the way mātauranga Māori is recorded and passed on.

The delivery of Māori healing services will be optimised through a foundation comprised of evidence-based practice and quality standards. Demonstrating effective service delivery to funders or health providers will require robust standards, comprehensive record-keeping and the development of an independent healer supported quality control organization. In the course of the research it was evident that no single model of Māori healing service operation existed and that, accordingly, a degree of flexibility is required in service structure to account for regional and individual differences.

The transmission of mātauranga Māori is integral in ensuring continuity of rongoā Māori practitioners and enabling them to carry on the work of their tīpuna (ancestors). There is a discernible difference between the notion of healers as people responding to a "calling" and those learning a trade. A distinction was made by healers themselves between those with in-depth knowledge and a deep spiritual connection as tohunga (expert/master) and those who acquire skills associated with rongoā preparation and mirimiri as kaiāwhina (assistant/s). Unease associated with documenting mātauranga Māori remains, although a number of healers recognize the importance of this in retaining knowledge for future generations.

The integrity of Māori healing is evident in the conduct and effectiveness of its interventions. Integrity, relating to the notion and maintenance of tika (right, correct, appropriate) and tikanga Māori is the essence of the practice and needs to be retained despite potential changes in the way future healers are educated and trained. Many stakeholders recognized that the development of services necessitates an increase in the number of healers and the advent of new styles of learning. Several training programmes were discussed as currently making valuable contributions towards these ends.

The mechanisms used to develop service standards, funding models and education pathways must incorporate input from healers. Given the history of contempt towards Māori healing, healers are averse

to processes of certification and registration associated with Western healing professions. These are viewed sceptically by some as mechanisms for exclusion. However, the opportunity exists for healers to develop models that draw upon and integrate the best of both traditions and worldviews.

Funding is an equally contentious topic. Many healers would like to be recognized and funded on the basis of Treaty responsibility and their work in the community; however, the criteria of funding agencies are oriented towards accountability and risk minimisation for both patients and funders. The fulfilment of these criteria involves maintenance of detailed financial and clinical records and places additional administrative workloads upon healers.

Effectiveness occupies the centre triangle in this framework. This encompasses both the knowledge of rongoā practice accumulated over time and evidence-based practice. Integrating these two sets of knowledge in a way that upholds the integrity of both is the key challenge. Research can provide a foundation for developments associated with each of the framework elements; however, the most important area to progress will be the validation of the effectiveness of Māori healing as a form of treatment. Most healers and stakeholders accepted the necessity for this type of research with the proviso that principles of Kaupapa Māori research (for Māori, by Māori) are adhered to, and that researchers work closely with healers in these endeavours. Building associations with skilled researchers will support the development and framing of research projects to ensure the usefulness and value of outcomes according to healers and key stakeholders. Healers can contribute to this process through the application of rigour to the collection of information equal to that which they apply in the collection of rongoā.

A Path to the Future

Participants in the research shared a vision of rongoā Māori expanding and growing in the future. This was based in general aspirations for Māori advancement toward self-determination, improved life and health prospects for generations to come, and recognition of the role traditional Māori healing has to play in these developments. Thoughts on how this should happen varied widely due to the tensions and contradictions inherent in the coming together of two distinctly different worlds, te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā (the Pākehā world) in the development of rongoā Māori practice as a health service.

Difficulties encountered in retaining access to rongoā rākau and adapting to meet health system and consumer expectations of *evidence-based* outcomes will potentially obstruct the sustainability and integration of rongoā Māori. Building supportive relationships, ensuring quality and increasing capacity in both rongoā practice and services, and Māori-focused and health research/evaluation conducted alongside service development, emerged as mechanisms to ensure prudent progress and pave the way forward. The challenge for healers and stakeholders in strengthening and securing the future of rongoā Māori is a fundamental one with dual accountabilities. Careful negotiation will be required to ensure that rongoā Māori provision maintains the integrity of traditional practice, while striving for health service credibility.

Glossary

hapū	sub-tribe; clan
hauwai	damp; type of healing known as body sauna
He Korowai Oranga	Māori Health Strategy (MoH, 2002)
iwi	tribe
kaitiaki	guardian
kaiāwhina	helper; support worker; assistant
karakia	invocation; prayer
kaupapa	agenda
Kaupapa Māori	"for, by and with Māori" approach
koha	gift; donation
Māori	indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand
matakite	seer; second sight; prophecy; intuition
mātauranga	knowledge
mirimiri	stroke; form of massage

oranga	well-being
Pākehā	non-Māori; European; Caucasian
rākau	tree; wood
ritenga	custom; meaning
romi(romi)	squeeze; type of massage
rongoā	medicine; drug; antidote
taha wairua	spiritual side
tangata	person; people
tangata māuiui	sick or ill person/people
taonga	treasure
tapu	sacred; restricted
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te ao Pākehā	the Pākehā world
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tika	right; correct
tikanga	meaning; custom; obligation; traditions
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
tīpuna	ancestor(s)
tohunga	expert; specialist; priest; artist
wai	water; liquid
wairua	spirit
whānau	family, immediate and extended
whare	house; building
whare oranga	house/building of well-being

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Indigenous Knowledge:
Traditional Responses to Contemporary Questions

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Abstract

Continually marginalising indigenous knowledge within colonial education systems has provided a perilous pathway of disadvantage for many indigenous peoples, including Māori. However, paying attention to solutions informed by indigenous knowledge can enable other relevant and effective responses to emerge, thereby enhancing the lives and experiences of both indigenous and non-indigenous groups. This paper contends that power-sharing relationships of respect and trust between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples is one way that traditional cultural constructs and pedagogies can begin to provide important principles to effectively inform contemporary education.

This paper examines some traditional Māori understandings that first begin from a point of respectfully knowing each other or, as Sidorkin suggests, a pedagogy of relations. These understandings are then applied to contemporary whānau and practitioner questions emerging from current strategies to support Māori students at risk, such as parenting programmes and Restorative Practice.

Introduction

The historical signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 still influences to varying degrees the lives of all contemporary New Zealanders. While this Treaty promised power sharing and self-determination for both groups, relations between Pākehā (New Zealander of mainly European descent) and Māori according to Bishop and Glynn have "been one of political, social and economic domination by the Pākehā majority, and marginalisation of the Māori people" (1999, p. 50). For Māori, the result of this overpowering stance by the Pākehā majority continues an inequitable share in the benefits that New Zealand has to offer and at the same time the suppression and belittlement of indigenous knowledge, language and culture (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). The ongoing belittlement of indigenous knowledge together with contexts that maintain power imbalances leads to the perpetuation of cultural deficit explanations (victim blaming) of low performance. This, in turn, maintains on-going mainstream discourses about the indigenous or cultural minority situation and continues the maintenance of power over what is determined to be pedagogy and knowledge in classrooms (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003).

Despite Māori expectations of the promises implicit in the Treaty of Waitangi and although many New Zealanders consider this Treaty to be the founding document of this nation, partnership and self-determination by Māori have not ensued. On the contrary, the majority Treaty partner has historically exerted and continues to maintain political dominance with the result that Māori as the minority continue to be socially and culturally oppressed (O'Sullivan, 2007). Historically, this involved land wars and loss of land through confiscation, but has continued through biased legislation and successive educational policies and initiatives that have imposed the majority's language and knowledge, while at the same time marginalising and denigrating Māori knowledge and language (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Government educational policies aimed at assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism, determined largely by the non-Māori majority, have resulted in Māori sacrificing more and more of their own indigenous knowledge, educational aspirations and their language to the needs and goals of the mainstream. Participation in mainstream education in New Zealand has come for Māori at a cost of their culture and language (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop et al., 2003). Importantly, however, as stated by Linda Smith:

> To acquiesce is to lose ourselves entirely and implicitly agree with all that has been said about us. To resist is to retrench to the margins, retrieve what we were and remake ourselves. The past, our

stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures languages and social practices –
all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope.
(1999, p. 4)

Reclaiming Māori space and seeking to work with solutions that are informed by the wisdom of
the pre-colonial, traditional Māori past is "a way of decolonising the mind and is a critical part of
recreating, restructuring, a national and cultural consciousness" (Mead, 1997, p. 11). For, as Freire
suggests, "just as the oppressor, in order to oppress, needs a theory of oppressive action, so the
oppressed, in order to become free, also need a theory of action" (1996, p. 164). Kaupapa Māori theory
(theory based on Māori philosophy) suggests that reconnection with one's own heritage enables greater
opportunity and ability to reclaim the power to define oneself and in so doing define solutions that will
be more effective for Māori, now and in the future.

Links to Past Solutions
Past solutions lie in the link Māori have to the land and to each other. This link results from the specific
waka or canoe on which key ancestors first travelled to New Zealand from the Pacific and from whom
all members of particular iwi (tribe or tribes) descend. At times, several different tribes have descended
from separate important ancestors, said to have travelled on the same waka. This common ancestry
linking people from different iwi also connected them to specific areas of land—often where their waka
landed and/or their iwi originally settled. Therefore, waka and iwi membership together with explicit
links to the land and waterways, to tūrangawaewae (birth place) and marae (Māori communal centre),
provide the very foundations of a Māori person's cultural and societal identity.

After successive generations many Māori people can still demonstrate descent from waka and key
ancestors, enabling them to claim their iwi identity and their hapū (sub-tribal kin group) standing. This
allows these people to establish functional whānau (family) relationships and share a common heritage
with a large number of people. Therefore, Māori identity is defined not only by one's blood links and
links to important ancestors from the past but also by contemporary links with people to whom one is
whānau or hunaonga (where relationships are through marriage). Attachments to waka, iwi and hapū
are therefore deeply important to defining one's identity as Māori and subsequently to one's spiritual,
intellectual, social and emotional well-being. Those who have lost these whānau connections, like many
of the Māori who moved away from their cultural homelands to urban areas in the 1960s, have lost their
very identity as Māori, thus forcing many to look for new identities through attachment to other types of
group.

Whakapapa (genealogy) is not only about the identity of an individual but is also about their
connection to an immediate group and extended group of people who share a common genealogy.
Whakapapa, therefore, provides not only the relationships or connections between iwi, hapū and
whānau members but underpins the structure of a community that includes rangatira (leaders),
kaumātua (elders), pakeke (adults), rangatahi (young adults), taitamariki (adolescents) and tamariki
mokopuna (younger children of both genders). Within the context of whakapapa each group of people
has an important role in generating and maintaining relationships and promoting interactions for the
involvement and participation of all and for all concerned. Whakapapa also provides a continuum of life
from that which existed and has gone on before to that which is living. Māori have long respected their
tūpuna (those who have sprung from a common lineage), both living and dead. The philosophy behind
whakapapa concerns everything that passes from one generation to another or, traditionally, that passes
from one ancestor to another, from the deceased to the living. Without these connections Māori would
not be the people they are today, nor would they continue to hold these taonga tuku iho (values, beliefs,
traditions, history, customs and rituals) so valued by contemporary Māori as guides for the future (G.
Smith, 1997). It is from these teachings that Māori can and do rekindle the connections to their
ancestors and understand how their ancestors actually lived, interacted and learned from each other and
from this land. In the words of a whakataukī (adage or wise saying), "ko ngā tīpuna ki mua, ko tātou ki
muri" (the ancestors in front, we are behind). With this knowledge successive generations of Māori can
move forward. Whakapapa, therefore, is fundamental to how one comes to understand the world and
one's place within that world (Rangihau, 1977).

Colonial Traditions

However, the colonial academic tradition has systematically undermined Māori social and cultural lore in favour of a Western worldview. The quality and integrity of Māori knowledge is still regularly dismissed by Western paradigms (Moeke-Pickering, Paewai, Turangi-Joseph & Herbert, 1998), perpetuating what Howitt and Owusu-Bempah define as eurocentrism, that is, "seeing other cultures from the perspective of one's own European culture" (1994, p. 114). Thus eurocentrism actively legitimises and perpetuates worldwide inequality. Ritchie (1992) contends that Māori-preferred systems (processes and activities) are required to operate within a larger, often different contemporary system that does not recognize or accommodate a Māori way of doing things. This more powerful system often decides what is best for Māori and endeavours to define a Māori worldview for Māori, thus, having a stultifying impact on things Māori.

One system that has continued to perpetuate these understandings and within which Māori are required to function is that of education. Rogoff and Morelli (1997) assert the need for educators to change their ways of conceptualising a range of cultural issues and to re-evaluate the theories upon which many of their educational assumptions are based. Enhanced awareness and understanding of Māori cultural concepts can enrich educational practices and may even lead to a reconceptualisation of existing knowledge. Certainly Bishop has argued over the last decade that solutions for Māori do not lie in the culture that has traditionally marginalised Māori; rather, solutions lie in Māori culture itself (Bishop, 1996; Bishop et al., 2003).

Māori Cultural Solutions

Importantly, Māori cultural solutions can stem from both traditional and contemporary cultural knowledge. Today kaupapa Māori theorising and metaphors are used more widely to inform policies and practices across a range of sectors and initiatives (Bishop, 2005; Mead, 1997; L. Smith, 1999). As such, kaupapa Māori is a dynamic framework in which to understand the world, to claim space and to work for change. Pōwhiri (formal rituals of encounter) is a kaupapa Māori initiative that can provide a powerful analogy for the notion of "claiming spaces" (Glynn, Berryman, Walker, Reweti & O'Brien, 2001).

Durie (2006) proposes the important notion of space whereby a realistic degree of distance is necessary at the outset until a relationship has formed. Durie contends that acknowledging a level of distance provides an effective stage for clarifying the terms under which parties come together and engage. Conversely, diminished distance may precipitate fear and panic or alternatively lead to withdrawal. Either situation could impact negatively on the processes for building relationships and establishing engagement. Understanding the concept of the boundaries within these spaces requires making the necessary distinctions between groups such as tangata whenua (hosts) and manuhiri (visitors), the living and the dead, the right and the left, men and women, the old and the young. Appreciation of these distinctions enables mutually respected boundaries to be defined without pretence and can provide a platform upon which respectful engagement, trust and purposeful interactions may emerge. Within these spaces, adhering to the domain of time means that being on time is less important than allocating, taking or expanding time in order to ensure that processes are completed properly; that they are being accorded the time that they deserve.

Building Relationships

Pōwhiri and mihi whakatau (rituals of encounter) are essential for building relationships and inclusive practices across iwi and across different groups of people but they can also serve as metaphors for building relationships across worldviews (Berryman, 2008). Important functions of pōwhiri are to greet the icons and images that represent the tribal places and ancestors and the people present on the day, and also to represent oneself in a way that makes sense within a Māori worldview. The kaikaranga (caller) then the kaikōrero (orators) exchange formal greetings, drawing on their extensive knowledge of whakapapa to establish extended family relationships and other important connections between the two groups. These greetings recognize and respond to the mana (autonomy, dignity, integrity) of the other side by acknowledging their ancestors and any of their members who have died recently. The greetings also acknowledge the living elders and all those who have passed on. Complementary to the whaikōrero (oration) are the waiata (songs), many drawing on traditional Māori knowledge and

carrying information to ensure cultural values and information are passed on to the next generations while others maintain contemporary knowledge and events from both cultures. Only after this process has been completed do the two groups move together to exchange a hongi (a close personal greeting), where people approach close enough to acknowledge each other and to share the same breath of life. After this, refreshments are shared and only then are the two groups free to interact socially and work together as one on common tasks or problems to be solved.

Whanaungatanga

For Māori the process of whanaungatanga (building and maintaining relationships) practised during pōwhiri is also kept alive in Māori stories and cultural rituals that are operationalised in interactions occurring in many everyday Māori contexts such as greeting and parting, the sharing of food, caring for one another's children and the sharing and ownership of possessions. The concept of sharing property (tātau tātau) and the Māori concept of time (mā te wā) reiterate the notion that there are culturally linked ways of thinking, feeling and acting that are acquired through socialisation (Phinney & Rotheram, 1987). Both of these concepts exemplify kaupapa whakaaro or Māori theory because they encapsulate the "Māori way of doing things" (G. Smith, 1995). Likewise, the common practice of grandparents naming their mokopuna (grandchildren) is also another aspect of whanaungatanga as particular Māori names are both a reference to the past (moko) and also express hopes for the future (puna). The concept of whānau whānui (extended family) enables kinship bonds to develop naturally on a very broad basis across and between families, groups and contexts, thus encapsulating another aspect of whanaungatanga, the spirit of kotahitanga (working in unity).

These practices exemplify the reality that Māori have particular and unique ways of relating, of viewing the world and of making sense of what they see. Put simply, they are Māori-preferred ways of doing and Māori-specific patterns of thinking. Durie (2007) posits that there are two main patterns or types of human thinking: centrifugal (outward thinking) and centripetal (inward thinking). Centrifugal thinking is described as ecological, whereby understanding is able to be gleaned from wider contexts and relationships and where similarities convey the essence of meaning. Centrifugal thinking may be understood using the analogy of a telescope as it focuses on looking at the big picture; this type of thinking pattern is fundamentally Māori and informs the systems (processes and activities) used by Māori. Centripetal thinking, on the other hand, is reductionist and clinical in its focus and can be likened to using a microscope. Understanding comes from the analysis of individual details and component parts such as inner thoughts and feelings where the differences help to clarify understanding. Centripetal thinking informs Western systems and can be in direct contrast to how Māori make meaning and interpret their world.

Conceptual Framework

For many Māori the same whanaungatanga rituals or phases of engagement as those progressed during the pōwhiri process can be adhered to during other situations or contexts of encounter. Guided by notions of space, boundaries and time these phases broadly include:

starting/opening rituals (which includes respecting space and boundaries at the outset and determining who speaks and when);

clarifying and declaring who you are/where you have come from, building relationships and making initial connections (which includes sharing whakapapa or genealogical connections);

clarifying and declaring intentions (which includes the purpose of meeting);

coming together as a group;

addressing a particular kaupapa or issue (which includes open and frank discussions, face-to-face interactions, reaching decisions and agreements, defining particular roles and responsibilities and taking the time that is required); and

concluding (which includes summarising decisions and agreements and uplifting mana).

The Research

This conceptual framework that is embedded in and emanating out of traditional relationships of trust and respect was used by the writers of this paper in their search for more effective responses to questions being generated within special educational contexts in terms of how contemporary bicultural

responses can be more effective for Māori families. As two indigenous Māori scholars and a non-indigenous colleague, we brought our own cultural experiences and thinking to the relationship in order to develop insight into a range of collaboratively set questions. These questions included both generic questions (How do programmes developed from a traditional Māori perspective differ from programmes developed from a Western perspective?) and specific questions (In Restorative Practices what are we seeking to restore?). We expected that as our learning developed we could bring new people into the learning conversation and thus into the relationship.

According to L. Smith (2008) such a conceptual framework is appropriate in indigenous research settings. It is different from the systematic posing of research questions, data collection and analysis, and generalisation that characterises the dominant discourse in educational research in that it involves a sharing of stories, of experiences and of worldviews, using relationships as the basis for new understandings. Given that we were seeking clarification in regards to how indigenous knowledge may inform our questions we wanted to embrace an indigenous methodology. Thus, a conceptual framework that emanated out of relationships (whanaungatanga) and learning seemed to be most useful. We understood that within the dynamics of this environment the roles and responsibilities of non-indigenous people seeking to work in those relationships could be clearly defined and understood by the indigenous people (Bishop, 1996). As a result we entered into a learning process that constituted a deliberate and knowing encounter of people and ideas.

This learning embraced: (a) indigenous/Māori thinking and analysis; (b) movement to connect rather than generalize; and (c) movement to create and recreate (expand) rather than seeking to reduce knowledge to discrete chunks (L. Smith, 2008). As such, this framework is based on indigenous/Māori ways of understanding and making sense of the world; it is focused on the agreed purpose or kaupapa and it is based on the relationships and learning from within this context.

This same traditional conceptual framework was next applied to understanding how relationships of trust and respect could be developed and the kaupapa collaboratively set when working within special education settings with Māori whānau. From within this framework the following themes were prioritised as the essential steps to follow if the interventions were to be seen by Māori as effective:

> determining relationships as the groups come together;
> setting the agenda;
> defining the problems;
> defining and seeking solutions;
> defining and allocating resources; and
> defining and owning the outcomes.

Next we considered what we understood to be current practitioner and whānau thinking, practices and experiences emerging from current interventions being applied to support Māori students in special education settings. These interventions included two behaviour programmes, one that had been conceptualised with Māori input from the beginning and one that had been introduced from overseas. We also considered examples of Hui Whakatika (meetings seeking to redress wrongdoing) with numerous examples of interventions using Restorative Practices. Each of us had been engaged with these interventions and was coming from a practitioner's perspective. The interventions initiated and contextualised within a Māori perspective were compared with interventions set and contextualised within a Western perspective. In this way each of these six themes was considered and compared with what we knew of the interventions. Our findings are presented next, then discussed briefly.

Table 1

1. Determining relationships	
Interventions initiated from a Māori perspective	Interventions initiated from a Western perspective
• *Who are you and how will we work together?* • The relationship determines how we will engage with the intervention • Determined by our connections with each other	• *What is the problem and how can I fix it?* • The system (intervention) determines how we will engage in the relationships • Determined by expertise, wealth and position

From a Māori perspective it is largely understood that time spent developing relationships will determine how effective the uptake and participation of Māori will be at all other points.

Western systems are dominated by hierarchical roles and structures where power relations are often determined by race, ethnicity, gender, age, class and cultural and social capital. Leaders in such organizations are reluctant to challenge the power of the status quo, even though these systems are failing, because it is within these structures that they obtain their position and power. As a result people in Western systems, even those who might espouse personal values contrary to the mainstream political, ideological and cultural values, are stuck in unproductive ways of creating relationships relative to interventions.

Table 2

2. Setting the agenda	
Interventions initiated from a Māori perspective	Interventions initiated from a Western perspective
• Grows out of and is driven by the relationships • *Kawa* [marae protocol] and *tikanga* [custom] support the agenda • Focused on potential • Roles and responsibilities are collaboratively determined	• Grows out of and is driven by the resource • Bounded by rules and regulations • Focused on the problem • Designated roles and responsibilities

From a Māori perspective the agenda is driven by the relationships that have been developed. When time is prioritised to develop effective relationships and networks, cultural protocols emerge wherein professional and personal roles and responsibilities are collaboratively and effectively determined.

Western agendas are often set without questioning the status quo because the power of the dominant consciousness renders any contrary worldview/perspective as unrealistic and impractical. While the pōwhiri serves as a metaphor for addressing interventions from a traditional Māori perspective, Western meetings can serve as a metaphor for how people operate in these systems. At meetings, people are divided between their personal and professional self, with the professional role dominating relations and the personal self rendered invisible and undervalued. People are seen as replaceable parts of the system and are valued based on their efficiency. Their roles are viewed in a silo rather than as a contribution to the whole.

Table 3

3. Defining the problems	
Interventions initiated from a Māori perspective	Interventions initiated from a Western perspective
• Looking outward (centrifugal-telescopic) • Holistic • Focused on strengths • Problem is owned by all	• Looking inward (centripetal-microscopic) • Individualistic • Focused on the problem • Problem is defined by rules or laws

From a Māori perspective, when the problem is owned by all the response is more likely to be ecological, strengths-based and aimed at restoring holistic well-being.

Problems in the Western world are often defined first in terms of the status quo and the systems involved rather than the people and their relationships. In this way the problems continue to define the relationship rather than the relationships being able to define the problem and also the solution. Problems are often framed with the wider cultural context of free market materialism and individualism. As a result, people are prone to stay within their comfort zone and serve the system rather than seeing the system and its rules and regulations as being in service to them.

Table 4

4. Defining and seeking solutions	
Interventions initiated from a Māori perspective	Interventions initiated from a Western perspective
• Proactive • Long term • Restoring harmony • Seeking *noa* [freedom from restriction] and balance • Learning and growing • *Ako* [learning], learning together, developing capacity to respond more effectively in the future • Interdependence leading to independence and self-determination	• Reactive • Short term • Blame is apportioned • Diagnose, treat and repair • Expert model, solver of problems and return to status quo • Outcomes likely to lead to ongoing dependence

From a Māori perspective, proactive long-term solutions seeking the restoration of harmony and balance provide opportunities for all to learn from each other. Working collaboratively and interdependently can lead to greater independence and self-determination (Berryman, 2008). On the other hand, Western solutions are often reactive, resulting in diagnosis and/or the apportioning of blame, followed by the expert providing treatment in order to repair. These outcomes often lead to ongoing dependence.

Table 5

5. Defining and allocating resources	
Interventions initiated from a Māori perspective	Interventions initiated from a Western perspective
• *What are the benefits of working together?* • The resource is in the people • Shared power • Time is the essence	• *What are the costs of working together?* • The resource is in the property • Individual power • Time is of the essence

From a Māori perspective resources are often seen in the sharing of power and time amongst the people themselves. Thus, the benefits of working together are defined by the people themselves. This differs from a Western perspective where the engagement/intervention is more often seen to be determined and thus limited by the resources that are managed from outside of the family.

Table 6

6. Defining and owning the outcomes	
Interventions initiated from a Māori perspective	Interventions initiated from a Western perspective
• *How will we benefit by working together?* • Defined by the participant/people's holistic well-being • Intangible, feelings—it feels good	• *How will I benefit by working with you?* • Defined by the expert's pre-determined goals and agenda • Tangible observables—it looks good

From a Māori perspective the benefits are defined by working with the group in ways that focus on people's holistic well-being, often resulting in benefits of feeling better about the situation which are perceived as intangible and anecdotal. From a Western perspective the expert's pre-determined goals and agenda are aimed at producing observable and measurable improvements over time that are seen to be more important than the feel-good factor.

Interestingly, when we reprioritised these themes from a Western perspective we found that, although the order of some elements remained the same, the determination and building of relationships had been de-prioritised to the following order:

    setting the agenda;
    defining the problems;
    defining and allocating resources;
    defining and seeking solutions;
    defining and owning the outcomes; and
    determining relationships.

Although relationships might well develop as a result of these interventions, interventions were not perceived to be dependent upon developing effective relationships first. More recently, the importance of teachers first developing relationships with Māori students has been receiving a lot of positive attention in New Zealand schools as a result of the Te Kotahitanga research (Bishop et al., 2003). However, while Western systems or organizations often espouse the rhetoric that aligns well with traditional Māori practices, in practice these systems often operate in different ways. For many Māori there is a lack of continuity between the values expressed openly and the values lived daily in practice.

Conclusion

Current research and educational practices often operate within a pattern of power imbalances that favour cultural deficit explanations or victim blaming of indigenous students' and their families' educational performance and achievement (Shields, Bishop & Masawi, 2005). The particular modes of thinking and acting that have defined much research such as this are concepts such as neutrality, objectivity and distance that emerge from examining participants rather than examining the relationships and interactions between and amongst people. Education, for example, is perceived as a process of shaping individuals within a system rather than as Sidorkin (2002) suggests shaping contexts of relations that include the individuals. Indeed, building relationships is the work as it constitutes how we learn best and allows students from a range of cultural backgrounds to interact and learn in more productive ways. In line with Sidorkin (2002) this research continues to show us that the sort of relationships we build with people provides the basis for how we are able to engage with them. Just as in cultural rituals of encounter teachers cannot truly know what their relationships with students are like without first ensuring contexts where students themselves can bring their own prior experiences to their learning. Positioning ourselves and thus living and learning within the culture itself, has provided holistic and flexible metaphors to guide us in this respect (Bishop et al., 2003; Berryman, 2008).

For non-Māori, pōwhiri often require a shift in mind set away from the familiar ways in which we introduce ourselves in non-Māori spaces to a respectful sense of these new cultural spaces. There have been very public instances of resistance, animosity, anger, frustration and panic by Māori and non-Māori alike when it has been expected that people can move out of their cultural comfort zone and act according to different cultural protocols. However, on participation, many have found the experience to be both worthwhile and rewarding, finding the experience useful in focusing on the little they know or understand about how different a Māori worldview is from a Western worldview. For many, the experience has provided the first steps to identifying their own cultural identity. For others these are the first steps on a journey of learning to work respectfully within another worldview (Māori) in ways that are relational to and interdependent with Māori but also self-determining for Māori.

Glossary

ako	learn; teach
hapū	sub-tribal kin group
hongi	press noses in greeting
hui	gathering; meeting
hunaonga	in-laws
iwi	tribe
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa Māori	Māori philosopy; Māori way of doing things
kaupapa whakaaro	theory
kawa	marae protocol
kotahitanga	working in unity
manuhiri	visitors
marae	Māori communal centre
mokopuna	grandchildren
noa	free from ritual restriction
Pākehā	New Zealander of mainly European descent
pakeke	adults
pōwhiri	formal rituals of encounter
rangatahi	young adults
rangatira	leaders
taitamariki	adolescents
tamariki mokopuna	younger children of both genders
tangata whenua	hosts
taonga tuku iho	values, beliefs, traditions, history, customs and rituals
tātau tātau	the concept of sharing property
tikanga	correct procedure; custom
tūpuna	ancestors

tūrangawaewae	birthplace
wā	time
waiata	songs
waka	canoe
whaikōrero	oration
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataukī	adage; wise saying
whānau	family
whānau whānui	extended family
whanaungatanga	the building and maintaining of relationships

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Motherloss

Maringi Brown-Sadlier
Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui ā Kiwa

Ko Maungahaumi te maunga
Ko Waipaoa te awa
Ko Te Aitanga ā Māhaki te iwi
E te tī, e te tā
E ngā rau rangatira
Koutou e noho mai nei i te tomokanga o tēnei whare
Kua kuhu mai kē atu i te tatau pounamu
Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

From my mountain Maungahaumi I greet you
From my river Waipaoa I greet you
As my iwi Te Aitanga ā Māhaki I greet you
To all of you that sit at this entranceway
And have entered this doorway of peace and peaceableness
Greetings.

My paper is about *motherloss*. I completed my Masters thesis on what it is like to be a motherless daughter. I'm going to start by talking about wedding cakes. For 18 years I made wedding cakes; I made all sorts of cakes for 21sts, christenings, 90ths, 50ths. The wedding ones were where the full extent of the elaborate, magnificent and intricate was most evident.

The cake making was a stressful, hugely time-consuming and crazy-making activity. But each time, I sought more resolutely to make the recipients totally speechless and overwhelmed by their cake. It was this momentary loss of self as they came to terms with how beautiful the cake was that drove me. Each time I pushed technical and creativity boundaries to have that moment when they literally just couldn't speak.

How did it start and has it ended? The first cake I ever made was the year after my mother died. My brother was getting married and I announced to the family: "If Mum was alive she would have made the cake; I'll make the cake." Without seeing the bridal party outfits of this wedding, I placed lily-of-the-valley flowers cascading down the cake. Unbeknown to me, these exact flowers were what the bridesmaids wore in their hair that day. The crazy-making had started as it seemed I was not just any cake maker but a psychic one as well!

How did it end? My niece was getting married at Ūawa (Tolaga Bay). The family had booked us in at the local pub so the cake would have its own chiller. The cake was a chocolate mud cake iced in white chocolate. There were white and dark chocolate roses blooming all over it. It had three tiers separated by gold pillars with cherubs shooting love arrows tucked in between them. The guests were speechless, they grappled with the prospect of having it cut. They didn't want to cut it, they pleaded with me not to. I took the knife and cut straight down the middle.

What I was doing was still grieving for my mother. She had died 19 years before and yet I was still crying. When I stopped making cakes, I finally started to mourn her. Mourning is consciously choosing to deal with the grief. The cakes were her, exquisite and beautiful. It was as though each were a memorial to her. The more gob-smacked people were, the more affirmed I was of her unsurpassed characteristics and qualities. What was key to this scene were the pleas to not cut the cake. I needed them to say this. What I did then was literally to play God and cut the cake, control its end. Even though I had cried for my mother to not die, it happened and there was nothing I could do about it. But as for cakes, that was different.

On the 19th anniversary of my mother's death I stopped making cakes. I was 19 when my mother died. For every year after her death, I had a year of memory of being with her to match each year of being without her. When it came to the 19th anniversary, when I turned 38 and effectively it was the 20th year of her death, I had run out of years. I had to start mourning.

I started to ask myself, have I any other craziness happening in dealing with her death apart from the icing monuments? Apparently, I was what is known as a motherless daughter. What was that? What was motherloss? How do you cope with losing your mother? Had anybody written about that? Is motherloss any different from any other loss, and why?

My mother's upbringing was by her Whakatōhea (Eastern Bay of Plenty tribe) elders. Her tangi (time of mourning) was very traditional, with many protocols that are not practised as strongly today. The conventions and processes of tangihanga (funeral rites) were still evident. Then why did it still hurt 19 years later?

Ngā Mōteatea is an annotated collection of traditional songs made over 40 years ago by the distinguished leader and academic Sir Āpirana Ngata. These songs were published from 1928 onwards. *Ngā Mōteatea* has been published in four volumes with English translations, the first three volumes being translated by the great scholar Pei Te Hurinui Jones. I researched every incidence of the word "mate" (death) in these volumes. There are 240 occurrences of this word. None of them deal with the pain a daughter feels on losing her mother. There are no mōteatea (traditional chants) in these comprehensive volumes that talk about motherloss.

I come from Tūranganui ā Kiwa (Gisborne). My iwi (tribe), Te Aitanga ā Māhaki, use the word kōkā for mother. Like many other iwi, this word is not specific to mother but can be used for an auntie or, in fact, any female relative of the generation above the speaker.

In my search for examples of songs recording the pain and anguish at the loss of a mother by a daughter, I was unsuccessful. I was searching for something that wasn't there. Traditionally, Māori society ensured that a daughter was collectively nurtured and shaped by female relatives. These relatives took a collective responsibility for the child and were constantly interacting in her life. Her socialization and enculturation was a responsibility of the collective. Loss was a given and grief expected at the death of one of these important nurturing figures. My research did not show the existence of a single linear relationship between mother and child.

I am the only daughter and the youngest of three children to my father and mother. From my very beginning, my mother had built around me he puni kuia (a collection of grandmothers). I was never babysitted by my brothers or any young enterprising cousin. I was always taken to Nannies. My mother was following a very traditional norm. She was ensuring I was surrounded and loved by a collective of female relatives. She was ensuring I would never feel abandoned of mothering love.

Even though I didn't find examples of motherloss in *Ngā Mōteatea*, I found powerful, extremely poignant, heart-wrenching expressions of grief. These expressions were, as Scheper-Hughes' research had shown, constructions of our feelings. In *Death, Mourning and Burial*, edited by A Robben, she said:

> Emotions are discourse; they are constructed and produced in language and human interaction. They cannot be understood outside of the cultures that produce them … radically put, without our cultures we simply would not know how to feel. (2004, p. 190)

How we feel is determined by our cultural contexts. The context provides the expression and meaning. In *Ngā Mōteatea*, examples of this discourse are available. These are reliant on our own cultural worldviews to translate them. There were expressions for the announcers of death that were most often symbolized as lightening. Grief was likened to a rising and falling tide, loss likened to a blistering barren day, the shattering descent of loss like a falling star. Finally, death was likened to the

waning moon, desperately hopeful that the deceased will return like the moon that disappears and then reappears.

My mother's tangi followed protocols as set by our elders. The protocols and practices were to create harmony in the natural ecology that death had interrupted.

> Aboriginal order and law are part of a search for harmony based on an implicate order in the ecology. Aboriginal order and law are not focused on human nature or how humans ought to behave. They seek to discover how every life form can live together in a respectful way … they are about rituals or processes that create peace of mind and harmonious lives.
> (Battiste & Henderson, 2000, p.273)

My mother did not lie on the veranda of the wharenui (meeting house) but away from the wharenui in a tent. The tent was filled with hay and straw and covered with whāriki (mats) and then mattresses either side of her casket. The division between tapu (sacred) and noa (profane) was clear. As the immediate family we did not eat during the day, we had only cups of tea. At night we were served dinner behind the wharenui away from everyone. As the bereaved family we did not enter the dining room at all until after the burial. We were set apart. My eldest most senior grandmother of the marae (tribal meeting ground) sat at the side of the tent and, as each group arrived, she filled the space with a constant weeping. Her tears cradled the family's feelings of pain, wretchedness and aching. We don't hear that tangi taimau (constant wailing) anymore.

Motherloss is considered one of the most profound events in the life of a woman. Many identity traits of the mother are taken by the surviving daughter as her own. However, these are hugely subjective and are driven entirely by the daughter's individual memories of her mother. My mother made one wedding cake. It was for her namesake's wedding. It was part of her total commitment to the wedding; she cooked, set tables and helped her cousin, the bride's mother, deal with all that was required. From that event, I had conjured an entire life purpose of making cakes! I believed I was carrying on my mother's work and making cakes for all. That's what she would have done had she lived. I upsized her one cake to end up making cakes for 18 years!

It is said that with the loss of a mother you lose the central shaper of character and identity. Is a motherless daughter, then, deficit in the character and identity quotient? I had had the love of at least three strong, highly intelligent, beautiful Nannies. I struggled with this theory of the motherloss writers (Edelman, 1995). What I did have was a small pocket of 19 years' worth of memories of my mother and I was shaping my sense of self from this. There was difficulty, however, in that some of my memories were flawed.

I started to seek more material on my mother. I asked my cousin, with whom I grew up, what she remembered most about my mother. Her eyes misted over and she said: "Her tomato sandwiches. They were the best. Your mother sugared the tomatoes and they were never soggy like my mother's." I was flabbergasted. I genuinely have no recollection of her tomato sandwiches, I can't remember them at all.

Mothers are the primary shapers of our emotional intelligence. Whatever state their intelligence may be, we can be further impacted by the fact that their shaping of us can end suddenly and abruptly. We can sometimes end up with only half of the script. Do we seek the balance? Or is that impossible? Some of the literature says that when we have an emotional crisis we revert back to the age we were when we lost our mothers. Is this a gift of an eternal fountain of youth, or are we doomed to act irrationally based on our chronological age, whatever that may be? My experience is that I could behave as a 19-year-old in a 40-plus-year-old body. It pays to be wary of that.

Does age alleviate the effect of motherloss? As a three-year-old, will there be fewer memories to grieve, less of a loss to feel? My research said, "No." Whatever age a daughter loses her mother, the effect will be felt. There is a legacy of loss no matter what. As a three-year old, the daughter will re-script the loss as she grows. What she may have thought happened when she was that age changes as she has increasing levels of knowledge. Part of me thought my mother died because I was a rebellious

teenager; I thought I was getting paid back for being naughty. It took 25 years to understand, and accept, medical proof she died of cancer and not my teenage behaviour. I lived her death once again when I discovered this.

We refer to our connection to the land as, "Ko Papatūānuku e takoto nei" ("Earthmother lying here before us"). Papatūānuku embodies the earthly elements of our universe. She is the eternal mother and is separated from our celestial father, Ranginui (Skyfather). She lies below us, he above us, and we exist in the space they have permitted between. We are their children as were our ancestors before, as will be our grandchildren who are yet to come.

It is said that when we die we will return to her. We will return to the earth. However, none of our traditions says she has left us, none of our stories says she is separated from us. In fact they say the exact opposite. We acknowledge her presence repeatedly. Our traditions and daily exchanges revere her and acknowledge her omnipresence.

What our stories do talk about is the pain and anguish Papatūānuku and Ranginui feel at their separation from each other, but not ours from her. In fact our narratives say she chose to be with us at the expense of losing her husband to the heavens. Daily we are reminded of their heartache. Our stories say the early morning mists are their intimate exchanges. We honour the decision they made to create a world and space for us, albeit separated from each other, by reciting their names in union in our ceremonies and ritual exchanges.

Ko Ranginui e tū iho nei
(Ranginui who looks down from the heavens)
Ko Papatūānuku e takoto nei
(Papatūānuku lying here before us).

The notion of motherloss for Māori is incomprehensible. We do not have a cultural knowledge bank to deal with cultural motherloss. My iwi ecology defines my consciousness and informs my teachings and knowledge. What I hear daily from my elders, as they live and nourish our rituals and ceremonies, is the presence and link to our mother, not the separation and loss of a mother. When we fragment and tease out our worldviews, when we individualize concepts, they become artificial. Our world is unbalanced. Motherloss is a non-Māori concept. We feel loss and we experience it for the loss it is, but it belongs to a complete consciousness and is not separate.

However, the notion of losing a mother and the impact that would have on iwi consciousness and worldview is not underestimated. The honouring we bestow on Papatūānuku reinforces the importance and significance of the role a mother plays. In fact I propose that Papatūānuku is the pivotal character in the puni kuia I have already spoken about. This is the cluster of female relatives that every mother has a duty to create around her daughter in order that she will never feel abandoned of a mother's love. Literally, the essential spirituality of Papatūānuku and being beyond death ensure that she, of all, will be mother to her daughters forever. What my traditions have effectively done is create commanding environmental laws and authority. We can never know what it would be like to lose our mother Papatūānuku. To experience that loss is to lose the world.

Last week Molly Pardoe from Tūranganui ā Kiwa was honoured as a Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit. She created an annual event we have called *Survivor Idol*. It is similar to *New Zealand Idol* and *American Idol* in that it is a talent show with judges. But apart from that it is an entirely Tūranganui ā Kiwa, home-grown, innovation and response. Contestants, primarily young people, are asked to write and perform original compositions dealing with "anti drink drive" messages. It is an anti drink drive campaign aimed at youth. It has been hugely successful.

Her latest project is occurring in our local girls' high school. She is creating relationships between grandmothers and students. She places grandmothers with female students. Some of the first exchanges are sitting and weaving together. This allows trust and rapport to develop. This is the tradition of creating female love around daughters. It is about creating the potency of love and being loved. It is

about creating lots of love from lots of grandmothers and mothers. It is about using traditional knowledge to balance relationships.

Glossary

hapū	sub-tribe; clan
he puni kuia	collective of grandmothers
iwi	tribe
kawa	protocol
kōkā	older female relative
marae	ceremonial venue consisting of people and buildings
mate	death
mōteatea	traditional songs
noa	profane; not sacred
Papatūānuku	Earthmother
Ranginui	Skyfather
tangi	funeral
tangihanga	funeral rites
tapu	sacred
tikanga	custom
whāriki	woven mats
Whakatōhea	Eastern Bay of Plenty tribe resident in the Ōpotiki area
whānau	family
wharenui	meeting house

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Traditional Knowledge and Decision Making:
Māori Involvement in Aquaculture and Biotechnology

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Abstract

Aquaculture is a booming industry in Aotearoa New Zealand and one in which Māori are increasingly represented. Much of the current research in aquaculture concentrates on science and technology discourse as well as the economic benefits of the industry. What remain under-researched are the socio-political, environmental and cultural aspects of aquaculture and, in particular, how these are represented within hapū (clan) and iwi (tribe) decision-making processes about their involvement. Biotechnological advances will add another layer to this decision-making mix as hapū and iwi are increasingly asked to consider the value of biopharming New Zealand marine species, particularly those that have significant cultural value to Māori. How will communities, for example, make judgments about biopharming issues that are based on the weighing up of perceived costs and benefits to the community? This paper sets the context for understanding why it is important to examine these decision-making processes within the current aquaculture climate in this country. Māori engagement with the marine environment, including aquaculture, is profiled, followed by an overview of aquaculture more generally, including legislation and the prospects that exist for biopharming. After this our current research programme is described, and five themes are explored as a way of providing a "heads-up" on issues that potentially impact on Māori decision making, namely: mana moana (authority over the sea), kaitiakitanga (guardianship), resource constraints, commodification and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination, paramount authority).[1]

Introduction

Much has been written about the complex system of inter-relationships between Māori and the world, acknowledging that Māori survival is dependent on the sustainability of the resources of the forest and marine environments (Garven, Nepia & Ashwell, 1997). Such interdependence derives from a Māori worldview that sees all things, both tangible and intangible, as being inter-related through whakapapa (common descent). This interconnectedness defines the relationship between Māori and the world, where Māori have a responsibility to manage our impact on other forms of life and ensure the survival of all into the future (Hauraki Trust Board, 1999). Kaitiakitanga is regarded as the Māori environmental ethic and determines how Māori interact with the environment.[2] This, in turn, is underpinned by Māori rights to practise kaitiakitanga as both tangata whenua (people of the land) and mana whenua or mana moana (people with authority over the land or sea).

The present paper examines Māori kaitiakitanga rights within traditional aquaculture practices, and outlines what is currently happening within this country with respect to aquaculture initiatives that may potentially impact on kaitiakitanga and mana moana. While aquaculture is highlighted in our current research, our interest lies in how Māori collectives decide whether or not they will become involved in the aquaculture industry and what impacts new technologies may have on this decision-making process.

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[2] For this fact, kaitiakitanga is acknowledged in legislation and is defined as follows: "the exercise of guardianship by the tangata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Māori in relation to natural and physical resources, and includes the ethic of stewardship" (Section 2, Resource Management Act 1991).

Traditional Aquaculture

Over successive generations Māori have developed an enduring and interdependent relationship with the coastal environment and its bounty. In keeping with the practice of kaitiakitanga and manaakitanga (caring for, protection),[3] and as an expression of mana moana, Māori have been engaging in aquaculture practices since pre-colonial times. Old-time accounts tell of Māori translocating species, reseeding traditional areas using poha (bull kelp receptacles) and maintaining kōhanga beds (fish nurseries) to grow and replenish stocks in a given area (Waitangi Tribunal Reports, 1988, 1992). Another way in which kaitiakitanga and mana whenua were actively demonstrated in traditional times was in the placement of rāhui (prohibition on gathering seafood). Not only were rāhui used as a means to ensure an ongoing supply of kaimoana (seafood) for communities, they were also put in place to observe tikanga (correct procedure) after loss of life and to exert the mana of hapū and iwi in exercising their rights and responsibilities over their lands and coastlines. In post-colonial times rāhui have also been used for religious purposes; for example, Ringatu place a ban on gathering kaimoana on the twelfth day of each month (Maxwell & Penetito, 2007).

At the time of colonial settlement, Māori were actively engaged in commercial fishing practices, trading with other Māori (a long-standing practice) and with the settlers (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988, 1992). However, by the mid-1860s, with the enactment of the Oyster Fisheries Act 1866, the Māori hold on their fisheries and commercial fishing enterprises began to unravel. This Act saw the beginning of fish as private property. It enabled the leasing of oyster beds for commercial purposes as it was assumed that the beds did not belong to Māori. The Act also saw the beginning of the Western practice of artificial seeding as well as the denial of Māori rights to sell from their oyster beds (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988).

Subsequent legislation dismantled Māori commercial fishing altogether and restricted customary rights and control. While government legislation has served to perpetuate a myth that Māori were only customary fishers, Māori have been involved in aquaculture ventures since the 1940s. Indeed, Māori-owned aquaculture businesses have been established for many years (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a). A focus on Māori involvement in aquaculture has taken on new impetus in recent times with the Māori Commercial Aquaculture Claims Settlement Act 2004, the development of a New Zealand Aquaculture Strategy (Burrell & Meehan, 2006), and the emphasis on research and development to progress the industry (Aquaculture New Zealand, 2008).

In more recent times, hapū and iwi have been actively reclaiming their traditional knowledge and practices in order to preserve and invigorate traditional practices as well as protect those species that are considered taonga (prized resources) and under threat. Environmental sustainability and sustainable social, cultural and economic development have become important considerations for many, if not all, hapū and iwi. It is within this context that many Māori communities, whānau (families), hapū and iwi are considering whether aquaculture development should be part of their drive for overall sustainable development (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1996).

Modern Aquaculture

Aquaculture, as defined by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, is "the farming of aquatic organisms including molluscs, crustaceans and aquatic plants, where farming implies some form of intervention in the rearing process to enhance production" (The Victorian Government, 2005, p. 7). Within the local context, the definition of aquaculture has been generalised as "the cultivation of any aquatic (fresh and marine) species (plant or animal), where these plants or animals are kept in the 'exclusive and continuous possession' of the breeder and are clearly distinguishable and separate from wild stock" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b, p. 1).

Aquaculture as an industry has been growing rapidly throughout the world with nearly half of the world's food fish now coming from aquaculture sources (FAO Fisheries Department, 2006). Comparatively, the growth of aquaculture in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been described as "steady"

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[3] In this context, manaakitanga reflects the ways in which the mana of hapū and iwi was upheld through being good hosts by providing visitors with plenty of seafood.

rather than rapid (Aquaculture New Zealand, 2008). The increase of aquaculture development in this country has been accompanied by complex regulatory frameworks and policy decision making (Burrell & Meehan, 2006). In the past, all marine farming applications issued by lease or licences were dealt with under the Marine Farming Act 1971. The Marine Farming Act 1971 explicitly provided for the promotion of marine farming with provisions that covered, for example, access through leased areas, spat-catching areas, the protection of marine farms and disease control.

In 1986, the Fisheries Amendment Act introduced individual transferable quotas. These quotas were given in perpetuity, which meant that the fishing industry became privatised into the control of the existing fisheries. Māori took issue with this, arguing that the 1986 Fisheries Amendment Act's allocation of quotas were both inconsistent with the Treaty of Waitangi and unlawful due to s88 (2) of the Fisheries Act 1983, which had made explicit that "nothing in the Act shall affect any Māori fishing rights". The High Court endorsed this ruling by stating that the development of the quota management system did not take Māori rights in fisheries into account and may breach rights (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1993). The Māori Fisheries Council was allocated 10 percent of all total allowable catches for the benefit of Māori.

As the aquaculture industry continued to develop, the New Zealand Government established the Resource Management Amendment Act (RMA) in 2002. A two-year moratorium was put in place that enabled regional councils to establish and plan for Aquaculture Marine Areas (AMAs). The Aquaculture Reform Act amended the following legislation: the Resource Management Amendment Act (No. 2) 2004, Fisheries Amendment Act (No. 3) 2004, Conservation Amendment Act 2004, Biosecurity Amendment Act 2004 and the Te Ture Whenua Māori Amendment Act (No. 3) 2004. It also established the Aquaculture Reform (Repeals and Transitional Provision) Act 2004 and the Māori Commercial Aquaculture Claims Settlement Act 2004. The latter Act led to the establishment of the Takutai Trust, the Māori Commercial Aquaculture Settlement Trust, under the trusteeship of Te Ohu Kai Moana Trustee Ltd. The Trust is the mechanism through which Councils allocate new aquaculture space to Iwi Aquaculture Organisations[4] (Burrell & Meehan, 2006).

The proposed reforms led to a Waitangi Tribunal claim in which the Ngāti Kahunungu and Ngāti Whātua claimants argued that the Crown (NZ State) had failed to consult with Māori and that the changes would prejudice Māori involvement in the aquaculture industry and consequently lead to their financial loss (Waitangi Tribunal, 2002). In response to this, the Resource Management Amendment Act set aside 20 percent of AMAs for Māori. Accompanied by a concentrated push by the government and the industry, the Act has sent strong signals to Māori of the benefits and possibilities of being involved in aquaculture development.

In spite of vigorous protests from Māori about customary title, the Government passed the Seabed and Foreshore Act in 2004, vesting ownership of the seabed and foreshore with the Crown. This legislation has been described as the "largest confiscation in our time" (Lowe, 2004) and was initiated in response to a Court of Appeal decision in 2003 to give the Māori Land Court the right to rule on seabed and foreshore claims. So, while Māori have been left with 20 percent of aquaculture licences, there remains political disquiet "that the Crown is allocating space that is not theirs, making decisions about marine spaces that tangata whenua should rightly be involved in" (Flavell, 2008, p. 3).

In June 2007 the New Zealand Government launched a five-point plan to support aquaculture and industry strategy based on: a) building confidence to invest in aquaculture by supporting regional councils in their planning processes; b) providing better public information on aquaculture; c) promoting Māori involvement in aquaculture; d) capitalising on research and innovation; and e) assisting the aquaculture industry to develop markets and products. The Deputy Chief Executive of the Ministry of Fisheries, Stan Crothers, also affirmed that the key to aquaculture development in New Zealand is subject to the development of "national standards for sustainable aquaculture" (Ministry for Economic Development, 2007, p. 19).

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[4] "An Iwi Aquaculture Organization must be a mandated iwi organization under the Māori Fisheries Act 2004 and must also have been authorised by its members to receive settlement assets under the Settlements Act" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007c).

Over this time the aquaculture industry in New Zealand has grown from reasonably small sites in the Marlborough Sounds, Northland and the Coromandel Peninsula to one of the fastest growing components of the New Zealand seafood industry. According to the Chief Executive of Ngāi Tahu Seafood, this development has been too fast; there are now too many ventures growing green-shell mussels here in New Zealand and in places like Chile and South Australia, which makes it an extremely competitive and increasingly unprofitable market (Keene, 2007). In a competitive global market the industry is looking to produce high-quality food as well as high-value products for the pharmaceutical and neutricutical industries. A number of native species have been identified as possessing chemicals that have anti-cancer and other pharmaceutical benefits. To date, the emphasis on research for aquaculture has been the development of commercially viable products. Early in 2008, Aquaculture New Zealand (2008) put out its most recent draft research strategy with a focus on the four backbones of growth: security, sustainability, efficiency and innovation. This research strategy is in turn mandated within the Aquaculture Strategy.

In the second half of 2008, the Ministry of Fisheries is also consulting on the Māori Commercial Aquaculture Settlement plan (Ministry of Fisheries, 2008). The plan sets out details about how the Crown intends to comply with its pre-commencement space obligations to iwi by the end of 2014 and includes the possibility of: space allocation, the purchase of existing aquaculture farms or payouts of the financial equivalent of the Crown's settlement obligation. The consultation will allow iwi to express their views on the plan at a time when many are also considering their options for entering into aquaculture endeavours.

Biotechnology and Aquaculture

Most New Zealand aquaculture currently focuses on mussels, salmon and oysters. To accelerate growth the aquaculture industry is diversifying into new species and new products. This has fuelled interest in new biotechnologies such as biopharming and genetic engineering, which may have applications for the aquaculture industry (FAO, 2006). Modern biotechnological advancement has wide applications for human activities that extend from the production of food to the management of diseases. A definition of biotechnology includes "the application of scientific and engineering principles to the processing of material by biological agents, and the processing of biological materials to improve the quality of life, by isolating, modifying and synthesising the genetic instructions responsible for actual biological processes" (Statistics NZ, 2001). In the last 50 years we have seen rapid growth in technological advancement, especially in biotechnology and genetic engineering. The impact of these new technologies, however, causes concern to many. There has been a call to better align new technological advancements with societal values. This involves communities that may be affected by new technological advancements being better informed and having their concerns acknowledged by scientists and corporations (Cram, 2005; Royal Commission on Genetic Modification, 2001).

Biopharming is when crops, plants or livestock are farmed to produce neutricuticals (or food supplements), and/or genetically engineered so that they produce pharmaceutical (or medicinal) substances that they would not have produced in their natural state. A New Zealand example of biopharming is the sea sponge, *Mycale hentscheli,* from Pelorus Sound, that has been found to have cancer fighting properties (peloruside A.) and has potential within the billion-dollar pharmaceutical industry (Handley, Page & Northcote, 2006). Our interest in biopharming—and the potential threat or opportunity it poses for Māori aquaculture business interests and aspirations quite apart from Māori kaitiakitanga responsibilities—lies in the role it might play in Māori decision making. This interest follows on from our initial interest in genetic testing and its impact on Māori health decisions. Both these research projects are introduced next, before we return to aquaculture and five themes that have arisen in our research so far.

The Current Research Programme

The present research is the second project in a Foundation for Research Science and Technology (FRST)-funded programme of research that examines Māori decision-making processes and the potential impact of new technologies on the decision-making processes themselves as well as the decisions that are made. The first project examined Māori decision making about new technologies in

the area of personal health and genetic testing. The research was concerned with how Māori weighed up personal and group-based concerns (whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori in general) and cultural, social, political and environmental concerns. Māori interest groups were spoken with, and asked to consider various scenarios where new technologies were readily available. The results demonstrated the multiple concerns that Māori considered when contemplating their choices, alongside people's commitment to good decision making. These concerns encompassed whakapapa, mauri (life principle), kaitiakitanga, tino rangatiratanga and mana (authority, prestige).
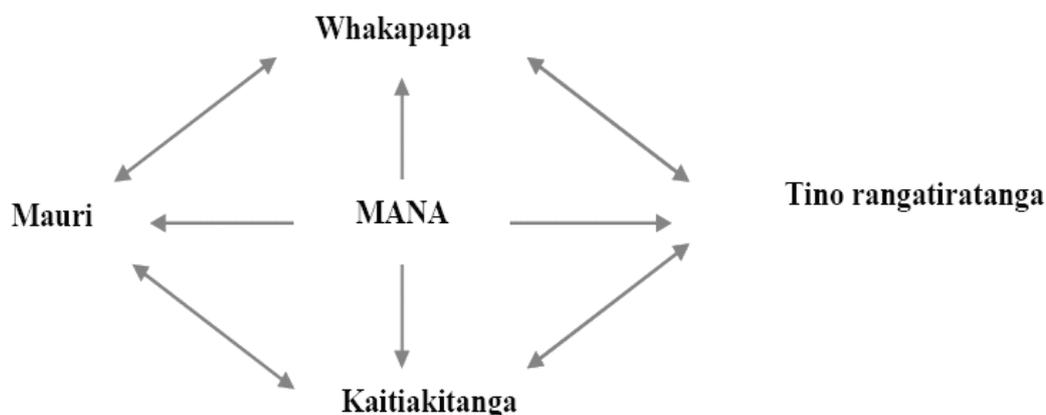
Figure 1. Māori Conceptual Framework.

Māori have transmitted knowledge and understandings of the world through oral histories in the form of whakapapa. The cosmological narratives, in which understanding of the origins of the world and all living and non-living things and their inter-relatedness are told and retold, continue to be central to this transmission. Just as whakapapa is at the heart of Māori understandings of the world, so too is mauri. Indeed, the concept of mauri is central to a deep understanding of whakapapa. Mauri is often referred to simply as "life force" (Mead, 2003), but an understanding of mauri is to have a sense of the elemental forces or energy that bring into being all life forms, both animate and inanimate, and an understanding of that which makes them unique. Kaitiakitanga can mean the exercise of guardianship by the tangata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Māori and in relation to natural and physical resources. According to the Resource Management Amendment Act 1997, this includes the ethic of stewardship. Tino Rangatiratanga in this context refers to the right for self-determination by the people involved.

While the first project approached Māori decision making from an individual focus, albeit with individuals who were members of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities, the current project explores the Māori decision-making process that is more explicitly about tribal decision making regarding new biotechnologies. Aquaculture was chosen as a reasonably new initiative that iwi had either already got involved in, or were thinking seriously about getting involved in. The new technology we were interested in was biopharming. Our interest was not to become experts in biopharming or aquaculture. Rather, it was to use these topics as a vehicle to explore Māori decision-making processes.

Our first step has been to explore how hapū and iwi make decisions about aquaculture, with our question being: what are their concerns when they are considering an aquaculture initiative? In this way, we are finding out how hapū and iwi are making decisions when it comes to coastal development initiatives and also the relationship between hapū and their iwi authority and vice versa. This serves as a baseline for our understanding of decision making, and the current paper previews some of what we have learned. In the next phase of the project, we have developed scenarios about biopharming and aquaculture that we will be asking Māori to discuss. By doing so, we are hoping to see if and how decision-making processes change when biotechnology becomes an issue on the table. At the same time, as we are exploring Māori engagement with aquaculture, our colleagues are examining the potential impacts of biopharming on New Zealand (Goven, Hunt, Shamy & Heinemann, 2008; Kaye-

Blake, Saunders & de Aragāo Pereira, 2008), including aquaculture (Campbell, MacKenzie & Goven, 2008). This programme of research fills a rather surprising gap in social science work on biopharming. In the next section we explore some of the themes emerging from our research to date as a way of giving Māori and others a heads-up on some of the concerns that Māori have about aquaculture developments in this country.

Emerging Themes

Some of the issues regarding aquaculture and biopharming that are being highlighted within written material and from our interviews with stakeholders include mana moana, kaitiakitanga, resource constraints, commodification and tino rangatiratanga. These themes are interwoven; they are considered separately here only as a means of exploring each within the context of this paper.

Mana Moana

While the focus of the current project is on aquaculture, this needs to be considered within the wider context of the relationship Māori have with the wider environment, and especially mana moana. Māori do not segment the environment into land, sea, air, et cetera; rather, the ecosystem is considered as a seamless whole with all aspects interrelated and needing to be considered. For example, in discussing Māori traditional fish management, the Waitangi Tribunal Report on the Muriwhenua Fisheries Claim described the religious rites and respect that were shown for the sea as reflecting "the Māori conception of the interdependence and relatedness of all living things". Furthermore, "there was no right to destroy the resource; there was rather a duty to protect it" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988, S. 11.2.4).

Mana moana is the right of hapū or whānau to take resources from the ocean, accompanied by the responsibility to ensure the sustainability of those resources for future generations (see Kaitiakitanga below). For example, in their discussion of their connections with the moana, Ngāti Kere describe how "[we] are renowned for our hospitality ... We uphold our mana/reputation through the prestige of being able to provide kaimoana for visitors to the hapū ... Our coastline has been used for hundreds of years as a pantry for kaimoana" (Wakefield & Walker, 2005).

A lack of respect for the moana and the coastal environment has been linked by Māori elders to the decline of kaimoana (Cram, Henare, Hunt, Mauger, Pahiri, Pitama & Tuuta, 2002). Examples included the taking of too much kaimoana, sewerage outlets and people taking cars and horses onto the beach. The government has acknowledged Māori concerns in its National Aquaculture Position Statement, emphasising that commercial aquaculture development must be considered within the context of wider environmental concerns (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b).

Ecological factors relating to aquaculture that impact on mana moana include the concentration of many fish or shellfish in a specific site. This can change the ecology of a marine ecosystem that impacts on other species in the area. In addition, farmed species can escape and compete with wild populations. Most of these effects are reasonably well understood (Forrest, Keeley, Gillespie, Hopkins, Knight & Govier, 2007). However, in their review of the literature, Campbell et al. (2008) argue that our knowledge of the marine ecosystem is still too rudimentary to provide a basis for ecological risk management, especially in relation to genetically modified organisms.

In addition, little is understood about the impact aquaculture may have on the values of local communities who have a vested interest in the species being farmed. And if such a species is genetically modified then there are potential impacts on the mauri of the species as well as the areas in which it is then grown, as the inter-relatedness of our environment implies that "any mutilation, modification or unnatural desecration of any part affects the whole" by upsetting the balance of the mauri (Greensill, 1999). And, as Morgan writes, "Mauri is the binding force between the physical and the spiritual aspects. When the mauri is totally extinguished, this is associated with death" (2004, p. 5).

Kaitiakitanga

Kaitiakitanga of the moana is linked closely to mana moana and is more than a duty of care for the coastal environment; it is about nurturing the inter-relationships between the people and the sea that are sourced within whakapapa in order to ensure that the mauri of the moana is sustained (Wakefield &

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Walker, 2005). This fuller expression of kaitiakitanga is acknowledged by Te Puni Kōkiri (2007a), and also by the Aquaculture Steering Group in their ideas about kaitiakitanga designed to seed discussion. These ideas include kaitiakitanga as mahi tapu (sacred work), founded in whakapapa, a web of obligations, and enabled through rangatiratanga (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a, p. 22).

Te Puni Kōkiri claim that "aquaculture, if appropriately developed, can be consistent with kaitiakitanga", whereas inappropriate development has the potential to compromise both resources and cultural values (2007a, p. 2). "Appropriate" in this case may well rest on the respectful relationships that Māori are able to forge with territorial authorities and industry partners (see Commodification below). The experience of Ngāi Tahu in this regard may not bode well for other iwi. Ngāi Tahu have expressed concern that they had not been adequately consulted on the development of aquaculture in the Canterbury region and were excluded, therefore, from recommending aquaculture solutions that allowed them to maintain their kaitiaki responsibilities. This included the mitigation of the detrimental effects that aquaculture has on the seabed and the loss of access to customary space through occupation by commercial aquaculture (Ngāi Tahu Natural Resources Unit, 2002). Others have also identified the effect of marine farms on customary fishing and the need to ensure that new farms did not extinguish, or in some way inhibit, the use of any customary fishing rights (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a; Waitangi Tribunal, 2002).

Resource Constraints

Ngāi Tahu have identified issues of tangata whenua receiving a reasonable share of productive areas within an AMA to carry out their own aquaculture initiatives and development, including the preservation and valuing of customary aquaculture practices (Ngāi Tahu Natural Resources Unit, 2002). However, resource constraints may limit the ability of hapū and iwi to participate fully in aquaculture developments along their coastlines. These constraints include the legislative environment (for example, RMA, AMA) that may make the cost of formal applications for consents prohibitive for individual hapū and even individual iwi to sustain. This means that hapū may need to join with iwi and that iwi will need to join forces with one another and/or partner with industry in order to enter into aquaculture ventures. This may have implications for hapū and iwi development if through such partnering economic considerations become the driving force rather than being balanced by cultural (for example, kaitiakitanga) and social (for example, employment) aspirations.

The Government's National Aquaculture Position Statement outlines the government's plan to work in partnership with Māori in order to maximize long-term gains for Māori and for the national economy. As part of this, the Ministry of Fisheries (2008) is currently consulting about how the Crown might fulfil its Treaty of Waitangi settlement obligations. The Crown's plan includes three possible settlement methods: the provision of new space; the purchase of marine farm(s); and the payment of the financial equivalent where space is not available. In this way, a mediator of resource constraints may be the Crown's commitment to meeting its Treaty obligations, although whether this fulfils Māori aspirations of partnership remains to be seen.

Commodification

The green revolution saw the industrialisation of farming and agriculture, and this mentality is now emerging within the aquaculture industry, referred to as the "blue revolution". The commodification of marine life by the aquaculture industry focuses on increasing production through intensification of aquaculture practices. Thus, industry-funded research is also primarily focused on increasing production, with research and monitoring of the environmental impacts of these intensive practices being under-funded and therefore under-researched. Within this, science and technology are often privileged in ways that silence cultural, ethical and social concerns. In addition, some scientists may feel that they have unlimited access to the marine environment and that bioprospecting is a worthy scientific endeavour, rather than the outrageous invasion of indigenous spaces that native people around the world have labelled it (Harry, Howard & Shelton, 2000).

For many iwi and hapū, venturing into aquaculture will mean partnering with industry (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a). The advantages in such partnerships rest on the recognition of the different things each party brings to the table and the respect shown by industry for Māori values and rights. As the New

Zealand Aquaculture Strategy states, "iwi have a range of interests as tangata whenua ... [that] make them vitally important partners and allies in the regional development of aquaculture" (Burrell & Meehan, 2006: 14). The knowledge Māori have about their local fisheries has also been described as a valuable industry commodity by the Government's National Aquaculture Position Statement. And a key focus of this statement is on the importance of collaboration and relationship building to ensure the aquaculture industry's growth, innovation and sustainability (NZ Government, 2008). While this may mean that industry is willing to partner with Māori, it may also mean that Māori need to tread carefully in terms of sharing their intellectual and cultural knowledge with those who may not value it other than for commercial purposes. As the participants in a 2004 workshop on indigenous participation in aquaculture noted, "[m]any communities and/or individuals don't want traditional knowledge recorded in writing or given to other groups" (Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR), 2004: 4).

Tino Rangatiratanga

The right of Māori to sovereignty or tino rangatiratanga was affirmed in the Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi, signed between Māori chiefs and the colonial newcomers in 1840. Orange (1989) defines tino rangatiratanga within the context of the Treaty as "the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages, and all their treasures" (p. 30). Mead (1985) states that "te tino rangatiratanga translates ... honestly and sensibly as self-government or as home rule" (Jackson, 1993, p. 70). The acceptance and effectiveness of that rule is embedded within mana (Jackson, 1993). (The expression Mana Motuhake is perhaps less common than Tino Rangatiratanga but is the preferred term among some iwi, for example, Ngāti Porou.)

Each of the above themes represents a potential input into Māori decision making, alongside the effective upholding of Māori self-determination. Tino Rangatiratanga rests upon Māori rights as the "customary owners of the coastal marine area" and the kaitiaki obligations that accompany this (Counsel for Ngāti Whātua and Ngāti Kahungunu, cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2002, p. 32). With the right protections in place for Māori intellectual property, including cultural knowledge about the ocean, the role of Māori as participants, leaders and innovators in sustainable aquaculture can and should be ensured. In their discussion of the importance of Māori knowledge (mātauranga) for sustainable hapū development, Harmsworth, Warmenhoven and Pohatu (2004), for example, argue that, "[w]ithin appropriate intellectual property frameworks and agreements, mātauranga can help identify new opportunities, products, services and markets, support entrepreneurial and culturally appropriate activity, stimulate growth and innovation, promote business and sound environmental management" (p. 11).

The next stage in the research is the return of our case studies to iwi and hapū (in accordance with kaupapa Māori) and the development of a description of what Māori are considering when making decisions within this context.

Summary

The present paper has outlined traditional and contemporary Māori involvement in aquaculture and highlighted five preliminary themes arising from our reading of the literature and discussions with hapū and iwi about aquaculture initiatives they are currently involved in and/or aspire to undertake. The focus of our research is to identify the strands of the decision-making processes that iwi and hapū have woven together in their move toward aquaculture. Within this, we are also interested in the potential facilitators of and/or barriers to their achieving their aquaculture goals.

The issues identified in this discussion paper demonstrate a willingness of Māori to get involved in aquaculture as long as practices are consistent with traditional values. The Aquaculture Law Reforms allowed local government to get a grasp on a growing industry. This respite also gave iwi and hapū a chance to discuss the potential benefits of aquaculture for iwi prosperity. It gave Māori a chance to discuss their role as kaitiaki of the marine environment and the perceived impact of aquacultural practices on coastal health. Māori have a vested interest in the health and well-being of the marine environment because the health of the people is directly related to the health and abundance of the marine resource, considered taonga. This relationship dictates Māori attitudes to marine life as Māori feel responsible for the protection of marine resources. The assertion and valuing of this role may well

be the best protection this country has for ensuring that aquaculture business is undertaken in a sustainable way.

Glossary

hapū	clan
iwi	tribe
kaimoana	seafood
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kōhanga	fish nurseries
mana	authority, prestige
manaakitanga	caring for, protection
mana moana	people with authority over the sea
mana whenua	people with authority over the land
mauri	life principle
mahi	work
mātauranga	knowledge
poha	bull kelp receptacles
rāhui	prohibition on gathering seafood
taonga	prized resource, treasure
tapu	sacred, restricted
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, paramount authority
whānau	extended family, families
whakapapa	common descent; genealogical relationships

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Embracing Rugby and Negotiating Inequalities in the Pacific Islands

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Abstract

The following paper, based largely upon interviews conducted with officials at the Fiji, Samoa and Tonga Rugby Unions, analyses the ways in which Pacific Islanders responded to two eras, the first imperial and the second neo-liberal, to navigate globalizing forces. The first part of the paper briefly surveys the appropriation of rugby as a "national" game among Tongans, Samoans and indigenous Fijians. The paper notes the attachment of indigenous symbols to rugby football as well the development of interconnections between the rugby-playing countries. The second theme discusses the consequences of international rugby's adoption of professionalism in 1995 and, more importantly, the ways in which the Island rugby unions, both individually and collectively, responded to the new global professional era.

Introduction

In June–July 2006, the International Rugby Board (IRB) staged the inaugural Pacific Nations Cup, which included a pair of matches between Manu Samoa, Japan, Tonga and the Junior All Blacks at the Yarrow Stadium in New Plymouth. Superficially, a cold and windy June 17 in New Plymouth seemed an unlikely venue for a series of Pacific Nations matches, an impression magnified by the designation of Manu Samoa as the "home" team in their match against Japan. I had the good fortune to attend those matches and to interview Colin Cooper, co-coach of the Junior All Blacks, the following day. While discussing his additional role as coach of the Wellington Hurricanes, a team distinguished by its inclusion of so many Pacific Islanders, he said, "the beautiful thing about this game is the way it allows us to express ourselves—with or without the ball" (Cooper, 2006). I was struck by Mr. Cooper's comment on two counts. First, if that linkage of sport and "expression" reflected an identifiably Māori rugby sensibility, it applied equally to Fiji, Tonga and Samoa where the phrase "rugby is life" is routinely employed. Second, from an historic perspective the emphasis on expression captured a tension between creativity and the sport's team emphasis and colonial provenance. In fact, to employ a rather clichéd metaphor I have used elsewhere (Dewey, 2006), the rugby pitch itself might be viewed as an historic symbol of the imperial space: the playing field an appropriated piece of land, its boundaries outlined with white lines, its rules called "laws" which are decreed by a European-based International Board and adjudicated by uniformed officials. Match time is precisely measured and the results are governed by both a win−loss matrix and enduring Victorian values relating to discipline, character and regulated manliness (Mangan, 1993, 1998; Nauright & Chandler, 1996).

Despite the game's imperial origins and, more recently, its submission to global professionalism in 1995, rugby in Fiji, Tonga and Samoa was and remains an important site for the expression of indigenous uniqueness and aspirations on individual, national, regional and international levels. The following paper analyses the ways in which Pacific Islands rugby navigated the consequences of what Stewart Firth designated as distinct globalizing eras in the region (Firth, 2000, p. 186), the first associated with European imperialism and the latter with developments that have emerged since the 1970s. The first part of the paper discusses the Pacific Islander embrace of rugby and how, as a consequence, the sport became a national game for Tongans, Samoans and indigenous Fijians as well as a catalyst for regional connections. The paper's second theme briefly surveys the profound consequences of rugby's transition from amateur to professional status in 1995 for the Island rugby unions, including a "brawn drain" (Bale, 1991, p. 4) of talented athletes to professional clubs overseas. More importantly, the paper highlights the strategic responses of the Fijian, Tongan and Samoan unions, both individual and collective, as they sought to compete on an "un-level" playing field.

"Our own" Game

Nowhere was the notion of imperial sport as a bounded space more evident than in the racial segregation which accompanied the development of the Fiji Rugby Union (FRU). Two years after its foundation by Europeans in Suva in 1913, a separate "Native Union" was established, thus instituting a division that lasted until World War Two. The sport's administration mirrored the colonial hierarchy, with British governors serving as FRU patrons and local European elites occupying the presidency and key executive positions until independence in 1970. But, however inextricably linked to the colonial experience rugby may have been in Fiji or elsewhere, undue emphasis on sport as imposed from above is problematic because it obscures questions of reception and re-appropriation and denies Islander agency. In commenting upon the way in which Samoans appropriated rugby after its introduction by the Marist Brothers in the early 20th century, former national team manager Lemalu Tate Simi (2007) might have spoken for the region as a whole. "We very quickly took to rugby, almost as if it were our own invention" he said. "Now we don't think of it as a palagi (European; foreign) sport, we think of it as our own."

Indeed, it could be argued that the unique open style of play so often ascribed to Fijian rugby developed in part because the sport had been segregated and frequently played outside the conformity of highly structured coaching. European voices in FRU Annual Reports and committee minutes from the 1950s and 1960s repeatedly complained about "unorthodoxy". "No matter what you try to teach the Fijians one member of the Executive complained, "as soon as they get on the field they play their own type of game" (Fiji Rugby Union, Management Committee Meeting, April 7, 1961). Though undue credit has accrued to New Zealanders like Paddy Sheehan for institutionalizing rugby in Fiji, indigenous Fijians were crucial to the development of the sport. Ratu Jone Tabaiwalu, for instance, returned to Fiji from studies at Wanganui and organized play at Naililili, Rewa, a decade before the Europeans in Suva had founded the Fiji Rugby Union (Baravilala, 1952, p. 12). In developing clubs for the so-called "Native Competition", indigenous Fijians toppled existing stereotypes about organizational ability. By 1937, when four teams featured in a fading European Senior Competition, Fijian clubs in and around Suva fielded eight teams in the Senior Competition and another seven in their Junior Competition (*FRU Annual Report*, 1937), with further expansion limited only by a lack of pitches.

As a British protectorate, rather than a colony, imperial connections in Tonga were less direct. Missionaries and schoolteachers from the Dominions contributed to the development of school and club rugby as they had in Fiji and Samoa. But the game was first introduced in the early 1900s by Tongans who had studied at Newington College in Sydney, and the entrenched traditions of palace patronage were established when Prince Tugi became the first president of the Tonga Rugby Union in 1923, while his son, subsequently King Taufaʻahau Tupou IV, continued the royalty−rugby connection (Griffith, 1993). In Samoa, New Zealand's assumption of rule in 1914 on behalf of the British Empire ensured that rugby would become a significant sport, and by 1924 an Apia Rugby Union had organized competition that featured both expatriate and Samoan players. Here again, however, it was case of Samoans embracing the game. According to Tate Simi (2007), rugby came to play such an important role in expressions of village pride and masculinity, "because so many of the traditional initiations into manhood had disappeared."

The development of "our own" game was further facilitated by regional tours and international matches that began in 1924 with Fiji's visit to Samoa and Tonga. In the decade that followed, there were two further Tests between Fiji and Samoa and another 15 between Tonga and Fiji. The intensity of those rivalries, frequently referred to by former players as "war", indicated that the notion of otherness was not limited to the colonizer−colonized dichotomy. Yet, if rivalries indicated the growing depth of popular attachment to representative rugby, the connections that competition fostered were equally significant. No sooner had the first Tests taken place than suggestions emerged for the creation of an inter-island team to compete in New Zealand (*Fiji Times*, August 26, 1924), nearly eight decades before that ambition was finally realized in 2004. Another notable feature of the tours was the emphasis placed upon traditions of hospitality and the ceremony accorded visiting teams. Fiji's 1934 tour of Tonga included innumerable feasts and picnics, exchanges of mats and tapa cloth, and audiences with Queen Salote and the Prince Consort (*Fiji Times*, August 25, 1934). The 1938 and 1948 Māori visitors to Fiji were likewise treated to mekes (traditional

dance), magiti (ceremonial feasts) and yaqona (kava) sessions among other formal and informal cultural events.

The Māori visit to Fiji in 1938 was also significant because the challenge offered by their haka (traditional Māori dance accompanied by chant) was not only accepted but subsequently reciprocated. On the eve of its 1939 tour of New Zealand, Ratu Bola journeyed from Bau to teach the cibi (traditional Fijian dance accompanied by chant) to the Fijian team. Similarly, test matches in the post-war era featured the Tongan sipi tau (traditional Tongan dance accompanied by chant) as well as the Samoan ma'ulu'ulu moa (traditional Samoan dance accompanied by chant), though the latter was deemed insufficiently aggressive and replaced by the Samoan manu (traditional Samoan dance accompanied by chant) in 1991. Thus, the most visible indigenous symbolism embodied in the pre-match challenge became a standard Pacific rugby ritual.

Cast in the role of perpetual underdog, the successes and occasional upsets provided by Island teams on the pitch went a long way to popularizing rugby at home, beyond the elite groups which had initially played the game. Fiji opened the door for Pacific teams with its undefeated tour of New Zealand in 1939 and a series of tours between 1951 and 1961 that included two wins and a draw over Australia and four victories over the New Zealand Māori. Upsets proved more elusive after the mid-1970s and Fiji's greatest victory remains its 25–21 defeat of the British Lions at Buckhurst Park in 1977. Tonga first toured New Zealand in 1969, and celebrated the Tonga Rugby Football Jubilee in 1973 with a visit to Australia which included a stunning victory over the Wallabies at Brisbane. But few international teams visited Nuku'alofa, and even fewer visited Samoa, which had long been ostracized because of a reputation for violent play. Samoa won only one match on its first tour to New Zealand in 1976 but the team, subsequently recast as Manu Samoa, achieved its breakthrough moments with quarterfinal appearances at the Rugby World Cup (RWC) in both 1991 and 1995 (Griffith, 1993; Robinson, 1973; Logan, 1998; Teivovo).

Competing on an Un-Level Playing Field

Participation rates, popular support, the attachment of indigenous symbols and reputations for unique styles of play, had raised rugby to the status of a national game in the three Island countries long before RWC 1995. But if that year was notable for the achievements of Manu Samoa, it was notorious as the moment when rugby union finally chose professionalism and abandoned the amateur status which it had clung to for a century. In that process, defined by a media war between Kerry Packer and the eventual victor, Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, little consideration was given as to how the consequences might impact countries like Fiji, Tonga and Samoa.

Professionalism, as a product of the second globalizing era, threatened to undo past struggles and undermine the standing of international rugby's smaller unions. "The Murdoch proposition and its implications," the Samoa Rugby Union President wrote, "seem to express ominously for the future of Pacific rugby." He was also prescient in citing past connections as a marker for negotiating future perils:

> One lesson we have learnt is that however well we perform, the fate of Samoan rugby is intertwined with the fate of Fijian and Tongan rugby … We have almost as much at stake in the quality of our game as in the Fijian game and the Tongan game. Quality equals commercial value and this is the only language which the Murdoch proponents understand. (Tamasese Efi, 1995, p. 89)

A detailed assessment of the consequences of professionalism for Pacific Islands rugby is beyond the scope of this paper (Dewey, 2008, pp. 82–108). But a few trends to need to be mentioned. A distinctive feature of the new professional era was that it coincided with the rise of Pacific Islander representation in clubs and national teams throughout the world. According to the *New Zealand Herald*, the number of Pasifika players in the Super 12 and Super 14 competitions doubled in a decade from 25 in 1997 to 50 in 2007. In 2006, one informed estimate identified 42 Pacific Islanders in the top two divisions of French rugby with another 70 players competing in the lower divisions (*PACNEWS*, August 9, 2006). The diaspora trend was even more pronounced when teams began assembling for RWC competition. In 1987, only resident players were originally considered for inclusion in the Fiji

and Tonga rosters. By 2003, however, only 15 of the 89 Fiji, Tonga and Manu Samoa players with listed club affiliations were actually playing their club rugby in the islands.

But it was the appearance of elite Island-born athletes in the uniforms of other countries that created the most public controversy. As the New Zealand and Australian Rugby Unions rightly contend, many of the Pacific Islander athletes in their rosters were born in New Zealand or Australia, including former captains like Tana Umaga and George Smith. But those cases aside, there is also a significant body of players who were born in the Islands, including standouts like Lote Tuqiri, Joe Rococoko, Sione Lauaki, Sitiveni Sivivatu, Chris Masoe, Jerry Collins and Viliame 'Ofahengaue, to name but a few. That trend also fuelled a heated dialogue, most of it conducted by sports journalists, between those who view such movements as "poaching" (Jones, 2002, p. 89) or "blackbirding" (Field, 2003), and the defenders of the NZRU who see these changes as evidence of past and current migratory trends and global realities (Kayes, 2003; Tew, 2006).

Lost in that dialogue was the fact that Pacific Islands administrators were nearly unanimous in their willingness to allow elite players to pursue their potential and seek financial rewards overseas, even if that meant donning Wallaby or All Black jerseys (Vaea, 2005; Lolohea, 2005; Tikoisuva, 2005). Insofar as poaching is concerned, their greater anxieties revolved around the targeting of schoolboy athletes by scouts and the subsequent loss of talented young players to schools and clubs overseas. Those frustrations were compounded by the reluctance of professional clubs to release Pacific Island players for national team duty despite their obligation to do so under IRB Regulation 9. In RWC 2003, for example, availability issues made a mockery of Pacific player selection, with Manu Samoa alone losing the services of seven first-team players based in Britain (Cain, 2003). If nothing else, professionalism also exposed the stark and widening division of finance and facilities between so-called Tier I countries and unions like Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. As then Fiji coach Wayne Pivac claimed in 2005, "We are not professional. We are amateur" (Pivac, 2005).

Lacking television revenues and significant sponsorship, barred from the executive decision-making exercises at the IRB Executive, excluded from the repeated expansion of what became the Super 14 competition, burdened by high public expectations, unable to retrieve many of their best players from overseas, increasingly in debt and on the wrong end of lopsided score-lines against the game's top teams, Pacific rugby's administrators faced a bleak set of circumstances. Individual unions undertook administrative reorganization, developed strategic plans and vigorously pursued sponsors. The Samoa Rugby Union, which engaged the new era most aggressively, partnered with New Zealand investment banking company Fay Richwhite to create Manu Samoa Rugby Limited with offices based in Auckland.

But the most noteworthy instances of the Pacific self-help strategies were collaborative, none more so than the creation of the Pacific Islands Rugby Alliance (PIRA) by the Fiji, Tonga and Samoa rugby unions in 2002. Its most visible creation, the Pacific Islanders rugby team, undertook southern and northern hemisphere tours in 2004 and 2006 respectively. A composite symbolism was employed as well, with the team's uniforms incorporating the Samoan blue, Tongan red and Fijian white. Those colours also featured in the PIRA symbol, which included a circular arrangement of the sails of three indigenous vessels. In addition, Dominic Fonoti, of Aggie Grey's Dance Theatre in Apia, choreographed a new pre-match challenge that incorporated elements of the cibi, sipi tau and manu. Central to PIRA's ambitions were a desire to raise the profile and aspirations of Pacific rugby and generate funds for the three unions. Although the latter objective has yet to be fully realized, simply putting the team together was regarded a moral victory and highlighted the region's unrealized quest for inclusion in an expanded Super 12 and Tri Nations Series.

Meanwhile Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi, Prime Minister of Samoa and Chair of the Samoa Rugby Union, successfully lifted the plight of Pacific rugby into regional politics and diplomacy at meetings of the Pacific Islands Forum, the region's most important inter-governmental organization. At both the 2003 and 2004 Forum meetings, he pressed New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark and Australian Prime Minister John Howard to address Pacific rugby concerns with their respective unions, including the issues surrounding player eligibility and availability, IRB representation and Super 12 membership.

Those overtures not only appeared in the Forum's final communiqués, they also elicited sympathetic responses from Clark and Howard (Malielegaoi, 2007; *NZ Herald*, July 29, 2004).

The Chief Executive Officers of the Island unions, some of whom had previously worked for regional organizations, engaged in frequent consultation about the shape and implementation of national and regional strategic rugby plans. Thus, when the IRB belatedly undertook its GBP£30 million funding initiative in 2005 to support competitive global rugby, in part because of pressure exerted by the Pacific unions, a regional blueprint was already in place, one which included age grade programmes and academies as well as international competitions (Esera, 2007; Schuster, 2007).

Finally, a growing and combative dialogue, emphasizing indigenous values and the uniqueness of Pacific rugby, could be heard in the background to these developments. The Tongan academic, Futa Helu, derided the scripted professionalism and tedium of European sport as the antithesis of an historic Pacific approach that prized skill, movement and spectacle. "I invite anyone," he wrote, "to name a game that is more insipid and revolting than an All Blacks game … I call for a rejection of New Zealand philistinism as expressed in their rugby" (Helu, 1992, p. 34). Another strain of this sentiment juxtaposed traditional values against the corrosive effects of professionalism. Thus, when he departed as coach of Manu Samoa, John Boe praised his team as model sportsmen because they had played for their families and the Samoan people, "the strongest motivation of all" (Boe, 2004). In Fiji, meanwhile, critics of an under-achieving national team argued that future success lay in recovering the old "unorthodox" running style of the past (Tabualevu, 2005). In many quarters, the team's stunning success at RWC 2007 in France was attributed to the hiring of a Fijian coach, Ilivasi Tabua. "I understand the Western culture and live the Fijian culture," Tabua told *Mai Life* magazine. "When you are trying to get the guys to fight for the country, you have to have the right psychology ... you've got to enhance at all levels, physical, mental, spiritual as well as the *Vanua* (land; customary institutions) because that is nucleus of who we are as an island nation" (Simpson, 2007, p. 40).

Conclusion

In analysing the indigenous appropriation of rugby and the cooperative tendencies engendered in the response to the professional era, there are dangers in overstating collective will. PIRA, for example, was ultimately designed to enhance rather than supersede the national unions and those institutions had their own hierarchies and internal divisions. But also evident in rugby's recognition of its traditions and interconnections were trends identified by Epeli Hauʻofa in his essay *Our Sea of Islands*. In his plea for a more optimistic assessment of the region's future he argued that contemporary circumstances pointed up phenomena that were consistent with the past. Thus, if the increased movement fostered by regional organizations, be they "intergovernmental, religious, sporting, cultural," seemed to herald an era of globalisation, they were nonetheless consistent with a mobility that characterized an indigenous pre-imperial world. Whereas the Europeans imposed territorial boundaries and a view of the Pacific Islands as marginal outposts, a much older Pacific consciousness was more expansive, interconnected and historically rooted. "There is a gulf of difference," Hauʻofa wrote, "between viewing the Pacific as 'islands in a far sea' and as a 'sea of islands'" (Hauʻofa, 1993, p. 7). The corollary for Pacific rugby may be that strategic responses need not mimic European models, nor merely accede to cooperation by virtue of perceived economic necessity, nor require the abandonment indigenous epistemologies. Rather, experience demonstrates that the successful navigation of obstacles and opportunities, even in instances offering limited choices, should include an awareness and celebration of uniqueness and interconnections that have typified both the traditions of "our own" game and the history of the region as a whole.

Glossary

haka, cibi,	respective traditional Māori, Fijian, Tongan and Samoan dances
sipi tau (kailao), manu	accompanied by chants, which have been appropriated by rugby football and performed as pre-match challenges to opponents; most often imprecisely translated by Europeans as "war chants"
magiti	Fijian ceremonial feast or banquet presented to others
maʻuluʻulu moa	an older Samoan pre-match challenge, replaced by the manu in 1991
meke	traditional form of Fijian dance

Manu (Samoa)	refers to Team Samoa sometimes referred to as Warrior (Samoa)
palagi	European, foreign
vanua	literally "the land" but incorporating socio-cultural factors including customs, values, institutions and the indigenous Fijian collective
yaqona	kava; ceremonial beverage made from the root, *Piper methysticum*, used in Fiji and throughout the Pacific

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Indigenous Strategies for Self-Representation:
The View from Preschools in Fiji

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Abstract

Colonial-era schools in Fiji were segregated as part of a divide-and-rule strategy that sought to separate indigenous Fijians from Indo-Fijian contract labourers. This pattern largely continued after independence as part of a stress on mother-tongue education that functioned to divide many members of the two major ethnic groups into different schools. Fiji has experienced four coups since 1987, most recently in December 2006, all of which were justified, at least in part, by the political manipulation of public perceptions on differences between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians (Fijians of Indian descent). The 2006 coup was staged on the premise that its interim military government would, as its propaganda often announces, "move the nation forward to build a better Fiji for all", although, rather than increased ethnic harmony, the results were rising inflation, suspension of foreign aid and increased economic difficulties for most families. In the midst of this turmoil, indigenous families struggle with tensions between the need to survive in an institutional system that does not value traditional knowledge and the desire to preserve indigenous childrearing styles that are perceived as necessary to claim authentic membership in the indigenous Fijian community. This paper makes use of ethnographic research by a cultural anthropologist at two preschools in Suva, Fiji, to document how indigenous Fijian parents prepare their youngest children to negotiate an educational system in which they are consistently the lowest performers, and yet simultaneously resist institutional systems that refuse to recognize many of the values (including community responsibility for children) that are most central to indigenous Fijian notions of proper childrearing.

Introduction

It is late November in Suva and a preschool class of 40 children between three and five years of age are practising dances that will later be performed for their parents to celebrate the end of the school year. The Indo-Fijian teachers have tried to reflect the multicultural character of their classroom, which is composed of indigenous Fijian, Indo-Fijian and other Pacific Islander children in equal numbers. The cultural pageant thus consists of a mélange of Bollywood film dances, Fijian meke (dance), and reggae music. The teachers begin to frown as five-year-old Ta'afa begins to dance a particularly energetic meke by rapidly thrusting his pelvis forward as he opens and closes his legs.

"Ta'afa!" the head teacher shouts over the music, "Ta'afa, do the meke nicely." Ta'afa stops dancing as the other children look at him. "This is meke," he responds, a look of confusion on his face. "Ta'afa," the teacher intones, "you are dancing like a bad boy." Ta'afa looks both confused and defiant as he insists, "But this is our traditional culture." Without pausing to think, the head teacher effectively silences him for the rest of the morning when she says, "Then do your traditional culture at home. You're a big boy in school now; you do what we teachers tell you."

This small event reveals much about the issues faced by indigenous children and their families in the formal educational system in Fiji. Meke performances recount stories from the past about significant moments in the oral history of a people, and incorporation of meke into the cultural pageant was supposed to form the "indigenous Fijian" element of the evening's performances. The Indo-Fijian head teacher was unfamiliar with variations in indigenous dance forms and felt that Ta'afa's pelvic and leg movements were overly sexualized and thus inappropriate. She communicated to five-year-old Ta'afa, who had been performing a completely appropriate meke with great pride, that his cultural traditions were not welcome in their school pageant and that the meke should be performed on terms dictated by her alone.

The central question my paper seeks to address is twofold: (a) what historical and socio-political forces combined to create a situation in which Ta'afa was reprimanded for performing a traditional

dance, and (b) how do indigenous parents and children in preschools negotiate an educational system that refuses to recognize many of the values that are central to indigenous Fijian notions of proper childrearing?

Brief Historical Introduction to the Ethnic Composition of Contemporary Fiji

It is self-evident that constructions of culture and ethnicity are inextricably bound to the exercise of power, via the complex historical processes which helped to both create and define them. Less obvious are the institutional mechanisms, such as those at work in educational systems that perpetuate stereotypes surrounding both culture and ethnicity. Fiji has experienced four coups in the past two decades (most recently in December 2006) in which ethnicity has intersected with a number of social, political and economic issues. Cultural and ethnic differences are routinely employed as rhetorical devices in struggles for political power and cultural autonomy by both indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians, each of whom constitute approximately half of the nation's population.

The contemporary ethnic composition of Fiji is directly related to the economic processes that defined British colonial policies. The colonial sugar economies of Trinidad and Mauritius relied heavily on South Asian labour, and the lucrative results of such imperial policies prompted the colonial administration to engineer the arrival of approximately 50,000 South Asians under the girmitiya (indenture) system between 1878 and 1940 (Lal, 1983). Most indentured labourers remained in Fiji as tenant farmers after the terms of their indenture were complete, yet Indo-Fijians are excluded from owning roughly 85% of the land. Land must be leased from indigenous Fijians as part of an arrangement dating from the colonial era that gave precedence to indigenous landowners and their rights (Volavola, 1995). The original Indo-Fijian population of indentured labourers was later supplemented by skilled migrants from India, who became a powerful presence in Fiji's economy (Daniel, Bernstein, & Brass, 1992).

Imperial policies privileged the construction of a homogenous indigenous Fijian identity from the diverse cultural traditions that characterized the Fiji Islands before colonization, at least in part through the creation of elite indigenous Fijian schools as a tool for indirect rule (Lawson, 1990). Some of these schools, such as Queen Victoria School, continue to educate the future leaders of Fiji, but the vast majority of Fijians rely on government-subsidized schools that range in price from $50 (NZ$43) to $600 (NZ$516) per year. Most of the schools attended by indigenous people are religious in nature, reflecting the success of Methodist and other missionaries who ensured that most indigenous people had access to some formal education by the late 19th century.

This European-style education came with a price, as it prioritized conversion, and literacy was often emphasized solely as a tool with which to read the Bible. Formal education was thus conducted along European terms from its inception, with Governor im Thurn going so far as to note, "no such system can be effective without close and frequent supervision from Europeans" (im Thurm, 1908). The education of Indo-Fijians was largely ignored by both imperial and religious bodies because of the perception that Indians were a threat to imperial rule and, unlike indigenous people, few South Asians were willing to convert to Christianity (Kelly, 1988). Indentured Indo-Fijians responded to this relative lack of imperial or religious interest in their education by creating their own systems of informal education, which were later supplemented by the advent of schools administered by Hindu religious organizations based in India, such as the Arya Samaj or the Sanatan Dharam, which were eventually supplemented by government grants-in-aid (Whitehead, 2003). Indeed, the imperial administration actively encouraged the policy of racially segregated schools by citing the value of mother-tongue education for children, and was vociferous in their recommendations for the continuation of such policies after independence.

Fiji's educational system thus retained most of its colonial characteristics following independence, although most textbooks were converted from the New Zealand school curriculum by 1984 to include elements more relevant to Fiji. This conversion was funded by part of a UNESCO grant that helped found the Curriculum Development Unit in Suva (Tavola, 2000). Post-independence political crises considerably complicated the position of what the colonial government termed "the system of racial schools" through a series of four military and civil coups. Indo-Fijians remain politically marginalized

and the subject of much popular and institutional suspicion in Fiji, and yet Indo-Fijian students consistently outperform indigenous Fijian students in exams by a margin so vast that it sometimes exceeds 50 percent.

Most scholarship on the subject attributes this relative underperformance by indigenous students to teacher shortages, geographical scatter, isolation of islands, numerous communal demands placed on indigenous families' time and financial resources, and the religious connotations of education for Hindu Indo-Fijians. Yet, such seemingly logical reasons are often accompanied by stereotypes about indigenous Fijian's lack of ability, as evidenced even in statements from indigenous organizations such as the governmental Fijian Affairs Board:

> The social background of the Fijian people is one of the main contributory factors in the (academic) disparity. Although it would be hazardous to make dogmatic generalizations, most observers of Fijian life ... seem to agree that the people are much better, indeed often first class, at bursts of energy in the face of some exciting task or emergency than they are at long-continued steady slogging at humdrum jobs. (Whitehead, 1986)

The Government of Fiji has embraced this stereotype to the extent that the University of the South Pacific has a quota system in place which will not admit more than 50 per cent Indo-Fijians students into incoming classes as part of a pro-indigenous Fijian policy, described by most government officials as "affirmative action".

Strangely enough, the *Blueprint for Affirmative Action* that the previous Qarase administration stressed as crucial to indigenous empowerment draws directly upon colonial language and beliefs, as the following excerpt reveals:

> The constitutional provision reflects the reciprocal understanding in the Deed of Cession of 10th of October 1874. In return for the cession of sovereignty over Fiji to the British Crown, the latter recognized and accepted the rights and interests of the ceding chiefs and their people. This continues to have relevance today as the basis of the right to self-determination of the indigenous Fijian people and the obligation of the State to protect and safeguard their interests ... the Fijian people are all too aware of the destiny of the indigenous Aztecs of Mexico, the Incas of Peru, the Mayas of Central America, the Caribs of Trinidad, the Amerindians of Guyana, the Maoris of New Zealand and the aborigines of Australia. (Ministry of Finance and National Planning, 2002)

Using the Deed of Cession as the framework for contemporary indigenous rights is certainly a questionable strategy because of its rather unsubtle conflation of imperial rule with indigenous sovereignty. Yet if, following Gramsci (1991,1946), every hegemonic relationship is necessarily an educational one, Fiji's school system provides a compelling ethnographic site for the exploration and analysis of the construction of ethnic identity. The question we will now turn to regards the impact this history has had on Fiji's youngest students.

Brief Introduction to Preschool Education in Fiji

> The Fijians are extremely imitative, and almost babies can use a weeding-knife, assist to build houses and plant in exactly the same ways of Europeans without any difficulty .... If they are able to imitate us in this small manner they will be able to imitate us in greater manners. (Excerpt from Education Commission, Legislative Council of Fiji, 1910)

It is especially important in Pacific countries that families are involved in the education of their children at the preschool level. Then they can understand and help in their children's development right from the formative years. Education at this level is also a new concept in most Pacific Islands... . A preschool-aged child is normally left free to wander and play around the village with the idea that he does not start any kind of education until he goes to primary school, and this is a mistake that must be remedied. (Excerpt from 1983 Preschool Teachers Certificate Course Text, The Pacific Preschool Council and Extension Services, 1983)

Are these two examples of beliefs about indigenous education—the first explicitly racist, couched in a discourse of the desirability of Europeanization and the second with a more subtle message regarding the need to involve indigenous parents in preschool education—really so different? I contend that they are not. Both reinforce the idea that the only meaningful "education" is European, Western-oriented and, emphatically, not indigenous; and both share the message that indigenous "development" can only occur if European standards are embraced.

The first preschools in Fiji were founded along the same principles when they were established in the early 1960s, following a recommendation by the imperial administration (UNESCO Country Report, 2006). The Fiji Islands Ministry of Education defines "preschool" as a half-day programme and emphasizes the need for indigenous children to attend such programmes in order to "eliminate the inequalities in educational opportunities that are inherent in Fiji today, particularly among rural and low income families" (Ministry of Education, 2004). The Ministry of Education provides salary grants and institutional support, totalling $3,500 (NZ$3,009) annually, to preschools that have an indigenous majority from the questionable belief that Indo-Fijian and other non-indigenous children already have equal access to early childhood education.

Fiji, like many of its Pacific Island neighbours, is a very young country and the 2006 census revealed that its citizens have a median age of just 20 years, with 30 percent of its population under the age of 14. Ten percent of its citizens are of preschool age, and 15 percent of those attend one of the 468 preschools that educate 6,900 children between the age of three and five years throughout the country (Bureau of Statistics, 2006).

Methodology

Research for this article took the form of 12 months of research sponsored by the U.S. National Science Foundation in 2007-2008. It included structured interviews with both children and adults done via a process best described as "snowball networking", as well as classroom observations, focus groups and informal discussion designed to gauge how indigenous parents and children negotiate preschool in preparation for further education. I spent several months of participant observation in two preschool programmes that varied enormously in price, racial composition, religion, infrastructure, teacher training, parental involvement and socioeconomic background. The first was the preschool programme at the University of the South Pacific in Suva, which charged an exorbitant $320 (NZ$300) for a four-month term, was multiracial and attended primarily by children from economically privileged backgrounds. The second was an exclusively indigenous preschool led by the Salvation Army that cost $50 (NZ$45) per four-month term and was attended primarily by economically disadvantaged children.

Research Findings

The anthropological literature on education and race reveals that children actively grapple with ethnic nationalism and adult understandings of race as part of the process of cultural acquisition. Abdul-Rahim and Abuateya have shown this in their work on children and their caregivers living in Palestinian refugee camps, as has Donna Lanclos in her research on children in Northern Ireland (Abdul-Rahim & Abuateya, 1995; Lanclos, 2003). Research on children in the Pacific, particularly by Karen Brison (1999), Christina Toren (1990) and Helen Morton (1996), suggests that children not only acquire culture in a variety of contexts, but also exert agency in doing so, through a process of self-identification and difference making. Ethnographic scholarship has also revealed that children clearly learn about their community's lower socioeconomic status even in situations in which they are the majority, as Ogbu (2003) and Delpit (1995) have shown in their work on African-American children's acquisition of racial identity in school. Work on preschool by Debra van Ausdale and John Feagin (2001) has further underscored that this process starts very young.

Given that so much is historically "against" indigenous families in the formal education of their children, parents and children employ three main strategies in coping with what are essentially European institutions: becoming active, appropriating stereotypes and opting out. The first strategy involves recognition that academic success, and the wage employment it sometimes results in, essentially means embracing standards that are still somewhat alien to "traditional" ways of life. A 31-

year-old father of three from Taveuni, a primarily agricultural island in eastern Fiji, acknowledged how he found it difficult to balance what he called "traditional culture" with the need to maximize the ability of his children to compete in a wage-based economy that relies primarily on European-style formal education as a measurement of success:

> In Taveuni you get everything, no need to buy food. Just throw a seed in the ground and it grows, like magic. It is paradise on earth, our traditional Fijian way of life. But when you have to do things like send your children to school, then you need money, and for that you need a job so you have to come to Suva to work.

Parents often spoke of their responsibility to act on behalf of their children's future, and this perception often sparked the decision of many men to migrate to work as as soldiers or unskilled labour abroad to earn cash to pay for children's education.

Many mothers, in particular, spoke of enrolling their child into preschool as part of a self-improvement strategy that would eventually benefit them in old age by providing a steady wage-based income from a salaried job. This was especially apparent one afternoon as a group of indigenous Fijian mothers and I were sitting with our young children on my porch. The proximity of interim Prime Minister Voreqe Bainimarama's residence led to a number of jokes that revealed a serious lack of faith in the ability of the post-coup administration to provide a stable future for the children of Fiji. "If that short little fool walks by," Luisa said in reference to Bainimarama as she picked up one of her son's toys, "I'm going to throw this ball right at his square little head for ruining our children's future."

This notion of children as the future became particularly salient as the post-coup economic crisis continued—and, indeed, continues—to mount in Fiji. Many indigenous mothers, whose children were in one of the observed preschools, specifically cited the uncertain future of Fiji as one of the primary reasons for emphasizing their children's education, even if it meant sacrificing financially. Una, a 28-year-old mother of two children under the age of five, expressed her desire for her sons to have what she termed "plenty European friends" from a young age because, as she put it, "the way our country is going, who knows where he'll have to go to find work once he's big."

Many indigenous Fijian mothers emphasized the need for children to wear European-style clothing as part of what they viewed as a self-improvement strategy. This often meant scouring the racks of secondhand stores that are stocked with clothing discarded from New Zealand and Australia that is resold in Fiji. Children rarely wore sulu (a wrap worn around the lower body by indigenous Fijian men and women) or other "traditional" clothing. Ana, a mother of four in her early forties, assessed this trend among indigenous mothers of preschoolers by noting, sadly: "The teachers take notice of the children in European dress, because they think we can pay our fees if we dress our children that way."

A second indigenous strategy for negotiating preschool involves a sort of ritualized humour in which indigenous Fijians appropriate stereotypes, to both explain behaviours and justify refusal to obey preschool rules. When the teachers at the University of the South Pacific's preschool programme decided to speak to indigenous parents about their children's chronic lateness, many mothers responded angrily due to the teachers' refusal to recognize the numerous childcare responsibilities and other family issues that arose on a daily basis in their extended kin networks. Se, a 32-year-old mother of a four-year-old girl, was particularly angry about what she saw as a patronising reminder to be on time. "This is how our Fijian people are," she said. "If someone asks for help how can we say, 'no I have to get to the school at 8.30?' People will think I am not a Fijian person."

This direct association with community responsibility was in direct conflict with the kinds of behaviour expected of parents and, in fact, became a point of resistance and pride among parents—albeit a counterproductive one in that it only further served to alienate teachers. Usually this took the form of some variation on, "These the Fijian boys, e?" or "That's our Fijian people." One example of this took place just as parents were arriving to retrieve their children, when four-year-old Inoke and a small group of indigenous boys were playing a particularly enthusiastic mock-rugby game and crashed through a louvered glass window en masse. When teachers and the parents in attendance saw that no

one had been hurt (indeed, that the boys found great humour in the situation), a number of racial stereotypes were brought to the fore.

Se laughed and commented to me as we watched the teachers and other mothers help the boys and clean up the glass, "That's our Fijian boys, not afraid of anything. That's why we're good at the rugby and not so good at the school." Sangeeta, one of the Indo-Fijian teachers, later offered a statement that offered similar stereotypes about physical aggressiveness that was much more ominous in tone. "Those Fijian boys," she said. "I am afraid of them. They are so rough, not like our Indian boys at all. That's why our country has the problems it does." While Se embraced the enthusiastic and rough play of the indigenous children as an example of their bravery, Sangeeta made a direct reference to the indigenous nationalism that has inspired Fiji's four coups.

Notably, however, it is Sangeeta as teacher—not Se as parent—who was in a position of authority, and her description of fear in reference to a group of four-year-old indigenous Fijian boys is both disturbing and noteworthy as it reveals a lack of understanding about key principles of indigenous childrearing for boys. Many indigenous Fijian parents see European cultural norms regarding the regulation of children's social worlds, which underlie many of the rules in school, as stifling to the social development of children. Many indigenous Fijian parents believe that boys will never learn to interact socially if they do not roam freely and talk to strangers from a young age. Similarly, many indigenous parents feel that children cannot learn how to resolve problems and get along with others if they do not occasionally resolve fights on their own terms.

As I watched even very young indigenous children interact sensitively with my young son in an age-appropriate manner, I often wondered if this indigenous cultural model of socialization that grants children enough independence to learn on their own, while simultaneously stressing the need to respect others, is responsible for what I have come to regard as a uniquely Fijian sensitivity and humanity shown toward others. Yet indigenous teachers, all of whom had been educated in Western models of child socialization and pedagogy, often criticized this model of childrearing, which involves long periods spent with other children away from parental supervision, as counter-productive and even irresponsible.

Indigenous Fijian teachers often characterized these childrearing strategies as particularly negative when children were not engaging in what they regarded as age-appropriate activities, such as learning the alphabet, at home. "Fijian parents," one indigenous Fijian teacher at a predominantly indigenous preschool complained, "they don't encourage their children to read because they are too busy in the village, and the children are running wild." She, like all of her colleagues in Fiji, had been trained in a style of child psychology that emphasizes the need for individual attention and developmental milestones achieved at a certain rate. What she characterized as "running wild" is reminiscent of the colonial model that assumed all education that takes place outside the classroom is not valuable or useful.

It is this sort of misunderstanding, or refusal to understand, on the part of both indigenous and non-indigenous teachers that often leads to the third strategy that indigenous parents use in negotiating formal education: opting out. Many parents of preschoolers whom I met acknowledged that formal education is largely irrelevant to their lives, albeit necessary to obtain waged employment. Just as parents are routinely told by teachers, who were trained in a Western educational model, that their children are "badly behaved" for engaging in the kind of play that is normal at home and, indeed, essential for proper socialization, children are taught themes that are irrelevant to their lives, such as the normalization of the nuclear family, a colonially imposed kinship model that does not describe the realities of life for most indigenous Fijians. This situation creates a sense of irrelevance and hopelessness, in which both parents and children learn that their indigenous values and ways of live are "irrelevant" to the requirements of the system.

Letters to the editor of the Fiji Times often lament the pervasiveness of what are glossed over as "Western" problems in Fiji: selfishness, lack of concern for others and the inability to accommodate the needs of others or to share. Yet these are the very values that a Western model of education teaches

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indigenous children, as nearly all of the skills stressed in this style of learning are rooted in the lack of emphasis on community responsibility. Whatever strategy indigenous families choose to employ to negotiate and plan for their children's future, most are all too aware that the educational system continues to reflect colonial-era values and stereotypes.

Glossary of Hindi and Fijian Words

girmitiya   literally "agreement"; the indenture system that brought approximately 50,000 South Asian contract labourers to Fiji between 1878 and 1940

meke   an indigenous Fijian "traditional" dance that recounts salient moments in indigenous oral history

sulu   a cloth wrap worn around the lower body by indigenous Fijian men and women

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He Kōrero mo tētahi o ngā Waiata Tawhito
o Ngāti Hangarau: *Tākiri ko te Ata*

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Abstract

The singing of waiata tawhito (old, traditional songs) at Māori hui (gatherings) and on marae (tribal meeting grounds) during welcoming ceremonies is becoming a rarity rather than a given as it was when I was younger. The singers of waiata tawhito are few and far between. Waiata tawhito were the textbooks of Māori history and knowledge. Each waiata (song) was composed for a host of reasons, the objective being to record stories and important events considered valuable as tribal knowledge.

This presentation will discuss a waiata tangi (song of lament) composed by a woman Turupa for her husband Kereti who was killed at Te Ranga during the land wars in Tauranga. A consequence of the land wars was the confiscation of Māori land and a life of poverty for Māori themselves. Turupa and Kereti were of the Ngāti Hangarau iwi (tribe) and, though composed in 1863, the waiata tangi is still sung as a memorial to that sad part of the tribe's history.

He Waiata Tawhito

Kei roto i ngā waiata tawhito ko ngā tikanga ko ngā ture, ko ngā hītori o te Māori. Kei te whakatauiratia atu ēnei āhuatanga i roto i tēnei o ngā waiata tawhito kei te waiata tonutia i ēnei rā e ngā uri o te kaitito.

Nā tētahi tūpuna kuia, nā Turupa, te waiata nei i tito mō tana hoa tāne a Kereti.

Nō te hapū o Ngāti Hangarau rāua tahi. E ai ki ngā kōrero, he hapū tēnei o te iwi o Ngāti Ranginui nō roto o te rohe o Tauranga Moana. Ēngari ki ētahi o te hau kāinga, he "iwi" kē a Ngāti Hangarau. Ko te pepeha o te iwi ko tēnei:

> Ko Mauao te maunga, ko Tauranga te moana,
> Ko Taiwhanake te tangata, ko Tākitimu te waka.

Heoi anō, i roto i te rohe o Tauranga Moana, e hono tata ana ngā whakapapa o Ngāti Ranginui ki a Ngāi Te Rangi, ki a Ngāti Pukenga, ki ērā atu o ngā iwi o Tauranga, ā, ki te waka o Mataatua.

Ko te whānuitanga o te mana whenua o Ngāti Hangarau tīmata ai "Mai i te takutai moana o Tauranga ki tua whenua ki te ngahere, arā, ki Kaimai." E ai ki ngā kōrero tawhito, he iwi tūturu a Ngāti Hangarau i te takiwā o Tauranga Moana. I konei rātou e noho ana i mua i te taenga mai o te Māori. Ko tētahi atu ingoa o te hunga tūturu nei, ko Ngāmarama.

He waiata tangi te waiata nei. I titongia e Turupa hei whakamaumaharatanga mō te hingatanga o tana hoa tāne a Kereti i tētahi pakanga ki ngā hōia o te Kāwanatanga Pākehā i Te Ranga, i te takiwā o Tauranga.

Nō te tau 1864 te pakanga nei, nō muri iho mai o te pakanga i Pukehinahina (Gate Pā). I toa ngā iwi o Tauranga i Pukehinahina. Heoi anō, i Te Ranga i pai ake ngā whakaritenga a te Kāwanatanga Pākehā i mua i te pakanga. Nō reira i toa ko rātou. No Ngāi Te Rangi, nō Ngāti Ranginui me ērā atu iwi ngā tāngata i hinga i taua pakanga. He tino parekura tonu tēnei.

Ka mutu te whawhai nei, ka hui tahi te Kāwanatanga me ngā iwi o Tauranga ki te whiriwhiri i tētahi huarahi kia tau ai te rangimārie i roto i te rohe o Tauranga Moana. Otirā ko te pātai a te Kāwana Pākehā: "He aha te utu mō ngā hara o te iwi nei?" I te mutunga, i raupatutia e te Kāwanatanga Pākehā e rima tekau mano eka o ngā whenua Māori o te rohe o Tauranga. Ko te whenua kei reira rā te tāone o Tauranga e tū ana ināia tonu nei tētahi wāhi i raupatuhia. I taua wā he whenua papai tēnei hei whakatipu

kai mā te iwi. E ai ki te Kāwanatanga, ko te take mō ēnei whakaritenga, nā te mahi tūkino ā ngā iwi o Tauranga Moana. Aue taukiri e! I tino mamae ko ngā iwi o Tauranga Moana.

Koirā te āhuatanga o te noho a te Māori me te Pākehā i taua wā. Koinei hoki te kākano o te whakaaro mō te waiata nei, arā, nā te pōuri me te mahi tūkino a te Kāwanatanga Pākehā ki a Turupa rātou ko tōna iwi.

Nāku te waiata nei i rangahau i te mea he uri ahau nō Ngāti Hangarau. Ki ōku whakaaro, ka taea e ahau te kī, nōku ake te waiata nei i te mea nā tētahi o ōku tūpuna i tito. Na ōku tūpuna i kawe, i waiata. Kei raro iho nei taku whakapapa:

Peke   =   Piuna (nō Ngāti Hangarau rāua)
         |
Raukawa (Ko te tuakana)   Tari (Ko te teina. Ko Maungatautari) = Hoko
  |
(Ka heke ki te whānau Te Mete)
             |
          Te Rikihana Hikareia I = Ruiha
             |
          Te Rikihana II = Te Aorewa (Ko te whānau Ngāti)
             |
          Tūriri = Ngāwiki (Ko te whānau Kia nō Ngāitūkairangi)
             |
          Tapuraka = Te Waimihi (Ko te whānau Wī Parata)
             |
          Te Rongoihaere = Tarati (Ko te whānau Tāwhiao)
             |
          Matiu

Ahakoa te nui o ngā tūpuna o Ngāi Te Rangi, i pēnei ngā āhuatanga o tērā wā. Mutu ana te tautohe a ngā iwi nei, ka moe tētahi ki tētahi ka tuituia te whakapapa. Hei te mutunga, ka noho whānau kotahi te iwi.

He waiata tēnei e mōhio whānuitia ana e te iwi o Ngāti Hangarau nō te mea nō mātou tūturu ake. Kei roto ko ngā kōrero pūrākau e pā ana ki o mātou tūpuna. He ōrite te waiata tawhito ki ngā pukapuka kawe kōrero ā te Pākehā ēngari mō te Māori, he kōrero i tukuna ā waha mai.

Kei te waiata tonutia e Ngāti Hangarau te waiata nei i te katoa o ngā hui i runga i tō mātou marae.

Kei te takiwā o Pēterehema te marae o Hangarau. Ko tēnei te waiata tuatahi ka waiatatia e te hunga kāinga i ngā pōhiri. Mā te wahine e taki i te nuinga o te wā i te mea nā te wahine i tito. Koirā te tikanga.

Ko Hangarau te tūpuna whare, ko Te Ōhākī te whare kai. Ko tētahi rerekētanga o te tūpuna whare nei, ko Te Paki o Matariki te whakairo kei runga i te kuaha. Ki tōku mōhio nā te Kīngi Māhuta i whakaae kia hangaia te hīri o te Kīngitanga ki reira. Koinei anake te wāhi ka kitea te hīri nei i waho ake o te rohe o Tainui waka.

Nō Tauranga Moana a Raukawa Te Mete (tirohia te whakapapa) te mema tuatahi o te Tekaumarua o te Kīngitanga. He tohu whakamaumaharatanga te pou haki o te marae ki ngā kaumātua o te rohe, arā rātou i haere ki Waikato ki te noho i runga i te Tekaumarua o te Kīngitanga. I tae mai a Kīngi Mahuta ki te marae. Nā tēnei, ko te tekoteko whakairo kei runga i te pou haki.

I ngā wā o mua, i tū tētahi whare karakia i runga i te marae. Engari kaore i reira ināianei. Kei te tū te whare karakia Katorika i tētahi wāhi e tata tonu ana ki te marae.

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Ko te nuinga o ngā waiata tawhito a te Māori, he waiata tangi. I titongia i roto i te tino mōteatea o te whakaaro, me te hotuhotu o te whatumanawa. Heoi ko ētahi o ngā kaupapa waiata ko te tūmanako, ko te aroha, tērā pea he waiata ki te whaiāipo. I tua atu, ka tangihia i roto i ngā waiata te matetanga, te ngarotanga o tētahi tangata, o tētahi whenua, o tētahi taonga rānei.

He rite tonu te rangi o te waiata tangi ki te tangi apakura, ki te tangi maioha rānei. I ahau e tamariki ana, i rongo ahau i te maha o ngā kuia (ko ngā korōua i ētahi wā) e tangi pērā ana i runga i tō mātou marae, i ngā marae o te moutere o Matakana. Ka tino pōuri te tangata ki te titiro noa atu, ki te whakarongo atu. Ka āhua mataku tonu te tangata i ētahi wā. Heoi anō he tikanga tawhito tērā kāre i te rangona, i te kitea rānei ināianei.

Kia hoki anō ki te kuia nei a Turupa, e auē ana, e tangi apakura ana ki tana hoa tāne a Kereti.

Ānei tētahi whakapapa:

Rāhiripounamu = Taukiri
... |
Te Tope = Tihiti
 |
Te Nape = Moananui Maraki
 |
Kereti = Haurāwhiri (Ko ōna ingoa anō pea ko Turupa, ko Ngāreta, ko Parepīkake)
 |
Roretana = Rangitūtaki
 |
Maremare

Ko tētahi raru kāore i kitea te ingoa o Turupa i roto i ngā whakapapa ahakoa nā ngā korōua o Ngāti Hangarau ēnei whakapapa i tuku mai. Tēra pea he whanaunga a Turupa ki a Kereti.

I roto i tēnei tuhinga, ka whakatakotohia ia rārangi o te waiata. Ka whakapākehātia, ā, ka whakamāramahia te kaupapa. Ko te tūmanako, ka kitea atu ngā kōrero pakiwaitara, ngā tikanga rānei o Ngāti Hangarau i roto i te waiata nei.

Ka waiatatia e te kaitaki ngā rārangi hei taki i te katoa o ngā kaiwaiata. Ko te tikanga kia kore e whati ngā rangi o te waiata. Mēna hoki ka pērā, he tohu kino ki te Māori.

Tākiri ko te Ata
1. Tākiri ko te ata he tūnga nō te mākau?
As dawn breaks, is that an image of my beloved?

2. Taku tirotiro noa ki waenga ki te hono. Ka ngaro koutou.
I search the faces, of those in the battle. You were all killed.

3. Haere ra, e Pā mā, ki te riri horahora i te waka e tau nei.
Farewell my kinsmen, lost to the war spread throughout the land.

4. "E Reti rongo kino, rongo whakarihariha tē hoki mai ki ahau.
"Reti, I heard terrible news, a premonition that you would not return to me.

5. Mei hinga, taku tau, ki te pakitara whare pēnei pea koe.
If you have died my beloved, it would be like the collapse of the ancestral house.

6. Tārunatia ki te muka tūao kia pai atu koe.
Linger awhile so that my woven cloak of muka may decorate you.

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7. Te haere ki raro rā, kia pōhiritia mai kei ō tūpuna,
Depart for the underworld, so your ancestors may greet you,

8. Kei a Tamanātaha kei a Tamangārangi taku ao tōtara.
Your ancestors who are Tamanātaha and Tamangārangi of the old world.

9. Au whanga i te uru kia whakarongo au i ngā hīrere wai.
I turn to the west and listen for the sound of the waterfalls.

10. Roto i te Korokoro e ahu tō mata i ngā tai e haruru.
There at Korokoro (McLaren Falls) where the sound is thunderous.

11. Waho o Tūkehu, ngā wai whakaihi nā ō tūpuna.
Whereas at Tūkehu, the quiet waters revered by your ancestors.

12. Mei riro pea koe, ki roto o Hauraki ka mahinga nuitia koe.
Nā tāua e Koro ee …"
I accept that you have died, your spirit departed to Hauraki.
You and I farewell my Beloved!"

Ko ngā Whakamārama

Rārangi 1:
E ai ki ngā kōrero ko te "tākiri" he wā moe, i mua tata tonu ki te wā oho mai ai te tangata. Ko te "tūnga", ko te wairua (te kēhua rānei) o te tangata i mate. He nui tonu ngā waiata tangi kua tuhia e ētahi atu kaitito e whakamahi ana i ngā kupu, "Tākiri ko te ata ..." i te tīmatanga.

Rārangi 2:
Ki taku mōhio kāre a Turupa i mōhio kua mate kē a Kereti. I pātai atu ia ki te hunga i hoki mai engari kāre rātou i whakamōhio atu ki a Turupa. Engari i āta rongo a Turupa ko te maha o ngā Māori, i hinga i Te Ranga. Ko te "hono" te ingoa o te whenua pakanga i tīmata mai i Taranaki ki Waikato, tae atu ki Tauranga.

Rārangi 3:
Ka poroaki ia ki ngā whanaunga Māori i hinga i ngā whenua pakanga. Ko Kereti hoki tētahi. Ko ngā tūpāpaku Māori o te pakanga nei, i haria ki te urupā ki Ōtamataha i Te Papa (Tauranga) ki reira nehu ai. Kotahi anake te rua mō ngā tūpāpaku Māori, he awakeri. Ka tahua ko ngā toa ki raro, ko ngā rangatira o te iwi ki runga. Kāre he kōhatu mau ingoa e whakamārama ana ko wai ngā tūpāpaku Māori. Engari mō ngā tūpāpaku Pākehā, kotahi te rua mo ia tūpāpaku me tētahi kōhatu mau ingoa. Koirā te āhuatanga o tērā wā.

Ko te "waka" ko te motu whānui, ko te waka rānei i tau mai ki Tauranga i mua i Te Ranga, arā ki te hari mai i ngā hōia Pākehā me o rātou pū.

I te wā o te kerēme o Ngāti Hangarau ki te Taraipiunara o Waitangi i te tau 1999, i kī atu ngā kaitono ki te Taraipiunara, ehara te iwi o Ngāti Hangarau i te iwi tutū, engari he iwi i whawhai ki te hoariri Pākehā kia kore ai e riro ō rātou whenua. Heoi, e ai ki te ture Pākehā, i a rātou te mana ki te raupatu whenua, mēna e tutū ana tētahi iwi. Ēngari mō tēnā!

Rārangi 4
Kei te kōrero tēnei mo te matakite pūmanawa a Turupa kua mate kē a Kereti. I pērā hoki te Māori o te ao kōhatu. Ko te matakite, e kore e taea te karo.

Rārangi 5:
He ōrite te mate o te tangata ki te hinga o te whare tūpuna, arā, he aituātanga mo te iwi. Me kī, kua kīkoki te waka nui!

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Rārangi 6:
Ki taku mōhio, i whatungia e te whānau o Kereti he kahu kiwi hei tāonga mo te whānau, arā te "muka tūao" mo te whatu kākahu. Kei te whānau Roretana tonu te kākahu nei.
"kia pai atu koe": te takotoranga o te tūpāpaku i runga i te marae me ngā kākahu hei whakarangatira ake.

Rārangi 7:
Ka tukuna atu te wairua ki Rarohenga, ki te ao o ngā wairua. I reira, ka pōhiritia e ōna tūpuna ki te marae o aituā.

Rārangi 8:
Ko Tamanātaha rāua ko Tamangārangi ētahi o ngā tūpuna. I moe a Tamangārangi ki a Haua o Ngāti Haua o te waka o Tainui. He tino tata ngā whakapapa o te iwi o Ngāti Hangarau ki ngā iwi o Tainui.
" ao totara": he totara haemata kua hinga i te wāo nui a Tane, he rangatira.

Rārangi 9:
Ko ngā hīrere wai kei te ngāhere i Kaimai. Koirā te huarahi whakawhiti atu ki te rohe o Tainui, ki te tai hauāuru. He ōrite te rere o te wai ki ngā roimata i māpuna mai i a Turupa.

Rārangi 10:
Ki a Turupa, he tohu kino te rongo atu ki ngā wai ki Korokoro. He tohu mō te mate o te tangata.

I tēnei wā, i mate ētahi tāngata ki Korokoro i te mea i raru rātou i ruku ki roto i te wai. Ko te mea nui kia tūpato rātou i ngā toka kāre i te kitea atu. He wāhi i kōhurutia ai tētahi wahine e tōna hoa tawhito He wāhi kino. Mehemea ka rangona ngā wai ki Korokoro, he aituātanga kei te haere.

Rārangi 11:
Kua mārire ngā wai ki Ōtūkehu. He tohu pai ki te iwi. I whakahīhī ngā tūpuna.

Rārangi 12:
He poroporoaki whakamutunga ki a Kereti. Kō ētahi o ngā kōrero o te kāinga e kī ana ka kaukau ngā wairua i te ia o te moana o Te Awanui (Tauranga), tata tonu ki Mauao, ki Panepane, ka whakawhiti atu ki te moutere o Karewa. Kei reira ngā tuatara. Mai rā anō ko rātou ngā kaitiaki o te ao o te mate. Otirā ko te tīmatatanga tērā o te haere o ngā wairua ki Hawaiki me te peka atu ki Moehau ki roto o Hauraki.

Ka mutu i kōnei ngā kōrero mō te waiata nei. Engari me maumahara, ko ngā mātauranga katoa o te waiata nei ko te whakarongo ā taringa atu, ā, ko te āhei o te tangata ki te tū ki te waiata. Otirā, koirā te huarahi ināianei mō ngā kaipānui o te tuhinga nei, he ako ki te waiata. Ko te tūmanako whakamutunga kua mārama ngā kaipānui ki ētahi atu o ngā kōrero tawhito o te iwi o Ngāti Hangarau.

Ko ngā mihi nui ki a:

Sam Te Utanga Roretana, kaumātua o Ngāti Hangarau me ērā atu o ngā kuia me ngā koroua o Ngāti Hangarau.
Roimata Minhinnick. (1999). *Nga ohaki o Ngati Hangarau*. Report commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal for the Wai 627 Claim.
Dame Evelyn Stokes. (1992). *Te raupatu o Tauranga Moana*. Documents related to tribal history, confiscation and reallocation of Tauranga lands.
Ngāhuia Dixon. *He Toroa no runga o Mauao*. Unpublished collection of waiata from Tauranga Moana.

Indigenous Strategies for Negotiating Cultural Knowledge, Values and Traditions:
Case Studies from Sydney, Australia, and Suva, Fiji

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Abstract

The pre-colonial fabric of Fijian and Tongan societies was composed of many threads that together comprised a holistic base for families to resolve conflicts together. In this period it was expected that all individuals would know their family history, respect those in positions of authority and recognize the responsibility to obey elders and those of chiefly status. This system disempowered young people but simultaneously bonded the community by centralizing authority in the hands of the elders. This paper examines life for contemporary Tongans and Fijians in Sydney, Australia, and Suva, Fiji, as they navigate the enormous cultural changes that the past century has wrought on their communities including the lack of community language schools, constant financial demands from church and family members and cultural isolation for migrants. Families find themselves increasingly isolated in both Suva and Sydney due to rapid cultural changes for both communities and the support systems of the past having largely vanished for urbanites. This paper specifically addresses how Fijian and Tongan families, especially young people, have reconnected with their history in order to empower themselves in systems that do not always value indigenous knowledge or practices. Fijian case studies discussed draw from an anthropologist's research among a diverse body of urban indigenous Fijians, including schoolchildren, parents and orphans in state-sponsored institutions, to illustrate how individuals draw upon ideas of "tradition" to make a brighter future for themselves and their families. Tongan case studies presented analyse how families, schoolchildren, parents and young adults in an urban Sydney community reconnected with family lines and challenged 'eiki and poto of self-proclaimed leaders of the family who withhold and keep family history knowledge and customs. The result has been educational, cultural, social and financial transformation as well as restorative knowledge and greater well-being across generations within the local community.

Introduction

This paper documents the struggles faced by indigenous Pacific families in the European-dominated institutional structures of Sydney, Australia, and Suva, Fiji, and evaluates their strategies for self-improvement and family outcomes. Governments and organizations face a number of difficulties in meeting the needs of many diverse communities and, yet, a collaborative "common cents" approach can embrace and sustain the strengths and values of diverse Pacific communities to bring about improved relationships across collectives, organizations, diverse communities, families and generations. Such a model can empower marginalized communities to move beyond socio-economic vulnerability by enabling them to determine their own futures and allow their voices to be heard.

Indigenous strategies can be employed successfully to help indigenous people navigate their way through and, if necessary, resist institutional failures while sustaining healthy, balanced relationships. Accordingly, this paper examines two contrasting case studies of indigenous communities that appear to have little in common at first blush but in fact share a number of circumstances, struggles and strategies as they deal with the European and Eurocentric institutions that frame their lives. The first case study addresses issues facing a Pacific Islander community in Sydney, Australia, as they deal with sometimes misguided government efforts to assist them while simultaneously attempting to preserve their culture. The second, less-detailed case study focuses on the enduring legacy of European imperialism that dominates indigenous Fijian institutions in the Fiji Islands and how these sometimes function in unexpectedly counter-productive ways.

Brief Background on Australia's Pacific Migrants

Migration from the Pacific Islands to Australia began as early as 1863 when indigenous Melanesians were recruited by the then-colonial government to work on sugar cane and cotton plantations in Queensland. Such labour recruitment was often conducted under extremely questionable circumstances that many scholars have likened to the trans-Atlantic slave trade because of the gross exploitation and racism on which it depended for its existence. The migration, whether forced or voluntary, of Melanesians to Queensland was tellingly termed, "blackbirding", a racist term that combined negative colonial perceptions of Melanesian skin tones with a horrific reference to the early Australian settler practice of recreationally hunting Aborigines.

Voluntary migration to Australia from the Pacific Islands increased during the labour shortages of the 1970s and today there are an estimated 150,000 individuals in Australia who self-identify with the terms Pacific Island and Māori. Out of a total Australian population of 20 million, Pacific Islanders and Māori definitely constitute a minority group with a history of injustice and exploitation. The largest Pacific communities in Australia originate from New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga and Fiji and, despite their cultural and ethnic diversity, all face significant challenges in contending with European institutions that do not share their cultural values. This paper will first explore how the Tongan community from Sydney's inner western suburb of Auburn has been impacted by and responded to these issues.

The Tongan Community in Australia

Tongan migrants to Australia bring with them a cultural mindset that emphasizes hierarchy as central to the maintenance of social harmony. Their cultural background provides a rationale for particular interactions between gender, families, lineages and even individuals, so that "even the simplest of apparently routine behaviour takes place within a complex social matrix guided by specific tenets and traditional values that provide the basis for social exchange and bonding" (Nabalarua, 2000). First-generation Tongan migrants leave their homeland accustomed to a monocultural environment in which land ownership and decision-making processes are dominated by a hereditary noble elite. Elders occupy a position of great respect and even in non-noble family lineages are responsible for the cultural transmission of language, history and values to the younger generation.

Many first-generation Tongan migrants to Australia quickly find themselves confronted with a cultural framework that completely contradicts these notions of hierarchy, order and, above all, cultural homogeneity. As these migrants and their families struggle to financially support their families, they are forced to contend with an institutional system that does not respect and all too often does not make an effort to understand the cultural and individual priorities of a relatively small migrant community. The Australian Government, faced with high competition for limited financial and temporal resources, often prioritizes universal services designed to cater to an ethnically and culturally diverse society. The result of this unfortunately, along with the small size of the community, is that Pacific Islanders do not benefit from settlement or other services designed specifically for them, foremost of all being settlement information in their respective languages. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the Tongan community in Sydney, which forms the basis of this case study, found itself fragmented, disunited and unable to integrate with local services.

Such disunity manifested itself in a number of interpersonal and intra-group forms that combined further to marginalize the community. Many second-generation Tongan migrants who were born in Australia found themselves at a critical juncture in which they were marked as a minority group by white Australians and yet, simultaneously, had not maintained their Tongan language skills or cultural knowledge. An increase in intercultural marriages has doubtlessly contributed to this lack of cultural "maintenance" although this, of course, is a complex issue outside the scope of this paper. One of the most significant ruptures that took place in the Tongan community was the lack of church attendance, an almost completely unthinkable concept in religious Tonga. It is estimated that 40% of Tongans do not attend church, which leaves them outside the networks of support that they would otherwise receive from the community.

This lack of communication in the Tongan community unfortunately extended to the relationship between Tongan migrant families and the Australian Government. The Tongan community is

fragmented and unorganized in a way that does not enable them to advocate for desperately needed services and the result of this has been a top-down strategy of government funding. One example of this is the New South Wales Youth Partnership with Pacific Communities, in which Aus$4.5 million was allocated from 2004 to 2007, predominantly for youth projects, family counselling, parenting workshops and a parenting magazine. It employed a strategy of community engagement and capacity building, but this political acknowledgement of the New South Wales Pacific Islander community was clearly designed along European lines.

Strangely, the project did not engage in any consultation with elders in the Pacific Islander community and opted instead to allocate funds to different government departments without soliciting the opinions of the communities that would actually be impacted. No services were offered specifically to families and the focus on youth was heavily situated within a Western discourse of independence and individual decision making that was not particularly culturally appropriate for Pacific Islanders.

Pacific Islander Strategies for Negotiating European Institutions

The question remains as to how Tongan and other Pacific Islander families can best be supported in Australia. The Tongan community is characterized by large families, inadequate housing, blue collar employment and lack of transport, all of which are also issues for a number of other immigrant groups. Yet this lack of opportunities and socio-economic marginalization are not necessarily predictors or even the results of community failure. They are symptomatic, rather, of miscommunication or lack of communication between Pacific Islanders and the Australian Government. In fact, nearly everyone that was spoken to as part of this research emphasized the need for a partnership between the two.

Many Tongans and other Pacific Islanders thus found themselves at a crossroads, at which they were forced to ask the question of how to improve the lives of their families and, ideally, their community at large. Three major strategies are currently being employed to this end by members of the Tongan community on culturally appropriate Tongan terms: talanoa (dialogue), 'eiki (elders; respect for elders), and poto (wisdom; acquisition of wisdom). In many ways, these strategies combined with the cross-cultural understanding that, to paraphrase a popular maxim, it takes a village of Pacific elders to raise a child.

Talanoa, the Tongan word for dialogue, can be used to bring about social transformation by both acknowledging the need to respect elders and valuing elders as equal partners in all community endeavours. This is particularly important in social contexts that are dominated by European cultural prioritizations of the individual over the family and community. In one particular Tongan community in Sydney, activists used talanoa with elders to ascertain how local services could be better improved to meet the needs of the community. Chiefly elders were emphatic that they needed assistance in building the capacity of the community to empower itself but were equally clear that they did not want others to impinge upon their traditional authority roles. This was critical knowledge as it underscored the potential for resistance among chiefly elders to destabilize a project of which they did not approve. In other words, chiefly elders wanted to be consulted and also preserve their community role.

Elders in the Tongan community, irrespective of their chiefly or lineage status, were adamant that they desperately wanted to improve the lives of their children by offering them greater opportunities in life but were unsure how to utilize community services. Parents and families expressed a sense of frustration when they learned of free classes and training programmes that would be offered as the lack of childcare prohibited them from attending. Some first-generation Tongan migrants lamented their lack of English language skills and sense of cultural disorientation, noting the alienation they felt when letters in English arrived at the house that they were not able to understand. A universal desire was expressed for social mobility and improved employment opportunities and yet many parents and families were surprised to learn that free services to help with these issues already existed in the community.

If we can extend the cultural roles of "elder" and "chiefly ruler" to describe the Australian Government and its officials, such elites expressed exasperation with what they saw as a significant lack of cooperation by the Tongan and other Pacific communities with their efforts to "help" them. A

local institution official characterized the situation as close to hopeless, noting, "religious leaders won't work with us, parents won't talk to us and families won't use the playgroups or attend parenting workshops." Clearly, an important element missing from this official assessment was a critical question: Why? Talanoa is critical to answering this, thus offering real, sustainable solutions to a serious problem that impacts everyone regardless of ethnic or cultural background.

The second indigenous strategy employed by Tongans in Australia to negotiate European institutions is 'eiki, which can be loosely translated as both "elders" and "respect for elders" given the way that the two concepts are culturally inseparable. It is obviously culturally appropriate for any decisions affecting Pacific families and their children to be made by elders in the community, and yet the question is how to engage Pacific elders on neutral grounds and effectively meet their needs. All of the Pacific elders spoken to in the course of this research expressed a desire to be educated on life in Australia, to obtain education for themselves and to improve their children's futures. Chiefly rulers in particular were enthusiastic about the idea of community education.

Educational transformation is possible with at-risk situations if elders are given information in their home language to make informed decisions for their children. In the case of a young kindergarten boy whom teachers were unsure as to the complexity of the issues he presented, dialogue by a bilingual worker with the child and parent established that his was a case of previous poverty, lack of English language-related circumstances with no parent–child interaction, and beginning school with no English and a six-word vocabulary in Tongan. Immediately, reassurances were made in their home language that his speech was delayed and there was nothing intellectually wrong with their child and that the worker could support him by continuing to speak in Tongan to him and ensure he would be fluent in the language, which would transfer to other languages such as English. Also, the benefits and impacts of playgroup and early schooling to children's socio-economic futures were explained. After many discussions and concerns were dispelled, the parents were immediately supportive of the school placing their son with speech therapists, extra reading classes and English as a second language (ESL) support, a teacher's aide and homework support. Steps were then taken by the family of their own initiative, with the help of their aunt, to enrol their four-year-old child into preschool to give him better preparation for school.

The third indigenous strategy that could be employed in assisting Tongans and other Pacific Islanders in navigating European institutions is poto, meaning wisdom or its acquisition. Parents must be targeted and educated, made poto by acknowledging elders and valuing them as equal partners. The reality of course is the need to do this with limited resources while simultaneously engaging as many individuals in the community as possible. Activists and community members alike are currently attempting to bring about poto through translated newsletters, Pacific Community Radio discussion topics and, of course, employing Pacific Islander workers to facilitate this process.

One example of this strategy involves a large family with 10 children living in a three-bedroom house who were often juggling finances and behind on payments. After discussing simple budgeting concepts, they saw how they could plan income and expenses for the year and had a better understanding of how their income was spent. The mother realized that more income was needed and then began searching for better-paid factory jobs as well as enrolling in community classes in commercial cookery and welding to develop career prospects. Without a Pacific worker to facilitate this process, knowledge would not be extended to families who desperately wish to know how to better manage their priorities and simply "get ahead".

The combination of deep and diverse needs in the Tongan and broader Pacific Islander community has resulted in many activists and community members taking on what they term a "common cents approach" that is key to overcoming the limitations inherent in limited resources, small group size and marginal access to support services. This approach taps into existing Australian Government funding for cross-cultural programmes on parenting, household budgeting, ESL classes and computer training. Additional services include playgroups for very young children and early intervention funding for at-risk families. Local schools are often used as a neutral ground for such activities because they function as community centres in their own right due to the universality of public education in Australia.

The key to bringing about socio-cultural, financial and educational empowerment in Tongan and Pacific Islander communities, which must deal with European institutions as a matter of course, is thus comprised of a threefold strategy that employs communication (talanoa) and knowledge transmission (poto) while maintaining cultural traditions that respect elders ('eiki). In the case of Tongans and other Pacific Islanders in Australia, "exclusion is the problem; inclusion is the solution." However, as we will see next, inclusion does not amount to empowerment when it is not done on indigenous terms.

The Role of European Imperialism in the Construction of Indigenous Fijian Institutions

This case study is intended to function as a caveat to the critique presented in our analysis of the issues faced by Tongans in Australia. Indigenous Fijians in the Fiji Islands can be sharply distinguished from the Tongan community discussed in our first case study in that they have at their disposal a number of institutions ostensibly designed to assist them. Yet, there is a colonial legacy behind such institutions that makes the situation far more complex than it initially appears, and the Fiji Islands provide an unfortunately opportune example of what can happen when indigenous policies are shaped by those who may not always have indigenous interests in mind.

Fiji has experienced four coups in the past two decades, most recently in December 2006, in which ethnicity has intersected with a number of socio-economic and political issues that largely centre on widely held perceptions of the relative economic strength of Indo-Fijians vis-à-vis indigenous Fijians. It is crucial to note that what has been described as "Fiji's culture of coups" (Vunileba, 2006), for example, is not solely based on what is sometimes misattributed as ethnic conflict between indigenous Fijians of Melanesian descent and Indo-Fijians, many of whom were brought to Fiji as indentured labourers under circumstances not unlike those that characterized the blackbirding of Melanesians to Queensland sugar and cotton plantations.

Although indigenous Fijian ethnicity is often conflated with militarized masculinity as part of a broader institutionalization of ethnic stereotypes (Teaiwa, 2005), and ethnicity is often depicted as a defining feature of life in Fiji (Geraghty, 1997), the lives of most citizens of Fiji are complicated by additional realities that include class, rank, religion and education. Tensions between the indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian communities are historically rooted in the sugar economy that dominated Fiji from its colonization in 1874 until independence in 1970 and resulted in the creation of segregated and enduring histories for both indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians (Kaplan & Kelly, 1994). The British colonial administration was instrumental in the creation of governmental structures that endure today, including the Great Council of Chiefs, Native Land Trust Board, the Native Lands and Fisheries Commission and the Fijian Affairs Board (Scarr, 1984).

The historic dominance of indigenous Fijians over these institutions and the centralization of political authority in south-eastern Viti Levu, the main island in the Fiji group, narrowed the scope for Indo-Fijian participation (Kaplan, 1995). This is extremely problematic from an Indo-Fijian perspective as the Great Council of Chiefs elects nearly half of the Fijian Senate and acts as an electoral college that selects both the Prime Minister and President of Fiji. While this process consolidates power in the hands of indigenous Fijians, many remain extremely critical of what they perceive to be Indo-Fijian dominance of the national economy. Indo-Fijians are often depicted in indigenous Fijian popular culture and political discourse as "foreigners" who hold an unfair monopoly over financial and business interests. While most Indo-Fijians have been in Fiji for several generations and hold few ties to India other than their South Asian religious, cultural and linguistic practices, more recent skilled migrants from India have become a powerful presence in Fiji's economy.

An indigenous Fijian political movement known as i-taukei (indigenous) began protesting against Indo-Fijian dominance of the economy shortly after independence in 1970, positioning itself as the voice of marginalized Pacific peoples from Hawai'i, New Caledonia and New Zealand (Rabuka, 1991; Rutz, 1995). This movement contributed to the two indigenous Fijian-led coups of 1987 (Lal, 1990). A number of issues at stake between indigenous Fijians were also factors in the late 1980s, including rank, class and the non-chiefly status of the Prime Minister. In the aftermath, the Great Council of Chiefs

approved a new constitution that made Christianity the sole state religion and declared that only indigenous Fijians could hold senior positions in government. These decisions were subsequently revised in 1997 to become more inclusive of Indo-Fijians. A third coup in 2000, ostensibly based on concerns for indigenous Fijian rights, led some scholars (as well as ordinary citizens) to predict a massive Indo-Fijian exodus. Indeed, 11,500 people (out of a population of 900,000) emigrated soon after the 2000 coup, including a substantial number of frustrated indigenous Fijians (Field, Baba & Nabobo-Baba, 2005). Rumours of another coup began to circulate during the 2006 parliamentary elections in the wake of the failed 2005 Truth, Reconciliation and Unity Bill, which if passed by Parliament would have provided compensation to coup victims as well as amnesty to coup participants. Fiji's fourth coup took place in December 2006 and was described by Indo-Fijian academic and social commentator, Brij Lal, as a "fight of (indigenous) Fijians against (indigenous) Fijians" (Vunileba, 2006). At present Fiji's future remains uncertain.

To quote an unemployed Indo-Fijian and former sugar cane farmer who lost his land lease and was subsequently evicted from his home, "indigenous rights are a good thing, but aren't we Fijians too?" Clearly, the Indo-Fijian man had been deeply disadvantaged by the colonially constructed land-use policies that attempted to maintain a "pristine" indigenous Fijian culture while simultaneously introducing free market capitalism to the islands. Indeed, the colonial consolidation of indigenous Fijian identity into a single homogenous entity via the construction of numerous "native" institutions has been used again and again by self-interested indigenous Fijian politicians who seek personal power at the expense of national stability.

Concluding Thoughts

The contrasting and yet comparative case studies presented here clearly underscore how it is impossible to underestimate the enduring impact of colonialism and its racist policies. Although the pre-colonial period was by no means an idyllic paradise, and doubtlessly presented its own challenges and difficulties, indigenous peoples throughout the world were able to define their needs on their own terms. The current socio-political situations in both Australia and the Fiji Islands clearly demonstrate how the legacy of colonialism continues to inform indigenous strategies for the negotiation of European institutions. It follows, then, that these inequalities must be redressed on indigenous terms, rather than on the European terms that are responsible for the creation of such problems.

Glossary of Fijian and Tongan words

'eiki	elders; respect for elders
i-taukei	indigenous; also, an indigenous nationalist movement
poto	wisdom; the acquisition of wisdom
talanoa	dialogue

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Kaupapa Māori Entrepreneurship:
Traditional Concepts Applied to
Sustainable Business Development

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Introduction

This paper provides an overview of a research project that focuses on further developing our understanding of Kaupapa Māori Entrepreneurship (Henry, 2007). The first stage of the project involves the secondary analysis of data collected as part of the New Zealand Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), which has included over forty interviews with Māori experts in entrepreneurship since the project began in New Zealand in 2000.

The content analysis will explore the common themes and perceptions held by these experts using a Grounded Theory approach, with a view to better understanding Māori entrepreneurship and placing it within a kaupapa Māori framework (Frederick & Henry, 2005). That framework will evolve out of the Māori values, beliefs, experiences and practices that emerge from the interview data.

This study will contribute to the further development of kaupapa Māori research methods because the content analysis will be done using N-Vivo 8, a powerful qualitative analytical tool. There has been some criticism of kaupapa Māori research (Rata, 2006), in particular because of a perceived lack of rigour in the analytical methods and consequent theoretical frameworks that are generated from the qualitative data that is collected. It is hoped that this research project will provide kaupapa Māori researchers with another research tool that meets both scientific and cultural requirements in terms of rigour and validity.

Thus, the findings from this study will be used to generate a set of framework conditions for better understanding Kaupapa Māori Entrepreneurship, a Māori approach to entrepreneurship that most closely parallels *social entrepreneurship* and that draws on distinctly Māori cultural concepts. It is assumed that a Kaupapa Māori Entrepreneurship framework can inform policy and programme development and entrepreneurship education and training with a specific Māori focus because these are factors that underpin sustainable Māori social, economic and business development (Fleischmann, 2006). This paper outlines progress to date on this research project.

The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM)

To understand the significance of the secondary analysis of GEM data one needs to know more about the GEM research project. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor is the largest research project focusing on entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship. There are 42 countries around the world that monitor entrepreneurial activity as part of this project. The GEM research brings together policy makers, business leaders and academics in a global network that was founded in 1999 under the leadership of Babson College in the United States and the London Business School in the United Kingdom. GEM has developed into one of the leading research consortia concerned with improving understanding of the relationships between entrepreneurial activity and national economic growth. According to the GEM Consortium (2007):

> No other research exists that can provide consistent cross-country information and measures of entrepreneurial activity in a global context. GEM focuses on three main objectives:
>> to measure differences in the level of entrepreneurial activity among countries;
>> to uncover factors determining the levels of entrepreneurial activity; and
>> to identify policies that may enhance the level of entrepreneurial activity.

New Zealand has been a long-term member of the consortium. The first report provided the background to the research and methodology, about which it states:

> At the heart of the GEM global project is an attempt to understand how entrepreneurship is related to economic development. Previous approaches examining economic growth have tended to focus on the contribution of larger established firms rather than smaller firms. They examine the impact of "General National Framework Conditions" on the performance of larger businesses. Yet the evidence demonstrates that large firm activity can explain only a proportion of the variation in economic growth within a nation. (Frederick & Carswell, 2001, p. 17)

The General Framework Conditions alluded to include:

openness (external trade);
government (extent, role);
financial markets (efficiency);
technology, research and development (R&D) (level, intensity);
infrastructure (physical);
management (skills);
labour markets (flexible); and
institutions (unbiased, rule of law).

However, the GEM model combines the above with a set of economic factors within the Entrepreneurial Framework Conditions, as outlined below:

financial;
government policies;
government programmes;
education and training;
R&D transfer;
commercial infrastructure;
internal market openness;
physical infrastructure; and
cultural, social norms.

Thus, the sources of data for GEM research comprise:

> Adult Population Survey. In each country a random poll is conducted by a reputable research company to measure the entrepreneurial behaviour and the attitudes of the working-age population. These surveys produce a measure of entrepreneurial activity, called the Total Entrepreneurial Activity Index (TEA), which in turn provides a basis for international comparisons.

> Key Informant Interviews are conducted that focus on the Entrepreneurial Framework Conditions (EFC). These experts represent a wide range of economic, financial, business development and commercial expertise. They are asked to complete an assessment of the New Zealand entrepreneurial sector in an open-ended interview situation and to provide their views on three things which impede or enhance entrepreneurship in New Zealand. A content analysis of their responses is undertaken to assess the issues and trends they identify.

> National Economic Data is drawn from data published by sources such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations, as well as other international research initiatives including the World Competitiveness Yearbook and the Global Competitiveness Report. In New Zealand, comparable data are also collected from national and regional sources.

New Zealand was and continues to be unique in the world in that it has focused on the Māori dimension, which has been incorporated into the interview questionnaire, and it has collected ethnicity data from the population survey. As a consequence of focusing on the Māori dimension, the *GEM Report* was able to conclude that:

> Māori are every bit as entrepreneurial as European New Zealanders.
> Entrepreneurship is based on the availability, perception and conversion of opportunity. A nation's "entrepreneurship opportunity space" is the sum of the actors who have the capacity to influence entrepreneurial activity. (Frederick & Carswell, 2001, p. 9)

The findings in this report stimulated public discussion on Māori entrepreneurship and have been extensively cited by government and business-support agencies in recent years. The GEM research is even cited in the Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga documentation: Research Themes, Sub-Theme 2.2. In 2005, in partnership with Te Wānanga o Raukawa (Raukawa University), the GEM Report focused exclusively on Māori entrepreneurship, which reinforced findings from previous years, thus further adding to the body of information from and about Māori entrepreneurship.

One of the unintended consequences of the ongoing research has been the accumulation of a significant body of data from an unparalleled group of Māori experts. These individuals represent a wide body of experience, from urban to rural, tribal organizations to major corporations, government agencies, politicians, men and women, younger and older Māori. The original content analysis of their interviews focused on the Entrepreneurial Framework Conditions. A cursory inspection of the data showed that many of the comments they made, referring to specifically Māori culture, history, society and experiences were not necessarily incorporated into the previous GEM analysis. Thus, this project seeks to delve deeper into their interview data, with a specific emphasis on their perceptions of matters Māori. It was assumed from the outset of this project that certain themes relating specifically to Māori experience might emerge on closer analysis. Out of that process, using a grounded theory approach, a model for better understanding and analysing Māori entrepreneurship might evolve.

Social Entrepreneurship

The findings from the GEM Māori expert interviews affirm a mode of entrepreneurship that shares characteristics with social entrepreneurship. According to Dees (1998) one needs to look to the roots of the term "entrepreneur" to better define social entrepreneurship. The term originates in 17th century French economics and is taken to mean someone who "undertakes a significant project or activity" that creates value (Say, 1836). Writing in the 20th century, Schumpeter (1949) described entrepreneurs as "the innovators who drive the creative-destructive process of capitalism. The function of entrepreneurs is to reform or revolutionize the pattern of production." In this tradition, entrepreneurs are innovators that stimulate economic progress.

Dees goes on to outline current theories of entrepreneurship evolving out of the Say–Schumpeter tradition, including work from Drucker who focused on "opportunity" and the desire of entrepreneurs to "search for change." Dees notes that: "For Drucker, starting a business is neither necessary nor sufficient for entrepreneurship" (1985, p. 2). He explicitly comments that: "not every new small business is entrepreneurial or represents entrepreneurship." More recently, Hart & Stevenson (1996) added "resourcefulness" to the notion of "opportunity" as characteristics that distinguish entrepreneurial managers from administrative managers.

The entrepreneurship literature lays the foundations for theorizing about social entrepreneurs in that it describes a mind-set and behaviours that can be found in a wide range of organizational types. According to Dees:

> We should build our understanding of social entrepreneurship on this strong tradition of entrepreneurship theory and research. Social entrepreneurs are one species in the genus entrepreneur. They are entrepreneurs with a social mission. However, because of this mission, they face some distinctive challenges and any definition ought to reflect this. (1998, p. 3)

Martin and Osberg go further. They point to the growing interest in social entrepreneurship, about which they write:

> The interest in social entrepreneurship transcends the phenomenon of popularity and fascination with people. Social entrepreneurship signals the imperative to drive social change, and it is that potential payoff, with its lasting, transformational benefit to society, that sets the field and its practitioners apart. (2007, p. 30)

They further develop thinking about social entrepreneurs as a specific genus with the drive to innovate, seek out opportunities and pursue a mission, when they state:

> Building from this theoretical base, we believe that entrepreneurship describes the combination of the context in which an opportunity is situated, a set of personal characteristics required to identify and pursue this opportunity, and the creation of a particular outcome. (2007, p. 31)

The personal characteristics of the entrepreneur that Martin and Osberg highlight are:

> inspiration: the entrepreneur is inspired to change things and identify opportunities to do so;
> creativity: the entrepreneur thinks creatively and develops solutions that break with tradition;
> direct action: "Once inspired by opportunity and in possession of a creative solution, the entrepreneur takes direct action" (2007, p. 33);
> courage: entrepreneurs display their courage when they take the risks associated with exploiting the opportunity; and
> fortitude: it is fortitude that gives entrepreneurs the drive to see their ideas through to fruition.

Once their ideas have come to fruition, the entrepreneur should have achieved their desired outcome.

Martin and Osberg go on to differentiate between entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs by highlighting first their similarities; that is, they are driven by similar imperatives but the outcomes they seek may be different in terms of the profit-benefits and the types of beneficiary (who may be a wider community rather than just shareholders or investors). They conclude their paper by offering a comprehensive definition of the social entrepreneur:

> We define social entrepreneurship as having the following three components:
> Identifying a stable but inherently unjust equilibrium that causes the exclusion, marginalisation, or suffering of a segment of humanity that lack the financial means or political clout to achieve any transformative benefit on its own;
> Identifying an opportunity in this unjust equilibrium, developing a social value proposition, and bringing to bear inspiration, creativity, direct action, courage and fortitude, thereby challenging the stable state's hegemony; and
> Forging a new, stable ecosystem around the new equilibrium ensuring a better future for the targeted group and even society at large. (2007, p. 35)

Further, Martin and Osberg describe the differences between social entrepreneurship and other phenomena. One such phenomenon is "social service". This involves setting up an entity that delivers a social good. However, if the service is shut down, that is the end of the initiative. An example of social entrepreneurship would be to see a service being created that would have the capacity to multiply itself, or to change the equilibrium, so that if one service centre is closed down the initiative would still continue. They state: "The difference between the two types of ventures—one 'social entrepreneurship' and the other 'social service'—isn't in the initial entrepreneurial contexts or in many of the personal characteristics of the founders, but rather in the outcomes". They go on to discuss "social activism", whose proponents attempt to change the unjust equilibrium by influencing others, such as governments, consumers, workers, etc. They conclude that: "Successful activism can yield substantial improvements

to existing systems and even result in a new equilibrium, but the strategic nature of the action is distinct in its emphasis on influence rather than on direct action" (2007, pp. 37–38). These distinctions are elucidated in the following figure.

	Existing System Maintained & Improved	**New Equilibrium Created and Sustained**
Direct Action	Social Service Provision	Social Entrepreneurship
Indirect Action (influence)		Social Activism

Figure 1. Pure Forms of Social Engagement.
Source: Martin and Osberg, 2007, p. 38

The authors conclude that: "Social entrepreneurship, we believe, is as vital to the progress of societies as is entrepreneurship to the progress of economies, and it merits more serious and rigorous attention than it has attracted so far" (2007, p. 39).

Social entrepreneurship has, in turn, stimulated interest in indigenous entrepreneurship (Anderson, Camp, Dana, Henry & Pereda, 2005). It is the purpose of this research to explore social entrepreneurship and indigenous entrepreneurship as they relate to Māori entrepreneurship in general and kaupapa Māori entrepreneurship in particular.

Kaupapa Māori

Before embarking on a discussion of Māori entrepreneurship it is useful to discuss kaupapa Māori as the central philosophical position of this study. Kaupapa Māori literally means the Māori way or agenda, a term used to describe traditional Māori ways of doing, being and thinking, encapsulated in a Māori worldview or cosmology.

Traditional Māori society was underpinned by notions of reciprocity and gift-giving (Mauss, 1990), which Henare (1995) refers to as an "economy of affection". This economic system was predicated on the philosophical assumption that the community and individuals expressed their wealth (mana) by what they were able to give away rather than what they accumulated. Thus, those who received the koha (gift), those who were affected by the koha, were in some way indebted to the givers. This web of giving and receiving helped maintain social and economic relations. However, this form of political economy was displaced by the capitalist economy of the colonizers.

Henare (1998) in his "Koru of Māori Ethics" has developed a model for better understanding the traditional Māori worldview which is encapsulated in a fabric of values and beliefs that informed traditional Māori practice. He writes:

Māori religion is not found in a set of sacred books or dogma, the culture is the religion. History points to Māori people and their religion being constantly open to evaluation and questioning in order to seek that which is tika, the right way. Maintaining tika is the means whereby ethics and values can be identified. (1998, p. 3)

Maintaining that which is tika is seen in the tikanga or practices and rituals that reflect the underlying values and beliefs about what is right and good.

We can explore and understand traditional Māori beliefs by analysing contemporary tikanga and postulating the philosophical or cosmological origins of the rituals. For example, in traditional Māori society, individuals could trace their whakapapa (genealogy) back to atua (gods), and ultimately to Ranginui and Papatūānuku (Sky and Earth Parents). Thus, all humankind, and in fact all things, were derived from the gods and carried an element of godliness which is manifest in tapu (sacredness), mauri (life principle) and wairua (spirit). Therefore, it is incumbent on humankind to respect and protect that tapu, mauri and wairua through the practice of wairuatanga (spirituality). The tikanga rituals associated

with wairuatanga are expressions of that underlying belief that the genealogical links to atua are tika, and must be protected.

If we think of kaupapa Māori as a uniquely Māori way of "doing and being", beliefs and behaviours, we can trace the origins of contemporary practice back to the traditional worldview. On this, Henare states:

> like a koru [furl] on the fern, each ethic reveals an inner core as it unfurls, and they are the foundations of Māori epistemology and hermeneutics. Together, they constitute a cosmic, religious world-view and its philosophy, from which can be identified an economy of affection, and the utilisation of resources that aim to provide for the people in Māori kinship systems. (1998, p. 7)

This view has been extended by Henry and Pene (2001) who acknowledge that the contemporary understanding of kaupapa Māori continues to be imbued with traditional values and beliefs.

There is also the recognition that Māori are a minority in our own lands, suffering the consequences of political, cultural and economic disenfranchisement since signing the Treaty of Waitangi. It is out of this milieu of struggle and resistance that the kaupapa Māori paradigm has arisen in education and research. Over the past three decades, the Māori Renaissance (Walker, 1990) or cultural revival has engendered an environment in which Māori intellectuals have begun to challenge Western models of knowing and being in a wide range of fields.

For some Māori scholars, kaupapa Māori is clearly and exclusively Māori-centric. These scholars offer definitions of kaupapa Māori that have been widely espoused, one of the most oft cited being, "for, with and by Māori" (Smith, 1995). Further, Bishop (1996) advocated that kaupapa Māori research must be founded on self-determination, legitimacy and authority, and empowerment for Māori. Like Bishop, Smith (1997) recognized that Māori have sought to develop alternative schooling and education as a means of revitalizing Māori language, knowledge and culture. In his conclusion Smith both locates Kaupapa Māori, and clarifies its relationship with the Western educational system. He states that:

> Kaupapa Māori could only develop outside of the system; there has been a long, mostly unsuccessful, march "through the institutions" in numerous attempts to effectively change the system. Most of these attempts to change the status quo have failed because they often overly concentrated on changing the "mode" rather than the institutional structures. In moving outside the system, Kaupapa Māori strategies have been able to develop more fundamental structural change. (1997, p. 483)

The Kaupapa Māori paradigm has not evolved without attracting criticism. For example, Marie & Haig express "a number of concerns about the uncritical acceptance of kaupapa Māori research methodology in New Zealand science policy deliberations and many areas of research theory and practice" (2006, p. 17). They go on to state that:

> Despite criticizing the methodology of traditional science, Kaupapa Māori researchers have nevertheless made use of a number of its research methods, in particular, methods for interviewing people. One popular interview method involves gathering and analysing data from focus groups. Despite their seeming simplicity, focus group interviews are very difficult to carry out effectively. There is an extensive literature (from Kaupapa Māori researchers) detailing the requirements for carrying out focus group research, but the data analytic component of the method is completely underdeveloped. (2006, p. 20)

On a similar note, Rata (1999) refers to Māori revitalization, and by association kaupapa Māori, as neo-traditionalism about which she writes: "Within a Western Universalist ontology, a claim to the right to acquire knowledge may be made within the search for truth, an eligibility granted to all individuals, a tradition attacked by neo-traditionalism as 'universalism' becomes synonymous with eurocentricism." In more recent musings, Rata (2006, p. 1) states:

> I describe ethnic fundamentalism or culturalism as a "secular religion" because this particular way of understanding what ethnicity means shares a number of important features with religion. First, it is a set of beliefs about human nature. Second, those beliefs are unchallenged and unchallengeable. Third, ethnic fundamentalism rejects doubt and has a difficult relationship with reason.

Thus, kaupapa Māori is seen to espouse research methods that are not supported by analytical rigour, and to be part of a fundamentalist, revisionist ideology. These views do not appear to be widespread in the New Zealand academy but, as with any criticism, they represent an opportunity for kaupapa Māori researchers to critically self-reflect and work towards further developing research methods under the rubric of kaupapa Māori methodology. Rata is correct, though, insofar as kaupapa Māori does share characteristics of religion and philosophy, as previously stated, but Rata's notion of "secular fundamentalism" seems to imply the negative attributes most recently associated with fundamentalist terrorism. However, the Oxford Dictionary defines "fundamental" as "forming a necessary base or core; of central importance." This definition certainly accords with the idea of Kaupapa Māori being central to the development of uniquely Māori ways of doing things, a notion to which many Māori scholars ascribe.

A deeper analysis of Rata's views suggests that she is aggrieved that after devoting her life to kaupapa Māori education she has felt excluded by the empowered Māori communities that she has contributed to. One can only assume that those she feels have excluded her from some aspect of the Māori world are exponents of the notion that "for, with and by Māori" excludes all non-Māori. This notion of exclusivity was challenged by Henry & Pene (1999), who interviewed Māori and non-Māori engaged in research with a strong kaupapa Māori focus; they concluded that non-Māori—who have a demonstrated commitment to and respectfulness of the kaupapa and who have been chosen or invited into the kaupapa by Māori—have much to offer Māori communities and development.

If we synthesize the previously outlined definitions of Kaupapa Māori and take on board the critique of Kaupapa Māori, we are left with some central propositions that elucidate Kaupapa Māori and which may inform research and development:

> Underpinned by traditional Māori values and philosophy;
> By, with and for Māori (except where Māori choose to include non-Māori who are committed to the kaupapa);
> Contributing to self-determination and the empowerment of Māori;
> Development that evolves outside of "mainstream" institutions; and
> Reflecting rigour and excellence.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to applying these propositions to the field of indigenous entrepreneurship with a view to extrapolating a Kaupapa Māori Entrepreneurship framework for the analysis of Māori views of entrepreneurship. From that analysis, ideas and recommendations about how best to promote, support and educate for Māori entrepreneurship may emerge.

The Kaupapa Māori Entrepreneurship Framework

As previously stated, kaupapa Māori entrepreneurship is evolving out of the arena of "indigenous entrepreneurship", which in turn has its origins in "social entrepreneurship" (Frederick et al., 2002). Dana defines indigenous entrepreneurship as "self-employment based on indigenous knowledge" (2005, p. 5). For Foley:

> The indigenous Australian entrepreneur alters traditional patterns of behaviour by utilising their resources in the pursuit of self-determination and economic sustainability via their entry into self-employment, forcing social change in the pursuit of opportunity beyond the cultural norms of their initial economic resources. (2000, p. 11)

For Henry (2007):

> Kaupapa Māori entrepreneurs share a passion for making a difference for Māori people. They are creating and working in businesses, profit or non-profit, that strengthens their whanau, hapu and iwi and creating robust and strategic organizations that are making a profound contribution to Māori development. (p. 547)

In their conclusion, Dana and Anderson draw together the variety of perspectives on indigenous entrepreneurship that they have brought together in their definitive text, and offer the following propositions that contribute to a theory of indigenous entrepreneurship:

> Some indigenous cultural values are incompatible with basic assumptions of mainstream theories;
> Indigenous entrepreneurship often has non-economic explanatory variables;
> Some indigenous economies display elements of egalitarianism, sharing and communal activity;
> Indigenous entrepreneurship is usually environmentally sustainable;
> Social organization among indigenous peoples is often based on kinship ties, not necessarily created in response to market needs;
> The perception of opportunity is culturally influenced, as is the measurement of success;
> Culturally determined opportunities for entrepreneurship are often disrupted by entities external to indigenous people;
> Indigenous people are sometimes pulled to traditional forms of self-employment but pushed to other money-earning activity out of economic need. (2007, p. 601)

These propositions certainly apply to Māori experience, on the basis of the responses to questions posed by the GEM team to Māori experts in interviews. A number of themes have been thrown up in the reports published to date, particularly in response to the questions relating to the things that have either enhanced or impeded Māori entrepreneurship. The factors raised by these experts were initially analysed using the GEM Framework. However, when it is planned to apply an analytical lens that is informed by a Māori worldview, then the views and opinions that are expressed can be further analysed in relation to a kaupapa Māori worldview.

The patterns of views and opinions shared by the interviewees appear to coalesce into two distinctive categories of responses: those things that exist inside or outside the individual and those that enhance or impede entrepreneurship. The categories identified above will form the basis of the major themes and nodes, which are like virtual filing boxes; they allow all information on a specific theme to be summarized together for the in-depth secondary analysis using N-Vivo 8. This software allows the researcher to take large amounts of qualitative data and step outside the material, and take a fresh look at the project through coding stripes. These coloured bars track project themes and enable comparison of a wide range of factors.

However, Richards & Richards warn against researchers totally controlling the coding process, when they state:

> In all fields where qualitative data are important and especially in fields where rigorous qualitative analysis is demanded, computers are remaking methodology … the computer should have access to what is in the text, not only what the researcher says it is about. For most qualitative research the "noises" in data (e.g. recurrent themes and words chosen) are likely to be of analytic significance. For others interested in discourse analysis or textual patterns, the text itself may be more important than indexing the data. Thus, it is not acceptable to restrict searching to (only) indexing information entered by the researcher. (1991, p. 243)

N-Vivo 8 allows data to be analysed using the specific researcher categories but is also capable of identifying strings of text that uncover subtle trends and patterns.

However, the following categories will be a starting point for the investigation of the data. From this analysis may evolve a comprehensive framework for analysing kaupapa Māori entrepreneurship, the factors that enhance and impede it, ways that a better understanding of those factors can inform future research with Māori entrepreneurs, and to investigate the ways those variables that enhance it can be engendered through strategies, policies and programmes.

Kiriwai: Intrinsic	Mana Ārai: Internal Impediments	Mana Tangata: Internal Enhancers
	Whakakore Dispensing with Māori culture, and identity	**Wairua** Strong whānau, hapū, iwi links Confidence in identity and mana
	Haumate Lack of confidence Lack of vision Negative experience of colonization Defeatist attitude Antipathy towards community, wealth creation Lack of knowledge about identity	**Tuakiri kaha** Risk-taker Visionary Confidence in use and knowledge of te reo me ngā tikanga Positive feelings about opportunities, risks and challenges Turning "necessity" into "opportunity"
	Tautōhito kore: Inexperience Lack of education Lack of expertise Lack of capital	**Tautōhitonui: Expertise** Mentors Training and education Access to capital
Kiritai: Extrinsic	**Aukati: External Impediments**	**Mana Māori: External Enhancers**
	Competition Racism Government policy Economy Education Technology Whānau, hapū, iwi conflict Globalization	Iwi, hapū, whānau support Whakawhanaungatanga: networking Support organizations Venture capital Government policy Economic opportunities Education opportunities and technological capabilities Indigenous development/globalization

Figure 2. Kaupapa Māori Entrepreneurship Framework.

Glossary for Kaupapa Māori Entrepreneurship Framework

Kupu: Word	Māramatanga: Definition
Ārai (Mana Ārai)	To obstruct and prevent, to undermine mana
Aukati	To block, hinder and discriminate against
Haumate	Spiritless, lacklustre personality
Kiritai	The outer skin, externalities
Kiriwai	The inner skin, internalities
Mana Māori	That which gives strenth and power to Māori
Mana tangata	Personal strength and power
Tuakiri kaha	Strong personality
Tautōhito kore	Inexperienced
Tautōhitonui	Experienced
Whakakore	Abandon, nullify, dispense with
Whakapapa	Spirit, soul, quintessence of a person

Conclusion

This research is in the early stages of development of a Kaupapa Māori Entrepreneurship Framework. The secondary analysis has not yet been undertaken but it is hoped that it will occur in 2008. The findings from the secondary analysis will inform further study of Māori entrepreneurs with a view to exploring their experiences and the ways, if any, that being Māori has shaped their experiences, their careers as entrepreneurs and the organizations they have created.

It is hypothesized that there exist traditional Māori concepts, values and ideals that shape Māori entrepreneurial endeavour and, further, that Māori entrepreneurship can provide a vehicle for sustainable Māori business, which in turn will contribute to sustaining balanced and healthy relationships within and across whānau, hapū, iwi, local communities and wider New Zealand society.

Glossary

kaupapa Māori	Māori way, Māori agenda
koha	gift
koru	furl
mana	wealth; prestige
mauri	life principle
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
Ranginui	Sky Father
tapu	sacredness
tika	the right way; correct
tikanga	practices and rituals that reflect the underlying values and beliefs about what is right and good
wairua	spirit
wairuatanga	spirituality

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He Kākano: Māori Views and Experiences of Fertility, Reproduction and ART (Assisted Reproductive Technologies)

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This paper was presented as part of a panel entitled "Te whakahiamoe: Whānau wellbeing".

Introduction

Traditional Māori views of the creation of human beings and reproduction may help to provide an understanding for Māori on tikanga (customary practices) associated with the advent of modern technology and, in particular, assisted reproductive technologies (ART).

> The blood and the spirit came from Io, but through Rehua. Rehua, one of the demi-Gods, went and asked Io. Io said, "here, here's the blood, here's the spirit, here's the life essence", which is that thing that makes life work, gives life form, "here it is". So all of that came from them. Then Tawhirimatea gives the lungs. Ruatepupuke and Whatukura gives thought, intellect, reasoning, imagination. And then the eyes were given by Uru, the eldest child of Rangi and Papa. The ability to see, to visualise, came from the eldest child of Rangi and Papa, Uru, Uru-te-ngangana a Whatu. The whites of the eyes were given by another brother who is the spirit of clouds. So the whites of our eyes then come from Aowhaturia, comes from Aokapua, another brother. Tupai, a demi-God, gives the bones, the skeletal system. Tu and Akakamatua then give all of the sinew, the muscles. And the list goes on, of the stomach, the throat, and the arero [tongue], the ihu [nose], and the lips. But in essence we are the product of this great innovation, this great research, where everybody contributed. And finally this thing was finished. And so the ira tangata [human genes], mortals were created by immortals. And the essence of the mortals were the gifts by the immortals. (He Kaikōrero nō Tūhoe, cited in Smith & Reynolds, 2006)

Stereotyping and Fertility Rates

With predominant views that Māori are fertile, have large families and have children at a young age, evidence to the contrary is slowly growing. The total fertility rate in New Zealand has decreased in the last 40 years, with the fertility rate for Māori decreasing at an even greater rate. The fertility rate for Māori was 2.94 in 2007; this is a substantial drop from 6.18 in 1962.[1] This shows that the fertility rate for Māori has halved in the last four decades, and there is concern that the fertility rate will continue to decrease to unsustainable levels.

For many Māori great importance is placed on having children rather than the desire to be financially and socially secure (for example, in a stable long-term relationship). If you do not have children before the age of 30 years, pressure often increases from the extended whānau (family) for you to have children and assumptions are made that women are whare ngaro (barren) or men are "shooting blanks".

Through past discussions with whānau and kaumātua (elders), I found that infertility is often not seen as an issue that affects Māori. The notion that whānau, hapū (clans) and iwi (tribes) are experiencing issues related to infertility is often dismissed as quickly as it appears.

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[1] According to Statistics New Zealand, Māori fertility rates are based on live births registered in New Zealand to Māori mothers who are resident in New Zealand and on an estimate of the mean number of the female Māori resident population.

Current Research

Discussions with whānau over the last few years have shown that Māori are experiencing issues in response to infertility and that Māori are choosing to engage with fertility treatments. Apparent from these discussions was the current lack of information, tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) available in regards to fertility, reproduction and ART. Utilising kaupapa Māori (Māori theory) research methodologies, this project aims to gather Māori views and experiences of fertility, reproduction and ART and contribute this knowledge towards a greater understanding of Māori views for those that may engage with these technologies and to those providing a health service in response to these issues.

Worldwide Context

If we look at the global context, there are up to 80 million people worldwide affected by issues associated with infertility (World Health Organization (WHO), 1991). Growing concern about rapid population decline (also referred to as depopulation) was highlighted by Meyer (2004, p. 40). Europe's fertility rates have fallen below replacement levels and, according to WHO statistics, fertility rates in many developed countries are below replacement level (WHO, 1991). As developed countries struggle to maintain population levels the fertility rates of many developing countries, although decreasing, remain higher than replacement level. Replacement level is the number of children a couple needs to have in order to replace themselves in the future; this sits at 2.1 children per woman.

Contributing Factors to Infertility

Recent research has shown that infertility existed among Māori prior to colonization (Smith & Reynolds, 2006). There are a number of factors that may influence the fertility rate of a population, and this research aims to engage Māori in investigating current levels of fertility and infertility and the implications of these findings.

Infertility as a result of social choice gives rise to a growing trend in delaying parenthood through the use of birth control. "Capitalism is the best contraception", as quoted by Wattenburg (Meyer, 2004, p. 40). The commodification of children has led to their being viewed as detrimental to wealth, and the choice of refraining from having children can be seen as an affluent one. Amongst other causes, involuntary infertility can occur because of birth defect, the treatment of a disease and infectious diseases such as chlamydia. Of particular concern for Māori is the connection between the incidence of chlamydia and infertility.

> In 2003, chlamydia was the most commonly diagnosed STI [Sexually Transmitted Infection] in sexual health and family planning clinics … the highest rates of chlamydia and gonorrhoea were in the 15 to 19 years age group … Māori and Pacific Peoples rates of STIs have been climbing much more rapidly than European numbers. (Johnson, Fernando & MacBride-Stewart, 2005, p. 1211)

Both of these STIs can lead to infertility if it is unchecked, and the high rates of STIs for the young Māori population could lead to infertility issues as this population ages and begins to have children. Currently, Māori have children at a younger age (Jackson, 2004) but we do not know if they are diagnosed as infertile at a younger age when they fail to conceive. It is known that infertility is affecting people worldwide. Infertility is affecting Māori and infertility is affecting whānau.

Infertility and ART

Technologies are constantly being reviewed and developed, often in direct response to a problem or to meet the demand of consumers. It is not known how many Māori are currently struggling with infertility issues nor do we have figures on how many Māori are accessing ART. Assisted reproductive technologies to help facilitate conception and reproduction are readily available in New Zealand, with a number of procedures offered by specialized providers.

Technologies such as in vitro fertilization (IVF) have been widely available for years but old and new technologies have led to cultural, ethical and social dilemmas for those choosing to engage with them. A modern technology that is being widely debated at present is pre-implantation genetic

diagnosis (PGD).[2] Toi te Taiao (Bioethics Council) has recently published a report on the cultural, ethical and spiritual aspects of pre-birth testing and has recommended liberalizing the law surrounding pre-birth testing in New Zealand (Toi te Taiao, 2008). A couple of the many recommendations made by the council were to undertake research on the nature of tikanga Māori associated with the use of PGD to create embryos, and that the use of PGD for sex selection for non-medical reasons should not be prohibited. These recommendations have wide ranging implications for Māori and non-Māori.

Potential Scenarios to Consider

There are many different scenarios that may occur when whānau suffer from issues associated with infertility. Many questions spring forth and possibilities abound when considering the use of ART. The following examples are just a few of the many scenarios that will face whānau when engaging with these technologies.

Whāngai (adoption) is a traditional practice of addressing the issue of infertility for Māori (Smith & Reynolds, 2006). With the advent of technology, how has this practice changed in response to contemporary practice, and how has surrogacy, in its varied forms, affected the practice of whāngai?

The traditional notion of whānau is rapidly changing. There are no longer the definitive whakapapa (genealogical) links between whānau, and ART has enabled the anonymity and loss of whakapapa to those being conceived via these interventions. The use of donated sperm, eggs and embryos by individuals and couples wishing to conceive may assist in the growth of a child but also has implications. Any children conceived as a result of these donations are a continuation of the whakapapa of the donor, regardless of whether they are known to the child or not.

Ethical dilemmas arise from the storage and selection of frozen sperm, eggs and embryos. Considerations of when does life begin and what happens to the wairua or spirit of sperm, eggs and embryos while suspended in frozen storage must be made. Pre-implantation genetic diagnosis offers a myriad of options for the consumer although not all possibilities are currently available in New Zealand—yet. Pre-implantation genetic diagnosis technology allows for embryos to be selected according to the absence or presence of specific traits; for example, whānau that suffer from an inherited genetic disease may be able to create a number of embryos via IVF and then screen these embryos for the presence of the disease and discard the affected embryos while keeping the unaffected for further use. Sex selection of embryos is possible with this technology although not yet an option according to the Human Assisted Reproductive Technology (HART) Act 2004.

These examples are just a few that whānau may face when struggling with issues associated with infertility, hence the importance of providing tikanga and mātauranga Māori information to support whānau and allow for greater understanding for Māori and service providers.

Conclusion

Evidence that infertility is an issue for whānau and Māori is growing. The needs of whānau that are struggling with issues associated with infertility include the lack of tikanga and mātauranga Māori information related to fertility, reproduction and assisted reproductive technologies. In response to these growing needs this project, *He Kakano: Historical and Contemporary Maori Views of Fertility, Reproduction and ART*, was born. Gathering this information will enable a kete (basket) of tikanga and mātauranga Māori to be weaved and presented for Māori and non-Māori to contribute to a greater understanding of Māori views of infertility.

Glossary

arero	tongue
hapū	clan
ihu	nose
ira tangata	human genes

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[2] PGD is when the genetic status of each embryo is determined before it is transferred into the uterus (Fertility Associates, 2008).

iwi	tribe
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa Māori	Māori theory
kete	basket
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
tikanga	customary practices
wairua	spirit
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	family
whāngai	adoption
whare ngaro	barren

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Right Relationships with the Earth: The Role of Indigenous Cultures in Establishing Global Ethics, Economics and Governance[1]

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Introduction

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Reports and the related discussion in the academic literature are the most authoritative scientific voice on climate change matters. The IPCC was set up in 1988 and has produced four sets of reports, and the academic material is spread through a variety of journals and books. The IPCC is separate but closely related to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which is the decision-making body for governments to agree on international treaties.

This presentation summarises the discussion and describes the implications for the UNFCCC and humankind. In brief, the UNFCCC's Articles and Principles are not based on sustainable, economic, ethical and governance models that will enable the UNFCCC to achieve the purpose of avoiding dangerous climate change. The case is made here that the reasons for this prognosis are because humans do not have a right relationship with the Earth, as reflected in the dominant ethical and economic models. The IPCC states that new development models are needed; this is not about choosing a mapped-out path but rather about navigating through an uncharted and evolving landscape (IPCC, 2007 III, p. 693). Neither science nor economics can resolve the fundamental issues posed by climate change: these are ethical issues. Six ethical traditions or streams are briefly defined and evaluated. Possible roles for indigenous cultures in facing the threats of climate change are described.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)

The UNFCCC states in Article 2 that:

> The ultimate objective of this Convention … is to achieve … stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system. Such a level should be achieved within a time-frame sufficient to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change, to ensure that food production is not threatened and to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner. (UNFCCC, 2008)

There are five guiding principles. The first states that protection should be on the basis of equity in accordance with common but differentiated responsibilities. The second states that full consideration should be given to those parties, especially developing countries, which are particularly vulnerable and would have to bear a disproportionate burden. The third says that parties should take precautionary measures in the absence of full scientific certainty, but that policies should be cost effective. The fourth states that parties should promote sustainable development. The fifth says that parties should promote an open international economic system, and climate change measures should not unduly restrict international trade.

The first thing to say about the IPCC material is that the science is very clear: the warming of the climate system is unequivocal. Global warming is happening and the temperature will increase to and beyond a level that is dangerous to human life. Avoiding dangerous increases is no longer possible to

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achieve: no mitigation effort, no matter how rigorous and relentless, will prevent climate change from happening in the next few decades. Adaptation is unavoidable (IPCC, 2007 II, p. 747).

While the first IPCC report dealt mainly with the science, subsequent reports and the literature debate around them picked up the issues related to the Articles and Principles, namely, equity, cost effectiveness and economic analysis, sustainable development and (to a lesser extent) governance. The issues around this debate include, first, a difference between neoclassical economists and ecological economists about the fundamental assumptions for an appropriate economic model. From this, there follow differences about the use of cost-benefit analyses. The second aspect concerns the use of the term "sustainable development." This recognises that the current development or business-as-usual model is inadequate, but the IPCC reports do not adequately face up to the limitations of the sustainability model. Thirdly, there is recognition that the fundamental issues are ethical and the disputes between the economists, scientists and policy makers are not resolvable without dealing with the ethical issues (Grubb, 2006).

The ethical debate in and around the IPCC is limited and flawed. It relies on the notion of equity. The policy issues include how to allocate responsibility for the cause, reduction (mitigation) and coping with the impacts of greenhouse gas emissions (adaptation) between existing nations and current and future generations. So the debate considers matters like how to use (if at all) the concepts or methods of "polluter pays," ability to pay and distributing the benefits. But the problem is that the concept of equity alone is inadequate. We have gone beyond the stage where we have an option of allowing the developing countries the opportunity to use the current business model; India and China now have to be included in the calculations for reducing greenhouse gas emissions if we are to avoid dangerous levels being reached (Metz, Berk, Den Elzen, De Vries, & Van Vuuren, 2002; Howell, 2008). So, developing countries cannot be treated fairly. And the notion of equity does not deal with human relationship to the environment.

If the notion of equity alone is inadequate, what are the options? To answer that question, we need to consider the six major ethical streams or traditions: Aristotelian or Virtue Ethics, Kant, the Social Contract, Utilitarianism, Religious Traditions and what I have called the Ecological Tradition. Before I get into a more detailed discussion of the ethical options, let me first describe some science, and then deal with the differences between the economic models. Once I have described and discussed these, I want to come back to the UNFCCC Articles and Principles because they have fatally compromised any attempt to provide a workable solution to achieving the purpose for which the UNFCCC was established.

Science

In science, the First Law of Thermodynamics states that all matter and energy in the universe is constant, that it cannot be created or destroyed. The Second Law (entropy law) states that matter and energy can only be changed in one direction: from usable to unusable, from ordered to disordered. The Earth is a closed system, except for the entry of energy in the form of sunlight. In the Earth's system, what goes into a part of the system (for example, a factory or production process) must come out, and it does so with its productive potential irrevocably diminished. The implication is that the more society relies on an increase in material flows to satisfy an increasing demand for production, the greater will be the level of pollution and the dis-amenities associated with it; the greater will be the demand placed on the assimilative capacity of the biosphere; and, finally, the smaller will be the productive potential of the biosphere in the future (Georgescu-Roegen, 1975; Ropke, 2005; Underwood & King, 1989).

In theory, the capture of solar energy could adequately supply energy for abundant life. In practice, this is not the case. Vitousek and others, in 1986, calculated that 40% of the solar energy converted by photosynthesis, available to counter the entropic effect of the Second Law, is captured by humans (Vitousek, P. Ehrlich, A. Ehrlich, & Matson, 1986). The ecological footprint calculations by Rees (1992) and Wackernagel, Wermer and Goldfinger (2007) indicate that this is too high: currently, the Earth's biocapacity is exceeded by 23% (Global Footprint Network, 2006).

Economics

Neoclassical economics is based on Adam Smith's belief that the market is the best method for the allocation of resources. The individual, led by an invisible hand through an unregulated and competitive market, responds to prices on goods and services, and brings about the efficient maximization of social welfare. As a resource is used, the market causes prices to rise naturally over time, induces the introduction of resource substitutes, brings about capital augmentation for economic growth and assures the development of new technology. Neoclassical economics assumes that substitution is always possible, which makes scarcity only relative (Underwood & King, 1989).

Environmental economists accept the basic premises of neoclassical economics but work to internalize environmental externalities. The market does have limitations: inefficiency due to monopoly power and public goods, inequity due to unfair distribution of benefits and unsustainability due to inadequate pricing and incorporation of externalities. But the majority of present-day economists work in the neoclassical framework and attempt to make adjustments for market imperfections.

Ecological economics is an alternative system of economic thought to neoclassical economics. The traditional economic theorists argued that the market could ultimately handle any and all environmental problems. Another school of thought, however, emerged under the influence of Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, Kenneth Boulding, Herman Daly and others (Georgescu-Roegen, 1975; Boulding, 1966; Daly 1991, 1996, 2007). It questioned the sustainability of any market-generated Pareto optimal economic growth path. It argued that production requires the economic process to receive a continuous flow of energy–matter obtained from the natural environment. Extraction, use and discharge of this flow must conform to the immutable laws of thermodynamics.

Taking the laws of thermodynamics as an economic first principle, Georgescu-Roegen concludes that a global society with an endlessly increasing thirst for material production, dependent upon a coinciding flow of resources, is doomed to extinction. Neoclassical economics is theoretically inconsistent with and unable to analyse the role of resource flows in sustaining the production process. Because the neoclassical paradigm accepts only relative scarcity as a first principle, it has a propensity to analyse incorrectly a world in which there is absolute scarcity. A market analysis, which assumes that all scarcity problems can be accommodated by appropriate adjustments in resource prices, cannot effectively incorporate in the economic process the impact of entropy or the running down of the complexity of the Earth's resources.

Ethics

Aristotelian virtue ethics states that we can define moral terms by identifying the qualities or virtues of good people. The approach is to look at good people and their actions and define their characteristics or their virtues (Aristotle, 1948; Hursthouse, 2007; Kraut, 2007). In a sense, virtue ethics is a bottom-up approach, where it looks at the values or virtues identified in everyday language and behaviour and builds an ethical theory around those virtues.

Kant's approach was in a sense a top-down approach. He believed that there were certain universal principles and procedures that could be used to define moral status. He said that people should do their duty, and this was able to be determined through the procedure of the categorical imperative. This had at least two forms. The first is: act only on that maxim through which you can, at the same time, will that it should become a universal law. The second is: so act as to use humanity, both in your own person and in the person of every other, always at the same time as an end, never simply as a means (Paton, 1958).

Utilitarianism also aims to establish a top-down principle. It states that an action is right when its outcome produces the maximum utility or happiness and the minimum amount of pain for humans and animals in comparison with other relevant options. This calculus can be applied to individual acts or rules (Bentham, 1948; Mill, 1998; Ball, 2005). Utilitarianism is the ethic that underpins neoclassical economics.

Hobbes developed the notion of the social contract. He asked us to consider what life would be like in a state of nature, that is, a condition without government. The social contract is the process and outcome of justifying political principles or arrangements by appeal to the agreement that would be made among suitably situated, rational, free and equal persons. Natural rights are those rights that we are supposed to have as human beings before government comes into being (Hobbes, 1960).

Locke took up this process. Natural rights on Locke's account are life, liberty, health and property. Any social contract establishing a government cannot be morally maintained if these natural rights are ignored. Locke justifies rebellion and the killing of leaders under certain circumstances when these rights are not protected. In discussing the origin of private property, Locke introduces an important qualification (called the Lockean proviso) on how much property can be acquired. Although individuals have a right to acquire private property from nature, they must leave "enough and as good in common ... to others." Locke's works were very influential in the causes of the French and American revolutions, and the American and United Nations' Charters (Tuckness, 2005).

Religions still influence a large number of people's worldviews, ethical attitudes and behaviour. White (1967) claimed that Christianity in Western culture is responsible for the view of man's domination of nature. While this is not justified from an interpretation of the biblical texts, historically it is generally correct. The biblical texts support a stewardship view with an intrinsic value of fellow creatures (Attfield, 2003). More recently, religions are taking the matter of environmental degradation seriously, and there have been a number of initiatives and partnerships on religion and the environment (Gardner, 2002).

Mystical and indigenous traditions have often emphasized the oneness of humankind with nature and the human interconnectedness with the world (Hick, 1999). A key worldview value repeatedly found among indigenous societies emphasizes the integrity of all reality: land, humans and nature are not seen as separate from the rest of life (Hughes, 2003; Rose, 1998; Sveiby & Skuthorpe, 2006).

Aldo Leopold is known as the father of modern wildlife conservation in the United States of America, working for 19 years in the US Forest Service. His most well known book was *A Sand County Almanac*. It is, perhaps, best known for the following quote, which defines his land ethic: "A thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise" (Leopold, 1949). He, with Rachel Carson (1963) and Garrett Hardin (1968), was influential in the development of modern environmental movements and thinking.

I do not have space to describe the significant modern philosophers, such as Nussbaum, Rawls, Singer, Regan, Attfield, Shue, Jamieson and others, who have worked within these traditions or on the problems identified within the climate change debate. Let me select one who comes out of the Lockean tradition but is within the ecological stream, Peter Brown.

Brown (2008) starts with the Lockean framework. He advances the need for three basic rights: bodily integrity; religious, moral and political choice; and subsistence. Bodily integrity means self-preservation, and subsistence is to be understood as the means to live. The choice in religious, moral and political factors, Brown argues, is necessary in order to hold those who govern accountable for the delivery of the two other rights. To these rights are added the rights of future generations and the whole natural world. All the stakeholders in this set of rights Brown calls the commonwealth of life. Brown has been significantly influenced by Schweitzer and Leopold: Schweitzer because of his notion of the reverence for life, and Leopold because of his emphasis on the biotic community. The application of this ethical theory to the economy Brown calls stewardship economics, thus placing him within the ecological economic framework. Brown uses the concept of trusteeship to define a fiduciary conception for governments. The key moral concepts for Brown are self-preservation, equality, stewardship, and respect or reverence for all the members (human and non-human) of the commonwealth of life. Brown is one of many in this ecological tradition who talk favourably about some American Indian cultures where human–nature interaction provides rich and detailed models involving moral respect and obligation.

Evaluation

There are flaws with many of the theories within these traditions. For example, utilitarianism, the ethical principle for neoclassical economics, is used by some people to try and justify atrocious behaviour. Rawls, in part, was inspired to develop his theories because of his disgust at the theory being used to justify the Vietnam War (Rawls, 1971). More lately, President Bush's attempts to explain why torture should be used by USA military at Guantanamo Bay prison and elsewhere run against all moral standards other than utilitarianism. A major problem of the concept of "utility" is that it is usually impossible to assess the longer term consequences, let alone the shorter term. The people who developed electricity would likely have had no idea of the way in which electricity was to change social and economic life. There are major problems with cost-benefit analyses using a utilitarian ethic.

But a major weakness shared by the Aristotelian, Kantian, utilitarian, social contract and many of the religious accounts, is that they do not have an adequate understanding of how humans should relate to the Earth. They are concerned primarily with how humans should treat each other. They are not based on the foundations of science regarding the first two laws of thermodynamics. Reliance on the notion of equity, used in the IPCC debate, cannot address the matter of the relationship between humans and Earth.

Does an ethic based on instrumental (as opposed to intrinsic) value for non-human entities and systems provide sufficient potency for policy to redirect human activity out of the "business-as-usual" model? Another way of framing this question is: "Would an ethic concerned with instrumental value for non-human entities and systems, if inserted in the charters of Exxon Mobil, General Motors, Walmart, Citicorp or British Tobacco, be sufficient to redirect these trans-nationals to behaviour that is a positive contribution to the problems posed by climate change?" I believe that the answer is "no." This means that an ethic based on intrinsic value for non-human entities and systems is necessary, and Aristotelian, Kantian, utilitarian, social contract and some religious ethics are inadequate. And the ethical base for the IPCC considerations is flawed.

One writer in the ecological tradition who basically gets it right is Brown. He adopts a Lockean social contract framework to develop his case. He need not do so because he can establish his three basic human rights without the social contract. In addition to the limitations described by Nussbaum (Nussbaum, 2006), the social contract asserts, falsely, the notion of natural rights which includes the right to property. Locke established this right at a time when there was not an overpopulated world and his arguments do not provide an adequate conceptual base for thinking about public, communal and individual private property. However, Brown has established the ethical framework for the limitation of the market and, in its regulation, as part of the role of government. He has provided an intrinsic value for nature and its systems, and his concept of stewardship provides for future obligations. He has thought about some of the policy implications but his ethic has yet to stand the test of incorporation into various schema such as constitutions and codes.

Where weight is given to one prominent concept, such as *duty*, or *utility*, or *equity*, then it is apparent that the richness and complexity of living in this world cannot be captured in that one concept. There is much value in taking an Aristotelian approach which sees a set of key moral characteristics or qualities, although there will be questions of priority of obligations where there are clashes arising from different notions. There could also be different sets of concepts. The notions of integrity (where it means "oneness" or "integrated with" or "part of a whole", rather than "truth telling") or resilence or simplicity are concepts that could be incorporated into a set that could provide an ethic that has the potency for climate change policy.

Sustainable Development

Does this notion of intrinsic value underpin the IPCC discussions? One of the key concepts in Article 2 is the notion of sustainable development. There is a very good discussion in the IPCC literature about the difficulties of this term (IPCC, 2007 III, pp. 695–699). The report acknowledges that there is a number of authors who argue that the term has a variety of definitions, is vague, can be used to support greenwashing or cosmetic environmentalism, is inherently delusory and an oxymoron, is anthropocentric, and avoids reformulation of values that may be required to pursue true sustainability.

The report recognises these criticisms but states that basic principles are emerging from the debate, including welfare of future generations, the maintenance of the biophysical life-support systems, ecosystem well-being, more participation in decision making, and achievement of human well-being. The report states that, since the 1980s, sustainable development has moved from being an interesting ideal to the acknowledged goal of much international policy, including climate change policy. However, the model used in much of the analysis is that of weak sustainability, where the three dimensions of economic, social and ecological are seen as independent but linked pillars of sustainable development (IPCC, 2007 II, p. 815). Unfortunately, weak sustainability is not able to drive significant changes to the "business-as-usual" model.

Governance

A new ethic, however, while necessary is not sufficient. If it is to have any effect in addressing the challenge of climate change, a new ethic must be translated into policy affecting global, national and local behaviour, and, in particular, a new economics. This means instituting new global governance and economic arrangements; the current international governance mechanisms are impotent and current economic measures are deceptive. The Introduction to the UNFCCC reasserts the principle of the sovereignty of states. The 2007 IPCC report says that there is a growing recognition of a more inclusive concept of governance; this includes the private sector, non-governmental actors and civil society (IPCC, 2007 III, p. 693). But this does not really address the problem.

It is sometimes claimed that the current international governance structure can deliver as it did with the emissions of CFC (chlorofluorocarbins). This ignores the blocking of agreements or the impotency of conventions on marine pollution from oil tankers, extinction of whales, preservation of biodiversity, desertification, ocean pollution, overfishing, protection of endangered species or sustainable management of forests (Nadeau, 2006). It cannot be said that international government has failed because it has never been tried. The current system is really no more than forums for the pursuit of the interests of national governments. Kofi Annan (2007) has stated that "the United Nations is the only fire brigade that must go out and buy a fire engine before it can respond to any emergency." So, we need new global mechanisms that are responsible, accountable, independent (including financially independent) and have the authority to enforce an economic system through global institutions that are in accord with science and the natural order, while based on an ethic that is integral to these concerns.

Conclusion

The dominant ethic in international economics and related decision making is a utilitarian ethic. It is used to justify the means to the ends, current inequities, the abuses of rights and degradation of the environment. It is, in part, responsible for driving the current American empire into decline. The limitations of the utilitarian ethic were recognised in the early debates of the IPCC (Grubb, 1995); but attempts at the UNFCCC level to assert the notion of equity cannot deal with the need to treat developing countries unfairly if we are to reduce the adverse impact of dangerous climate change. Instead, we need a set of notions that includes the ideas of treating our Earth with respect and reverence, and of nature and natural systems as having intrinsic value. This ethic needs to be at the heart of an economic system and an effective global governance system, so that it is in accord with the thermodynamic laws. This ethic needs to be incorporated in institutions and organizations at community, national and global levels, and in laws, professional rules, organizational charters, policies, codes of conduct, creeds and religious doctrines and cultural customs.

If humankind is to establish a right relationship with the Earth, with development and economic models based on this, it will need to look for guidance from those who have such values. This is where indigenous peoples can play a significant role. This does not mean that we can just "scissor and paste" into modern societies the pre-colonial and pre-industrial cultural values. Instead, current societies need to change their institutions, corporations and cultures to a post-industrial and post-colonial society based on a right relationship with the Earth.

Unfortunately, over the next few decades or so, I do not see a smooth transition to such a society. Instead, I see those people and institutions that control and benefit from the current system continuing to exert domination amidst a world of increasing physical, social, commercial and political disorder.

Many people will die, and many more will face poverty and despair. As crises continue, decision makers will look for radical solutions that today seem unthinkable. People who can provide models and examples will be sought. A possible role of indigenous peoples is to have made preparations in readiness for that occasion, towards being guides, mentors and leaders in establishing a right relationship with the Earth.

Acknowledgement

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Indigenous Women, Research and the Law:
Taranaki Māori Women Speak

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> The ancients among the People understood that all of creation—seen and unseen—tells story. In the long-ago time, from birth to earth, the People learned about their harmonious place in the order of all creation by listening to and telling story. Their identity was inextricably interwoven in the stories they were told. For Native People, story was and continues to be essential to an individual's identity construction and development. (Lee Francis, 2003)

Introduction

Māori women have always understood the importance of telling stories. We talk to one another to convey information, share knowledge, make sense of our past and articulate our hopes for the future. We communicate in other ways, too, telling stories through karanga (customary call or welcome), waiata (songs) and other art forms. These forms of communication connect us to our ancestors and ground us in our identity as Māori.

This presentation discusses a research project entitled *He iti, he taonga: Taranaki Māori women speak* which developed from the need to "give voice" to Māori women and to illustrate that we have our own unique ways of analysing the world. This is part of a wider project related to the recovery of indigenous knowledge that is being undertaken by indigenous scholars in Aotearoa/New Zealand and in other parts of the world. As Angela Cavender Wilson, a Wahetunwan Dakota Professor of Indian History, argues:

> [this] recovery of Indigenous knowledge is survivalist in nature, not only because of its potential to restore health and dignity to our people, but also because of how it will assist us in advancing our political aims against our oppressors. It originates among Indigenous people and openly endorses an Indigenous agenda. This flagrant dedication to Indigenous goals is openly political because it defies those who have been defining our existence for us and who have attempted to make us believe that we are incapable of self-determination. (2004, p. 74)

Although a great deal has been written about Māori women, particularly by Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) male scholars and more recently by statisticians and government researchers, it is difficult to find and access material that has been written or presented by Māori women. Very few books contain our stories and perspectives in our own words. Often our words are drowned out by others who speak on our behalf; we are reduced to a statistic or, worse, our perspectives are not included at all. However, until our ideas and perspectives are considered and included, the transformation of current models and practices so that they are better aligned with Māori values and aspirations is impossible. This transformation of structures and models is taking place in all areas—health, education and political organization—and Māori women have a vital role to play in all of this.

The Research Project—He iti, he taonga: Taranaki Māori women speak

He iti, he taonga began with a series of interviews conducted with 16 Taranaki Māori women over the course of a two-year period. Most of the interviews took place in the women's homes or in the homes of whānau (family) members on the west coast of the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The women ranged in age, background and experiences. Some of the women are urban based, having lived most of their lives in the city, whereas others live in rural areas and have grown up with strong attachments to their marae (ancestral meeting place) and traditional land.

The interviews were conducted as part of a wider research project designed to investigate the perspectives of a broad range of Māori women on issues relevant to their daily lives and experiences.

The empirical research was carried out alongside theoretical research related to the roles of Māori women, the impact of Western law on Māori women and the ability of current human rights law to respond to that impact.

The main aim of the research project was to uncover and present Māori women's kōrero (conversations) primarily for us, for Māori, so we can think and talk about some ideas that Māori women consider important and have been willing to share. The views of Māori women are not, of course, uniform nor do we share the same backgrounds and experiences. Another aim of the research project was therefore to encourage other Māori and indigenous women to think and talk about the issues that were explored during the research project. Talking about, analysing and deconstructing our own ideas about tradition, culture, the role of Māori women, leadership and politics is the first step towards developing and implementing indigenous self-determination within our own communities in a way that is consistent with our own beliefs and values, defined by our own rather than external forces.

Key Themes to Emerge from the Research Project

The ideas introduced below are some of the key themes that emerged from the women's kōrero and from the research project in general. These ideas are examined fully as part of the research project itself, which explored a range of related issues such as politics, leadership, the environment, healing, child-birth and child-rearing practices (Johnston, 2008).

Culture and Tradition

One of the most important themes to emerge from the women's kōrero was the role of culture and tradition and what it means to be Māori. As the women explained, culture encompasses our tribal language, protocols, laws and traditions. It refers to our tūpuna (ancestors), their way of life and the values and practices they fought hard to protect and maintain so that we can call ourselves Ngāruahine or Māori. Our culture connects us to one another and to our land and environment through whakapapa (relationships to one another and the environment). Without culture we fail to exist as distinct people, we are dead. So, of course, culture is important. Speaking Māori to our children is important, understanding and practising manaakitanga (hospitality) is important, as is caring for our kaumātua (elders) and our tamariki (children). These things matter because they are a positive and healthy expression of our tino rangatiratanga (self-determination, sovereignty) in practice. As Puna Heremaia (Taranaki Tūturu, Ngāti Moeahu, Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Puketapu, Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Te Rangihouhiri, Ngāti Hikakino, Ngāi Taiwhakaea) explained:

> Yes, I identify as Māori. It is who I am. It connects me to my land, the living and those who have passed away. My earliest memory of identifying as Māori was learning a waiata tawhito [traditional song] with my nan and koko [grandfather]. Early in the morning I would get into their bed with them and they would teach me, verse by verse. I was about five years old at the time. Maintaining our tribal histories through waiata, haka [vigourous dance accompanied by chant] and poi [light ball on a string which is twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment] is something I try to commit myself to. I am always part of a kapa haka rōpū [traditional Māori performance group]; it helps me to maintain my te reo Māori [Māori language] and is spiritually rejuvenating and healing. Although I have often resided away from home I strive to maintain my own tribal waiata by reciting them to myself whenever I have the mind space to do so.

The women articulated the different ways in which "culture" and "being Māori" are expressed in their daily lives. For some of the women kapa haka is vital for learning and preserving iwi (tribal) histories and tikanga (customary laws and practices), whereas for others the cultural expression is subtle. Manaakitanga and the concept of caring for people and especially visitors is a concept that was considered to be important. The role of kai (food), for example, is central to ensuring that people feel comfortable and welcome. As Puna explained:

> The main values which are important to me, which I think underpin tikanga, are whanaungatanga [relationships], manaakitanga, kotahitanga [unity] and aroha [love]. Looking after manuhiri [visitors] is particularly important. Manuhiri always come first. I am always mindful of the

manuhiri I know who are passing through. To ensure they are fed, welcomed and looked after is a priority.

Keryn Broughton, (Ngā Rauru, Ngati Ruanui) agreed, saying:

Food is important to me. If I am going to someone's house for dinner, I will always take something to share. I was taught to always take bread and milk and the basics to somebody's home if I am going there to visit or for a meal; it doesn't really matter what it is as long as I take something. Dad is the same. If he goes out fishing, he always drops off fish to the old people in town before he comes home.

The role of Taranaki Māori Women

The role of Taranaki Māori women was a theme that guided many of our conversations. In the beginning one of the main objectives of the research project and therefore of our kōrero was to explore the experiences and attitudes of Taranaki Māori women towards discrimination as it occurs within two main areas: first, the relationship of Māori women and the state (external discrimination) and, second, our relationships within Māori customary contexts, such as on marae or anywhere where tikanga Māori operates to regulate proceedings (internal discrimination).

Formulating the research question in this way was probably due to my legal training and tendency to try to find a right and wrong solution to any problem. Over time and as our work progressed, my commitment to investigating this question became less relevant and in some cases counter-productive to the project, particularly when I tried too hard to steer our conversations in one direction, missing important kōrero as I did so.

Recognizing and valuing the important roles that women have within the collective (and particularly within the whānau group) was discussed by the women, some of whom pointed out the risks of applying Western feminist critiques to customary Māori processes in order to explain women's roles. As Puna pointed out:

I was brought up around my uncles and have never felt that my role as a Māori woman was any less significant than that of a Māori male. We must be careful that we don't unconsciously take on the Westernized criticism that is made of our culture on issues such as speaking rights: that we as a culture place more value on men than women. It is not our protocols that predicate this view, it is our attitude that governs our treatment of one another.

This, of course, does not mean that discrimination does not occur within Māori customary contexts but that our analysis of this must be informed by an understanding of the tikanga concepts at play and an assessment of whether the practices are discriminatory or not and, if so, how we can change them to better reflect the roles and values of Māori women. Jaime Broadmore (Te Ātiawa) recognized this point, explaining:

I can't say whether I have experienced unfair treatment in a Māori customary setting or context like the marae. The primary reason for this is because I have never felt one hundred percent comfortable in those settings. I think when that is the case, when you are on the back foot even just slightly, you don't really have any expectations of what's fair and what's not. You are just happy to get through the process. So, no, I would say I have never experienced unfair treatment. I do hear comments in the media about Māori customs and how they are unfair for women and not equal and things like that. My viewpoint is that I don't feel I could ever criticise the treatment of women or the way women are perceived to be treated in Māori contexts due to me not really having a sound understanding of the background to traditions. So, personally, I don't have any view on inequality on the marae. It would be from a very Western point of view that I would analyse it and I don't think that's fair.

For several of the women interviewed, particularly the kuia (elders), my questions about discriminatory practices were irrelevant compared to more pressing concerns such as how to fulfil their

responsibilities as whānau, hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi members. Basic but fundamental things such as ensuring people are fed and there are enough people to support the formal proceedings of customary hui (meeting) and tangihanga (funeral proceedings) were considered to be more important by several of the women interviewed than issues about women's speaking rights and participation in formal customary proceedings. As one of the kuia explained, the real problem is actually finding people who are able and willing to whaikōrero (speech-making during formal customary proceedings), karanga and work in the kitchens. This problem is particularly acute for marae in rural areas where many of the local people have moved away to the cities for work and education. Mahinekura Reinfeld (Ngāti Mutunga, Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Toa), one of the kuia who contributed to the project, highlighted this issue by explaining:

> The role of women at Parihaka is the same as at most marae. We are very busy women. I'll talk about Te Niho and I want to be very specific about this because each marae is different. We are very empowered in our marae. We do the karanga, we work in the kitchen, we work in the front. We take a big role in education and care of whānau … So the women's work we do is that of all women. I think Māori women work hard and we are really empowered. In some ways we have a very strong mana wahine [women's authority] because we work together in doing everything. Especially in education, I think you see a lot more Māori women's faces around education, social services and health than you do men, although that's changing now. When I read in the papers about Pākehā women speaking on our behalf about our speaking rights, I get annoyed. I can say as a woman who does the karanga, we have speaking rights and that's a very privileged position to be in. I don't want anyone undermining those rights and the importance of those rights and responsibilities to us. It's not about quantity and who's doing what, it's about working together and we can work together with each other and with our men. You will notice on the marae many old kuia telling men what to do – they are the directors! Even on the paepae [orators' bench]! … More people are coming back to Parihaka now, especially after the Parihaka Peace Festival … I think we've still got a wee way to go until people come back and it's going to lessen the load for the haukāinga [home people], that's about learning the tikanga too. Although you might be from Parihaka it's about coming back and re-establishing with your tīpuna [ancestors] and the tikanga of Parihaka. In five or ten years we will see a big difference. Certainly in five there will be little differences. At the last hui in February this year I'd say about four families had come back.

Issues for Indigenous Researchers—Why Indigenous Research is Different

Although I have whakapapa or customary ties to all of the women who contributed to the research project I did not know some of the women before the interview process began. This meant several informal meetings took place before our work began, usually over kai and many cups of tea. These meetings were necessary so that we could discuss the aims of the research project. All of the women were interested in the project, although most expressed surprise that I wanted to work with them.

My ability to carry out this research project depended on the quality of my relationships with the women who contributed to the project. At the outset this meant I needed to establish who I am, where I come from and how this relates to the research project. This needed to be explained to all of the stakeholders involved with the project, including the university and members of my community. The first important step in this process required me to identify my whakapapa, background and place within my indigenous community. This is a necessary step for all researchers (and particularly for indigenous researchers) because it enables the people we are working with to place us in context so that we can begin to share knowledge in an environment of trust, mutual respect and learning.

Although I introduced myself and my whakapapa connections at the beginning of this presentation it is important to explain again, both for the purposes of the research project and this presentation, that I am a Māori woman and my primary tribal affiliations are to South Taranaki iwi on the west coast of Aotearoa/New Zealand where the research project was carried out. My identity as Māori has determined my personal and work choices throughout my adult life. It is central to my work as an academic at The University of Auckland Law School where I teach and research in areas related to Māori development and the law. Without doubt my identity has influenced my research in general as well as my interpretations of the material gathered together here.

Challenging the Objective Approach

Some academics would disagree with my approach, which requires an up-front identification of the researcher's whakapapa and background, arguing that what matters most are the ideas themselves and objective analysis. Of course, a person's ideas and analysis are important but to argue that they should stand alone and are somehow value neutral is wrong. The example of Elizabeth Rata, an academic based at the University of Auckland, illustrates this point. In September 2004, Rata presented a paper criticizing a kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophy) approach to education. At the time Māori academics, including the Director of the International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, Dr Leonie Pihama, responded to Rata's arguments, highlighting Rata's failure to identify herself and articulate how her identity and experience helped to shape her arguments. One of the main problems identified during this debate was Rata's refusal to say whether she was Māori or not. She instead argued,

> I don't talk about myself because I want to be able to separate who I am and my ideas. I really like the idea that the arguments themselves should stand or fall on their own merits. It makes it easier for people to attack them … I also regard things like religion, ethnicity and lifestyle as not in the public domain. (2006)

This approach fails to recognize that our ideas are not separate from who we are. Our ideas grow and develop out of our experiences; and those experiences are shaped by our religion, ethnicity and lifestyle, whether we choose to acknowledge this or not. If we care about the merit of our ideas then presumably we also care about how they are received and the impact they might have on the lives of the people we are writing for and about. That means we need to be transparent about who we are and how our identity has influenced our ideas. This is particularly true when that transparency matters to our audience; when we are writing about Māori things and our audience is Māori then transparency about identity always matters. This is because we tend to make sense of each other and our ideas by placing them in context and in relationship to other people and the environment. This explains why the most common question Māori people ask when we meet one another is not "What do you do for a living?" but "Where do you come from?" The answer immediately identifies us in terms of our membership of particular iwi, hapū and whānau and therefore our rights and responsibilities in relation to our whenua (land) and the collective.

We take seriously (or not) a person's ideas on the basis of whether that person has any credibility and integrity within our own communities. It is not the role of Pākehā academics, like Rata, to question whether this approach is valid, "objective" or valuable; nor is it acceptable for Pākehā academics to defend their right to subject our processes to critical analysis when that analysis is based primarily on theory rather than interaction with indigenous communities and genuine knowledge sharing.

Throughout this research project I tried to maintain standards that I believe are consistent with a kaupapa Māori approach to research. The essence of a kaupapa Māori approach to research as I understand it begins with understanding the needs, values and expectations of the Māori communities we engage with when carrying out research. These communities will almost always involve wider whānau, hapū and iwi groups as well as the individuals researchers work with. Working within these communities requires an appreciation of how people relate to one another in the context of their whakapapa relationships to each other, to the land and to the environment (Smith, 1999). Professor Tania Ka'ai, a Māori scholar, defines a kaupapa Māori approach as one which is best understood as a culturally specific framework which is located in te ao Māori (the Māori world), reflecting the relationship Māori have to the land and environment, to Māori socialisation patterns and cultural nuances and to Māori identity. As such it is difficult for non-Māori to fully comprehend the concept of kaupapa Māori because they sit outside the Māori culture (Ka'ai, 2005).

The Role of Indigenous Researchers

The main role of indigenous academics in this debate is to continue to maintain and develop our own ways of teaching and researching despite the resistance we encounter towards our work. Many indigenous scholars who choose to work within traditional academic institutions, such as universities, are committed to working in a way that reflects our culture and identity. Professor Tania Ka'ai explains this approach in the following way:

We teach Indigenous theories within our curriculum which anchor us within the academy and which give expression to cultural imperatives.

We utilise our own pedagogies which enhance our curriculum such as residential and/or experimental learning, known as wānanga (place of learning).

We live our culture within the academy and take time to integrate our cultural practices within our environment.

We urge our students to value the language and culture and not to fall victim to the power of neo-colonialism and devalue the degrees we offer, dismissing them as useless and not leading to employment.

We are committed to succession planning to ensure our students consider a career in academia which will result in the discipline remaining intact for future generations.

We undertake research and publish works from our students and staff to demonstrate a commitment to research in recovering our histories, reclaiming our lands and resources, restoring justice and preserving our language and traditions within a culturally specific framework.

We observe Indigenous ethics when undertaking all research projects. (2005, p. 5)

Working in this way means we will have to defend our methods of researching and writing when our colleagues question the value of our work. This can be difficult, particularly when those colleagues are in senior positions with the ability to influence tenure and promotion applications. On one occasion, for example, a professor reviewing my work for the purposes of conducting a performance review was critical of my failure to attend overseas conferences, noting that my attendance was vital to advance my academic development and provide the basis for future publications. When I explained that I had been actively engaged with my own indigenous community for the best part of two years carrying out original research and writing that I would not have had the opportunity to complete if I had been travelling to overseas conferences, this was ignored, nor was this information included in my performance review, the implication being that this work does not amount to real scholarship and has no academic value. Most indigenous scholars working within traditional university environments have confronted problems of a similar nature at some stage of their careers. Daniel Heath Justice, a Cherokee scholar, acknowledges this, noting:

> the institutional mechanisms of the academy often fail to recognize the intellectual work that takes place in our communities; when our scholarship and critical methods look to our home communities for definition, conflicts are inevitable. For example, when I first decided to go into Native literature as an undergraduate, I was told by a white professor, "I thought you were a better scholar than that." (2004, p. 112)

Unfortunately, this attitude is still commonplace despite the slow increase in the number of indigenous scholars within university environments and the increase in the number of courses which examine indigenous subjects and issues. We must remember, however, that these are racist views based on the perception that indigenous subjects are inferior because they are somehow less intellectually demanding than other subjects.

Rather than continue to defend our ways of working within the university environment many indigenous scholars choose to leave, moving into our own institutions such as wānanga (Māori tertiary institution) and tribal universities where indigenous methods of working are accepted as normal. Attendance at tribal hui and tangi (funeral rites), for example, are not seen as extra-curricula activities but an essential aspect of life as a Māori academic. For those of us who choose to stay within traditional university environments, however, there are a number of different strategies we can adopt. My own response has been to simply get on with doing the work that I think is important in terms of what has value for my wider community, while being mindful of the consequences this may have for promotion and recognition within the institution. However, this concern with promotion and how non-indigenous colleagues within the institution perceive us should never be allowed to overcome the reasons why we embarked on academic careers in the first place. As Daniel Heath Justice reminds us:

At some point we've got to choose which values are more important to us: those of our families and kin, or those of the institution. This doesn't mean that we abandon the institution; indeed we may find that given our individual skills and gifts, we do more good for our people from within the walls of the academy than from outside them. (2004, p. 112)

As well as negotiating with non-indigenous colleagues about the work we do, we must also recognize the particular responsibilities we have as indigenous academics when we are researching and writing within our own communities. Issues of identity, transparency and responsibility are complex when we are carrying out research and writing within our own communities. We may be engaged in this work as an academic or researcher but we are members of whānau, hapū and iwi first. Our position within our collective is not determined by our qualifications or occupation; we are defined by our whakapapa connections and our familial roles. We are mothers, brothers, sisters and cousins and we relate to each other primarily in this way, not on the basis of our experience outside of our whānau groups. These whakapapa connections are never ending; they link us to our ancestors and to the future. They determine our roles, rights and responsibilities within our collective to very particular land and territory. This is the essence of being Māori. As writers and researchers, we must attempt to understand all of this, alongside the additional responsibilities working within our own community as a researcher brings. This introduces a whole range of ethical considerations that do not apply to non-indigenous researchers and others who are not part of the communities they are working within. These considerations include issues such as how our work will change and impact on our relationships with others within our community as we become exposed to new knowledge, presented in a new light. How might these new ideas change our perceptions about our own roles within our communities and the roles of others? What challenges does this information pose to our previously held assumptions and beliefs about people, places, and past events? As well as these personal issues we must be conscious of how we will present our research, while at the same time being clear about the potential advantages and disadvantages of the research project from the perspective of the community we are engaged with. These are just a few of the potential issues that can arise. Of course, there are many more.

The Problem with Research

A significant issue which all researchers will have to overcome, regardless of whether we are indigenous or not, is the mistrust that many indigenous people feel towards any kind of research being carried out at all within our communities. Indigenous people often view universities and academics with suspicion, disdain and amusement. Of course, what seems highly significant in a government meeting or university lecture room is sometimes irrelevant to people who work within our communities facing resource constraints and practical realities every day. The word "research" itself, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) explains, is " probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful."

One reason indigenous people are distrustful of research is because it is not always clear what benefits the research will bring to the community or how the research will be used in the future. Valuable knowledge provided by indigenous peoples has been distorted and used against us. There have been cases, especially in the area of medical research, where indigenous peoples have participated in research hoping for solutions to serious health problems, only to find that the researchers never return to indigenous communities to provide the research results. All researchers, regardless of the nature of the research, have a responsibility to be clear about how the results of the research will be disseminated and how the community as a whole can access and benefit from the research that has been carried out.

Conclusion

Fortunately, more whānau, hapū and iwi are initiating and conducting our own research after many years of being the object and subject of other people's projects. This means we can identify our own research aims and decide how our work will benefit the collective. Of course, we have always researched within our own contexts, transmitting knowledge and tribal history through whakapapa and waiata, recording important events through whakairo (carving), tukutuku (woven panels) and other forms of art, and making decisions about our environment based on observation and scientific indicators.

For too long, however, indigenous people have not been part of traditional research environments such as universities, nor have we been involved to a significant extent in government-sponsored research. Thankfully, the number of indigenous scholars within Western institutions is growing. As well as this, more graduates are emerging from our own institutions such as whare wānanga (Māori institutions of higher learning) and independent iwi and Māori organizations are also carrying out research. All this places us in a position to tell our own stories in our own ways, working together to undo some of the damage that has been done by researchers in the past. This process is slow, but it has begun.

Glossary

aroha	love, support
haka	vigourous dance accompanied by chant
hapū	sub-tribe (economic, social and political group consisting of extended families who are related by blood and shared customary practices)
haukāinga	home people
hui	meeting
iwi	tribe
kai	food
kapa haka	performing arts group
karakia	prayer, invocation
karanga	customary call or welcome
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy
koko	grandfather
kōrero	to speak or converse; conversations
kotahitanga	unity; togetherness
kuia	grandmother; female elder
mana	authority, prestige
manaakitanga	looking after; hospitality
manuhiri	visitors
Māori	indigenous people of Aotearoa
marae	ancestral meeting place
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
paepae	orators' bench
poi	light ball on a string which is twirled rhythmically to sung accompaniment
rōpū	group
tamariki	children
tangi/tangihanga	funeral proceedings, a time of mourning and farewell for a deceased person
taonga	something prized
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	customary laws and practices
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty
tukutuku	decorative woven panels
tūpuna/tīpuna	ancestors and grandparents
wahine/wāhine	woman/women
waiata	song; to sing
wānanga	place of learning; Māori tertiary institution
whaikōrero	speech given during formal proceedings within a customary Māori setting
whakairo	carving
whakapapa	genealogy; relationships to one another and the environment
whānau	family
whanaungatanga	kinship; relationships

whare	house
whare wānanga	Māori institutions of higher learning
whenua	land

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Indigenous Partnership Strategies in Sport: Māori Touch as a Vehicle for Traditional Knowledge and Well-being and Whānau/Hapū/Iwi Development

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The resurgence in Māori cultural identity has led to a re-assessment in all sectors of how a relationship based on *partnership* is practical and viable for everyone involved. Māori sport is no exception. Sport has long proven to be an effective medium for the inclusion of Māori values, ethics and practices. Palmer (2005) states that "as an institutionalized, highly visible and privileged cultural practice in New Zealand society, sport provides an ideal context in which to examine race and ethnic relations." The global vivification of indigenous rights challenges the notion of partnership, where Māori national sporting organizations are obligated to find ways to work effectively with national sporting bodies, without compromising their right to work autonomously toward indigenous development in their sector as well as the right to utilize traditional knowledge in models of practice. Māori Touch New Zealand was formed with the aim of improving Māori, iwi (tribe), hapū (subtribe) and whānau (extended family) outcomes through a game with a high number of Māori participants. Criteria developed for positive outcomes included autonomy over regional, national and international development and outcomes, and access to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), including traditional knowledge, te reo (the Māori language) and practices. Touch was envisaged as a positive vehicle for traditional knowledge and well-being, relevant to Māori through the implementation of the Māori Touch NZ National Tournament held annually in Hopuhopu, Ngāruawāhia, and more recently expanding to the World Indigenous Tournament. With both events, partnership relationships between Māori Touch NZ and national sporting organizations needed to be analysed for the contribution to Māori well-being and development across all levels and the maintenance of traditional Māori knowledge through a sport in which Māori thrive.

Māori Touch New Zealand: Background

Māori Touch NZ is an autonomous national Māori sporting organization that determines its own processes and outcomes with the input of iwi and hapū representation. With Touch having the highest representation rate of Māori compared with any other sport (Sport and Recreation New Zealand, 2002), there was an opportunity to cater to the high population of Māori through the incorporation of traditional cultural values and practices in the development of the organization, especially as there was a growing concern to address the practices that were associated with the sport at the time. Touch can be played by a range of ages, and participation levels extend from social to national representation. Alcohol sponsorship was a concern to whānau Māori involved in Touch, as they were being exposed to a culture that tended to make Touch synonymous with alcohol (Maher, Wilson, Signal & Thomson, 2006). This had the potential for negative effects for young participants in the game (Maher et al., 2006).

Māori Touch NZ was formed in 1998 as a result of a hui (meeting) held at Rauhoto Marae, Taupō. The current players and organizers were concerned with the culture around alcohol consumption and Touch as a game. Their particular concern was about alcohol being made available to adolescents at national tournaments. The formation of Māori Touch NZ focused on a multitude of aims. These encompassed traditional Māori concepts, knowledge and practices, the

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upholding of the status of Touch as a game, the maintenance of the positive representation of Māori and the use of Touch as a vehicle for well-being by contributing towards better health outcomes for Māori. Guiding principles were agreed upon that would inform practice for all participants, from administration to players, in the National Māori Touch Tournament or any event in which Māori Touch NZ was represented.

Traditional Knowledge: Guiding Principles

The *Guiding Principles* for Māori Touch NZ as an organization, and in partnership with iwi, hapū and takiwā (regions) include:

Mana

The fundamental principle for the authority of Māori Touch NZ over all resources—tangible and non-tangible, handed down or acquired through processes and agreements—is consistency with Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi). Also, the principle of mana (authority, prestige) is influenced through the iwi, hapū, waka (allied kinship groups descended from the occupants of a canoe that migrated to Aotearoa/New Zealand) and takiwā that support the kaupapa (policy). These organizations are representative of the mana of their respective tūpuna (ancestors), marae (meeting places), kāinga (settlements) and traditional customs. Mana is retained by iwi, hapū, waka and takiwā.

Rangatiratanga

This is the fundamental principle of self-determination. Māori Touch NZ is recognized as a legal entity and a National Māori Organization with the rights to organize national events; support iwi, hapū and takiwā events; and participate as equal citizens in international Touch events organized in Aotearoa/New Zealand and throughout the world.

Oritenga

Oritenga is the fundamental principle of creating provision for learning, power sharing and success for all, including those who have lacked these opportunities. It means that Māori are to enjoy participation in the sport of Touch at all levels of competition and enjoy good health and success as indigenous people. This concept is reinforced through the cultural practices and health messages that teams maintain throughout the tournament and any associated events. Māori Touch NZ recognizes that Māori that participate in the tournament have varied access to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and traditional knowledge and practices. Teams are encouraged to participate in all areas of the tournament including pōwhiri (welcome ceremonies), pō-whakangahau (celebration evening), kapa haka (traditional performance), whanaungatanga (relationship-building) and concepts that are not usually practised in a non-Māori forum, while maintaining a high level of competition.

Kaitiakitanga

This is the fundamental principle of the guardianship and protection of the kaupapa and all resources acquired or handled. Māori Touch NZ's role as a kaitiaki (guardian) of the game was determined by iwi representatives and is in relationship with and maintained by the iwi, hapū and takiwā involved.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa is the fundamental principle of ancestral relationship to the whenua (land) and is reference to the standing that Māori have as tangata whenua (the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand). Players participating in the tournament have to be of Māori ancestry. However, coaches, referees, administration and supporting participants do not have to be able to whakapapa or be of Māori descent.

National Māori Touch Tournament

The development of a national Māori Touch tournament came from the formation of Māori Touch NZ. Māori Touch NZ was envisaged to incorporate the guiding principles from an executive and

administrative level through to the players and participants. As well as looking after and developing the game to a high level, intrinsic to the guiding principles were traditional knowledge—through pōwhiri and tikanga (correct procedures and protocol) throughout the tournament—and other practices that empowered Māori, as players and individuals and within their iwi teams, expanding out to their whānau. Through the guiding principles, self determination as an organization is also incorporated: through the tournament structure and administration; through iwi /hapū/whānau development; through team representation at the tournament; and as individuals participating in the tournament with the right to represent Māori and their whānau in a forum that holds Māori at the centre. Finally, consistency of purpose for the establishment of the tournament and Māori Touch NZ as an organization is ensured by the incorporation of important health messages, inclusive of the principles of being a non-alcoholic and smoke-free event.

Iwi Development

One of the aims of the National Māori Touch tournament is that it gives the capacity for iwi, hapū, rohe (districts) and takiwā to strengthen players' links to their iwi and culture, while strengthening the game as a whole and encompassing health and well-being messages to their people. Overall, Māori participation is the key aim, and will enable all other aims to be achieved.

From 1998 to 2007 there has been a huge development in the number of iwi, hapū and takiwā represented at the tournament. In 1998, at the first tournament, categories for representation included iwi, hapū, waka, takiwā and "provinces." Provinces were allowed to enter under that category to support the already established provincial teams that were attending the Touch New Zealand National Tournament and that mostly comprised of Māori players.

In 1998, 54 teams participated at the tournament and by 2007 the tournament had grown to include 76 teams. This demonstrates the popularity of the tournament and the growth in the number of participants. What must be highlighted is the representation of the categories mentioned above. In 1998, two provinces attended, thirteen takiwā, three waka (Mataatua, Te Arawa and Tainui) and, notably, two iwi/hapū. By 2005, the "province" category had dissipated and the number of takiwā had increased to 16, and the number of iwi/hapū had risen to eight. To further demonstrate the development of iwi/hapū participation: from 2005, the number of takiwā had decreased from 16 to 12 (less than the first tournament), and iwi /hapū representation had significantly increased from 8 to 25. Over the past decade, Māori Touch NZ is seen to have adhered to the guiding principles and aims, not only as an organization, but as a partner for iwi, hapū and whānau to strengthen links with iwi and whakapapa (genealogy) through sport.

Ngāti Hine Touch Association

A grass roots example of iwi development through Touch and the National Māori Touch Tournament is the establishment of the Ngāti Hine Touch Association in 2006. Hapū representation from the Taitokerau region has developed strongly over the 10 years that the tournament has been running. In 1998, the Taitokerau was represented as Northland, one of the two provinces, along with Counties Manukau. In 2005, the Taitokerau was represented in the takiwā category as Taitokerau and Hokianga. Ngā Puhi, Te Aupouri and Te Rarawa were the iwi representative contingents. In 2006, Ngāti Hine was added to the list along with Ngāti Toki.

Ngāti Hine was established with the aims of increasing the representation of youth playing Touch in the northern regions, increasing whānau and hapū links back to the Ngāti Hine region and contributing to the development and maintenance of the game in Northland. To show the continuation of the overall partnership aims and guiding principles of Māori Touch NZ with iwi and hapū development—and, most importantly, the upholding of cultural values and practices—it is appropriate to explain the processes of establishment for the Ngāti Hine Touch Association. First, the Ngāti Hine Runanga was approached for permission to represent Ngāti Hine before holding team trials in Auckland. Team trials were held in Auckland for a number of reasons, including the fact that 85% of Ngāti Hine uri (descendants) live in Auckland and the expectation to hold trials and training in Kawakawa was unrealistic. However, aims for future development

include the goal that the eventual administration and organization of teams will be based in the "North" rather than Auckland. With the first teams established, the priority was that players be of Ngāti Hine descent. However, as it became evident that there was a lack of access to highly competitive players of Ngāti Hine descent, those that could whakapapa (establish ancestoral links) to Ngāti Hine were included in the teams. This enabled players to re-establish iwi and hapū links and strengthen whakapapa ties to papakāinga (homestead/s) through a sport they already participated in. In addition to the kaupapa that Māori Touch NZ sets for participating teams, traditional cultural practices—including participation at the pō-whakangahau, staying at marae and upholding pōwhiri processes, tikanga and kawa (protocols) on marae—were practised leading up to and throughout the tournament.

Partnership Model

This paper also debates the notion of partnership using the medium of sport. It outlines Māori Touch NZ's bid to represent Māori through Touch, whilst maintaining a partnership agreement with the national body that does not compromise the indigenous rights and development of Māori through sport. The discussion prompted by this paper offers a solutions-based approach that has implications for policy in sport in Aotearoa/New Zealand and indigenous development. It does this through an innovative partnership model that is not unlike the "Treaty of Waitangi house" or the Raukawa-Mihingare model (Winiata, 2005), in which the two "lower" houses of the three-house model remain distinctive in their approaches, while coming together under the Treaty of Waitangi House on shared issues. In this case the vehicle for the partnership is the game of Touch.

The political reality for Māori Touch NZ is that Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC), the Government agency that funds and delivers sport and recreation in New Zealand, has a policy that states that they will only provide funding for one NSO (national sporting organization). Because Touch NZ is the NSO under SPARC, Māori Touch sits under the Ministry for Māori Development (Te Puni Kōkiri).

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MĀORI TOUCH NZ
TOUCH NZ PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT (2004)

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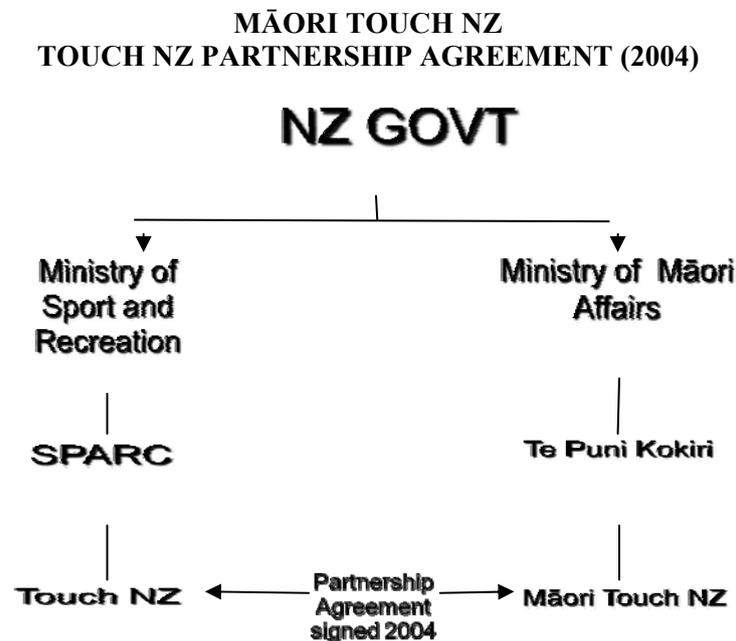
Figure 1. Touch NZ Partnership Agreement from 2004.

The political actuality for Māori Touch NZ was that to enable it to remain autonomous yet have access to funding, the shift to reside under the Ministry for Māori Affairs was needed and remains a reality today. This relationship is not financially sustainable, however; Touch NZ

continues to receive Touch funding for Māori development through SPARC (Sport and Recreation NZ).

The most significant achievement by Māori Touch NZ and Touch NZ (TNZ) was the establishment of a partnership agreement in 2004, based on the well-being of the game and the recognition of the importance of both organizations. The agreement contains the following aspects:

the importance of the well-being of the game of Touch in Aotearoa/New Zealand;
access by Māori Touch NZ to TNZ technical resources (including expertise);
the individual player (if selected) has the right to state his/her eligibility for either organization;
TNZ reserves the first right of selection of players;
Māori Touch NZ selections are only made at Māori Touch Tournaments;
TNZ recognizes and supports the Māori Touch NZ Tournament date;
TNZ supports Māori Touch NZ membership to FIT (Federation of International Touch); and participation in World Cup events and in international competition.

The partnership agreement is not always successful in bridging the divide that the partnership, by nature, seeks to address. This is because, despite being a binding document, it relies on goodwill from both parties in order to be implemented. So, rather than focusing at a document/policy level, one could argue that, at the very core of partnership models in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi challenges the notion of partnership at a constitutional level.
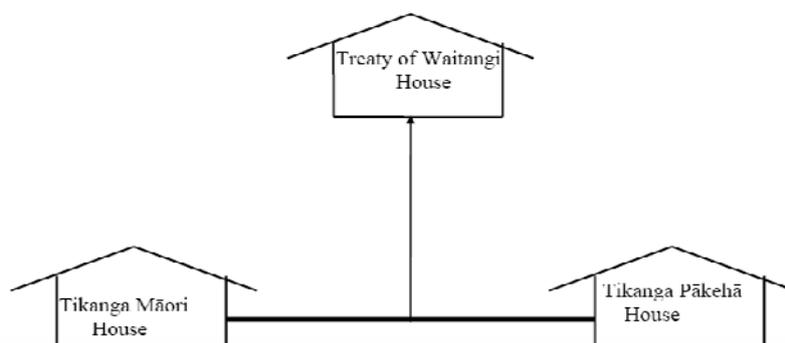
Figure 2. Treaty of Waitangi House model. Adapted from Royal, 1998.

This model promotes the creation of distinct spaces in which the cultures—one represented as Māori and the other represented by the Crown—can naturally evolve in their own way. The model also outlines the principles, guidelines and conditions in which these two discrete "houses" can interact with one another to give rise to the "Treaty of Waitangi House" (Royal, 1998).

The model can be applied to any area of New Zealand society. With respect to the knowledge industry (if it can be referred in this way), the "Tikanga Pākehā House" represents that range of institutions devoted to the perpetuation of the knowledge, traditions and knowledge agendas of the Crown. These would include universities, mainstream schools, the Ministry and Foundation for Research, Science and Technology and many more. Those institutions which fulfill the "Tikanga Māori House" are kōhanga reo [Māori language preschool], kura kaupapa Māori [school based on Māori philosophy and use of Māori language], whare wānanga [Māori tertiary institution] and others. The range of "Tikanga Māori Houses" is growing. (Royal, 1998)

In respect to the game of Touch, the partnership model proposed by Māori Touch NZ resembles closely the Treaty of Waitangi House, as shown by this next diagram.
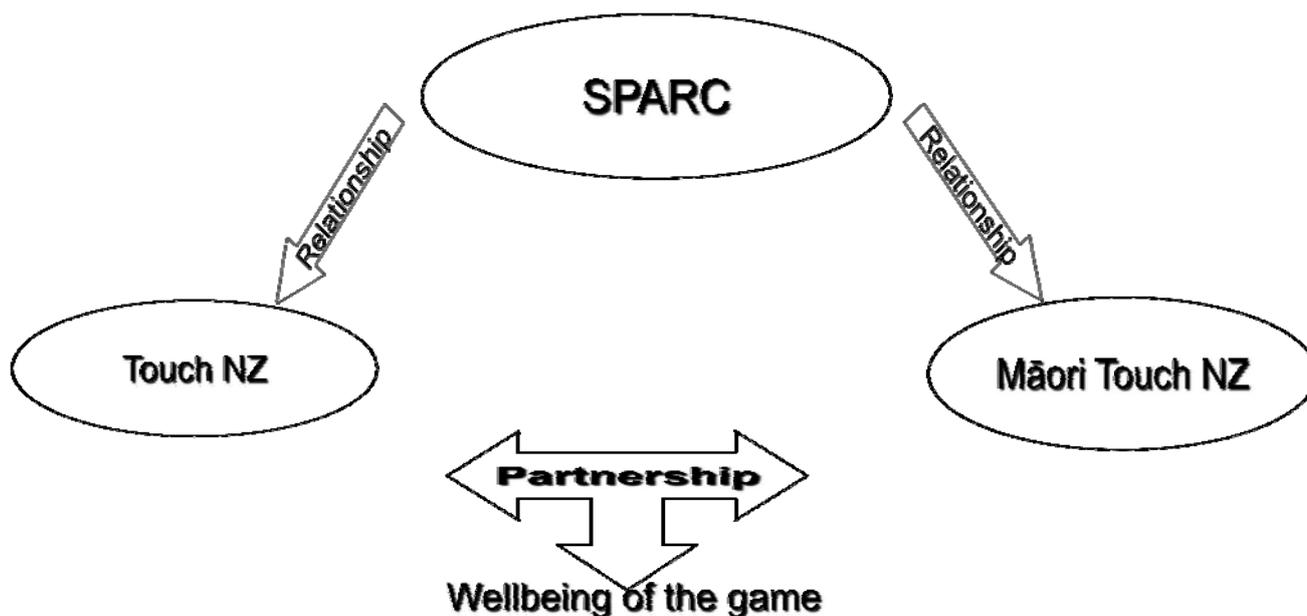
Figure 3. Model for the Maori Touch NZ and Touch NZ partnership.

In this schema, Māori Touch NZ and TNZ continue to operate as organizations in their own right, with the shared resources and support from the Treaty of Waitangi House (SPARC) in the spirit of partnership for the well-being of the game.

Conclusion

Sport has been and can be used as a positive forum for re-connection with cultural identity, knowledge and values, as well as maintaining and building on the sport itself. Māori Touch NZ was formed to maintain, encourage and develop traditional knowledge and well-being for Māori in a forum that was familiar and in which Māori thrived and participated in high numbers. Incorporation of cultural values and practices, inclusion of health messages and the use of the established guiding principles were and still are important for the maintenance of the National Māori Touch Tournament, future development of further events and assisting iwi/hapu and whānau development through Touch. However, partnerships for the growth and development of the game, within mainstream and for Māori, are imperative for the positive progression and realization of existing goals—without compromising established principles, including autonomy, rights as indigenous peoples, and traditional knowledge and tikanga. The current structure for Touch at a national level does not allow for a fully functional partnership as mainstream structures do not always align with indigenous aspirations. Provision needs to be made in sport so that there is room to implement and authenticate indigenous knowledge, values, ethics and processes.

Glossary

hapū	kinship group, clan
hui	meeting
iwi	tribe
kāinga	settlements
kaitiaki	guardian
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kapa haka	traditional performance
kaupapa	policy, agenda
kawa	protocols
kōhanga reo	Māori language preschool

kura kaupapa Māori	school based on Māori philosophy and use of Māori language
mana	authority, prestige
marae	meeting places
papakāinga	home base
pōwhiri	welcome ceremonies
rangatiratanga	self-determination
pō-whakangahau	entertainment; celebration evening
rohe	districts
oritenga	creating provision for learning, power sharing and success for all
takiwā	regions; regional
tangata whenua	people of the land, indigenous people
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	correct procedures, custom, traditions
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
tūpuna	ancestor(s)
uri	descendants
waka	allied kinship groups descended from a canoe that migrated to Aotearoa/New Zealand
whakapapa	genealogy; to establish ancestral links
whanaungatanga	relationship building
whānau	family, immediate and extended
whare wānanga	Māori tertiary institution
whenua	land

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Ako Moments:
A Living Culture in an Educational Setting

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Arōnui Marautanga, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

Abstract
Ako (learning) moments are snapshots of lived experiences that are spontaneous, often intangible, but of significant relevance because of their transformative nature. The layer of engagement is self-selected in this multi-dimensional realm and affirms the teachings and knowledge of our tūpuna (ancestors), thereby strengthening our personal and collective identity as Māori.

As educators in an indigenous organization, Arōnui Marautanga, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, we acknowledge that Ako moments are echoes of our epistemological and ontological truths. In sharing these moments with each other, we are inspired and encouraged to challenge external influences and to confirm that the centralization of indigenous knowings is the foundation that informs and guides our work as educators, curriculum designers and education programme managers. The metaphoric notion of hinātore (a significant glow of light that grows bigger and radiates more light until one is encompassed in it) best describes the journeys that each individual has engaged with to reach a point where our sharing of Ako moments and the links to tūpuna teachings are normalized.

This presentation is borne from our lived experiences as indigenous people working within an indigenous tertiary organization. We share the values that permeate our organization and relate how these values have impacted on ourselves as educators as well as the students that we support. Video, photographs and narratives are constructs for the presentation. We also call on other indigenous voices to contribute towards the perpetuation of epistemological truths, cultural practices, dissemination of knowledge and the sharing of understandings.

Whanaungatanga: Positioning Ourselves
Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is a tangata whenua (people of the land; indigenous) tertiary organization with ten main campus sites and a presence in over 80 towns across Aotearoa/New Zealand (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2007). During 2005 and 2006 the organization underwent a major restructuring. As a consequence, Ūepu (Directorates) were established and centralized to Te Puna Mātauranga, the head office of the organization based in Te Awamutu. Sited within Te Puna Mātauranga is the Marautanga Ūepu (Curricula Directorate) with prime responsibilities for curriculum design and development, quality assurance of education programmes, student support and library provisions. Within Marautanga Ūepu are three whāre (houses), one of which is Arōnui with specific responsibilities for sports and fitness, teacher education and social services programmes. Arōnui is supported by a kaiārahi matua (senior guide) with each of the programmes being led by kaiārahi (guides).

The Never-Ending Beginnings
During 2006 Marautanga engaged with various activities to re-centre Māori epistemologies as core to its business. Critical questions were posed such as: What are our ways of knowing? What does that look like? How do we as kaimahi (workers) position ourselves? What are our personal theories of operation? What are the bodies of knowledge we bring to the Ūepu? Where do our Māori bodies of knowledge sit? What is our commitment to mokopuna (grandchildren)? While these questions required a shift in thinking, it also required action. In due course kaiārahi mātua and kaiārahi were challenged to submit writings for the organization's inaugural journal *Toroa te Nukuroa* and to write from lived realities. This engagement was profound for many as the idea of having personal writings published meant being exposed and the thought that the journal would be accessed by very knowledgeable people was extremely daunting. However, the concerns to ensure the voices and experiences of our people were captured and to touch the hearts and minds of the readers—from tamariki (young children), rangatahi

(youth) mātua (adults) to kaumātua and kuia (elders)—became the determining factors in meeting the challenge.

From these humble beginnings *Toroa te Nukuroa* is now in its third year of publication, with articles being willingly submitted from kaimahi across the wānanga (tertiary organization). In addition, creative research endeavours are increasing with the effect that Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is engaging not only with critical thinking, but also with transformative practice.

For Arōnui Marautanga, the sharing of thoughts and experiences relating to our work and rangahau (research) has led us to recognize that we are surrounded with Ako moments and while we are enlightened we are also challenged to be alert, listen, internalize and apply new Ako in our work and personal lives. We have a responsibility to ensure that Ako is at the forefront of our knowing, doing and being, and that the seed planted through our mahi (work) is the legacy we leave for our tamariki and mokopuna. As Moana Jackson (2008) states: "we, too, may recognize those moments in time, the never ending beginnings."

Peeling Back the Layers

Ako is positioned as a phenomenon within Arōnui. While we propose that this phenomenon is offered as a Māori pedagogical approach to teaching and learning, we also contend that Ako is multi-layered, has multiple meanings, and challenges the way in which we perceive education to be, particularly in terms of content knowledge, the spaces occupied by the learner and the learned and the provision of education that is Ako-driven.

What We Knew

Drawing on earlier writings by our Māori scholars, Nepe (1991) offers the notion that Ako is a traditional Māori educative process and is fundamental to the creation, conceptualization, transmission and articulation of Māori knowledge. Traditional learning, according to Pere, rested on the principle that every person is a learner from the time they are born to the time they die (Pere, 1994). Everyone is in a constant state of learning and therefore teaching. Metge (1986) supports this notion and refers to the all-encompassing nature of Ako as "education through exposure". The description she offers proposes that traditionally teaching and learning were informal, semi-continuous, embedded in the ongoing life of the community and open and inclusive. In addition, Mead (2003) states that Ako is not bound by age, gender or social status and that learning and the act of teaching were not ordinary or common. The importance of the act of acquiring knowledge, he contends, is shown by the fact it was surrounded with rituals.

L. Smith and G. Smith (1993) contend that Ako also provides the learner with explanations as to their place in the scheme of things and their positioning in society. Stories of places, events and people of historical significance as well as aspects of tribal lore were related to enable the learner to be knowledgeable and to contribute to the day-to-day expectations from within the whānau (family). Ako, therefore, may be expressed within a philosophy that seeks to prepare the learner for all aspects of living and ultimately to take an active participatory role within Māori society.

Weaving the kōrero (talk; stories) of our scholars provides clarity that Ako is pedagogy of acquisition, processing and imparting of knowledge, that it is education through exposure and a philosophy of preparedness for life. It is from this position of understanding that Arōnui enters the dialogue. The questions that we ask ourselves are: What does Ako look like? How does Ako inform our work? How does our work inform Ako? What does this mean for how we develop programmes? How do we share the space as both learner and learnéd? Are we brave enough to step outside the dominant discourses of education to re-centre Māori epistemologies as core to our programmes? In shifting our thinking we have called for the addition of Ako to the organization's vision for education which currently reads as Mauri Ora (principle of living), Mauri Wānanga (principle of education). The vision of Mauri Ora, Mauri Ako (principle of learning); and Mauri Wānanga will present many challenges for all kaimahi within Te Wānanga o Aotearoa but, through the sharing of Ako moments and kōrero, our collective understandings will inform our ways of acting and require our engagement with transformative praxis.

This article privileges the voices of educators within Arōnui Marautanga and their articulation of how Ako came to be intrinsic to the thinking and work that they engage with. We acknowledge that Ako moments are echoes of our epistemological and ontological truths. In sharing these moments with each other we are inspired and encouraged to challenge our own thinking and external influences and to confirm that the centralization of indigenous knowings is the foundation which informs and guides our work as educators, curriculum designers and kaimahi. The narratives that ensue are personal reflections.

Ako Whakapapa

In building our understandings of Ako and finding answers to the myriad of questions we trace the whakapapa (genealogical links) of Ako. The following takutaku (recitation) as related by Taamiaho Herangi-Searancke is a manifestation of Ako.

Takutaku Whakaako
Ka tākina te Ako
Ko te Ako nui
Ko te Ako roa
Ko te Ako tiki mai pōurewa
Ka hoki i te reo tapu nui a Turi
Ko te āniwaniwa
Taki ao te maiti pūpūrauwhā ūta noa
Ka tau, kia tau ki te manaahōtanga o te pūna wānanga
E tau ana.

Awakening
Ignite the fire of timeless knowledge within
The vast all encompassing awareness
The eternal essences of being
The spiritual path of excellence invoked
Scale the shimmering path of silence that extends the universe
That which is the sacred passage destined by the ancestor Tāwhaki
The heavenly order set in place
Liberated, free, self-limiting
Rest now in tranquil stillness the source surrounds and flows infinitely
Secured is the radiant light
The exalted bird that treads the celestial sky of my heart.

The notion of Ako as it appears in the takutaku "Ka tākina te Ako, ko te Ako nui, ko te Ako roa" (Ignite the radiant fire of timeless knowledge within) shifts the thinking from what knowledge, education and teaching is understood to be to an understanding that Ako is multi-dimensional, limitless, boundless, completely subjective and thus signals that there is a deeper meaning to Ako.

As we transcend our whakapapa mai i a Papatūanuku me Ranginui kia whakarewa ki te pouaratiatia i te matahuhu o tātou nā whare (genealogical links from the time of creation to the present), our physical and subliminal planes of being enable us to reconnect and recall the stories from within the richness of our whakapapa. The knowledge brought forth is epistemological truths that were passed down through the passage of time, innate in us and nurtured through the wisdom of our tūpuna and their actions. What they knew in their time is today our knowing. What they did and dreamt is today our doing. The words of intent, purpose and feeling that they uttered into existence, those words are now our being and what has shaped us today.

The takutaku also reminds us that through our reo Māori (Māori language) Ako has a sound sequence that vibrates an energy which is continually evolving within our every thought and action. By attending to the sound sequence of this three lettered word we have peeled back another layer.

A – focus, attention, driving force, compel urge, extension of space
O – cyclic, overview, organize, of place, of time, of space
Ko – essence, distant, nurturing, resound, descend
Ka – ignite, light, future, present
Oka – feeling, line of descent
Ao – energy, balance, perceive, universal
Kao – path, horizon, assembled, collected
Koa – truth, fulfilment, peace
Ako – inner hearing, reflect, journey, understand, remember, enlighten, warm, awareness, share, listen, receive, value.

We understand Ako to be an all-encompassing phenomenon of knowledge, sourced from the whakapapa (genealogical links) and the vibrations of our reo. To explain this we draw on the image of the tukutuku (lattice weaving) panel.
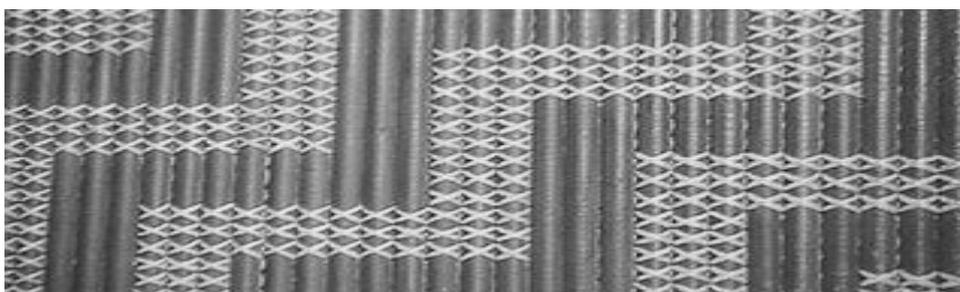
Figure 1. Tukutuku panel.

In creating the tukutuku panel the peace binding process weaves the poutama (the pattern shown in Figure 1), representing the stairway to māramatanga (enlightenment). The crisscross pattern represents ngā whetū (stars), an image that reflects another knowledge form. It is a narrative of ascent and descent, the interconnectedness between Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and Ranginui (Sky Father), the ordered sequence of all things in existence and our position within it. The tukutuku also reminds us that our learning is evolving as we strive towards Māramatanga, Mauri Ora, Mauri Ako and Mauri Wānanga.

So what is an Ako moment? It is when our wairua (energy of spirit), our mauri (life essence), our histories, our lived experiences and our stories come together in one spontaneous moment of creative alignment and the Tatau Pounamu (the doors of spiritual inquiry) are opened to reveal a moment that is truly uplifting. This is the Ako moment. Quite often it can come as a rush, a sudden explosive energy of intensity, much like a fire that wells up from within. Other times it can come as peaceful as our awa (river), calm and serene on windless summer afternoons.

The Ō of Ako: Recognizing Ako Moments in our Whare
As kaimahi within an indigenous organization, we acknowledge that Ako moments echo our truths, our traditions and new realities. It is a capacity that has always been with us. Since the beginning of time it has informed our knowing, our doing and our total state of being. We returned to this one evening in 2007 when our whaea (respected older woman), Aroha Huaki, shared ngā kōrero o nēhera (stories brought forward from the past) to remind us of the balance and the interconnectedness of the unseen world and the physical world. The impact of this sharing left us with a lingering feeling of enlightenment, warmth, the exhaling of "haaa" and the understanding that within the simplicity of the stories shared there were powerful messages. Reflecting on the occurrences during that evening, we have come to recognize these moments of clarity as Ako moments. They are snapshots of lived experiences that are often intangible but are of significant relevance due to their transformative nature.

Ako moments continue to evolve as we consciously invite these experiences to permeate our lives and to affirm that the traditions and knowledge of our tūpuna strengthen our personal resolve and our collective identity as Māori. These reflections and revelations, shared with one another, inspire and encourage us to challenge the thinking and external knowledge constructs that are not our own, and to

confirm that the re-institutionalization of our wānanga, our tikanga (protocols) and understandings are the key and foundation that will inform, guide and constantly evaluate and redesign our work.

Furthermore, the willingness to share Ako moments is borne out of trust and respect for each other, the provision of safe spaces and the knowledge that the contributions of consequence will impact on current and future educational trends and outcomes. It is pertinent, therefore, to turn our attention to our tamariki and mokopuna and to ensure that our thinking and action provides them with every opportunity to take their place in society and to lead us into the future.

The KŌ and KĀ of Ako: The Voice of Mother

When reflecting on lived experiences of Ako, we are reminiscent that our children are the living legacy of tūpuna; they are the connection to the past, the present and the future. Nurturing the legacy requires diligence to ensure that the inherent knowledge is accessed in meaningful and purposeful ways.

Recently I received a koha (gift). It was a putiputi (flower) that was planted in a little pot with two beautiful pink blooms. I watered and fed the putiputi often so that it would retain its beauty. I ensured that there was enough dirt at the base to maintain a solid foundation and that the pot itself was large enough to allow the putiputi to grow. I even talked to my putiputi because a few words of encouragement will always go a long way. All the emotions and actions of nurturing this putiputi are my ways of reciprocating the love and consideration that this koha signifies. This is an Ako moment in action, which in turn produces the feeling of koa (fulfilment; peace; feeling nurtured). The example used to describe this Ako moment can be applied to all aspects in life.

For instance, for those of us who are parents, our children are a perfect example of koha. We would ensure that they are nurtured and nourished, that they have a solid foundation, the freedom to express and room to grow. To provide an environment where they are openly loved through words of encouragement and reassurance will staircase them to the next stage of their endeavours. I would like to share a journey that I have embarked on with my son, Jack. Soon after Jack started school we discovered that he had learning difficulties. With the assistance of work done by Jack's teacher, a resource teacher of learning and behaviour, and me, a programme was designed to support Jack's learning at school and at home. With this support packed around Jack, his learning increased ten-fold. A year ago he was a very frustrated five-year old; today he is thriving, he is learning, he is happy. These are his Ako moments and his koa and, without doubt, ours.

For me, an Ako moment is about having the freedom to share experiences; it is unconditional, limitless, free of constraints; it is nurturing; and within the safe spaces of Arōnui I acknowledge and recognize an Ako moment as a function that is natural, valued and powerful.

The KAO of Ako: How Ako Informs Our Work

These lived realities of receiving, nurturing, filtering and transmitting knowledge take place to enable another level of understanding to occur. These understandings are contextual to an event, a situation, a select company of people or on a personal level. Much like an iceberg, the expansiveness of this natural phenomenon can only be appreciated once the gaze is shifted below the surface to view it in its entirety. Our current understandings of Ako are likened to the tip of the iceberg. As we look deeper into its meaning we recognize the expansiveness of Ako.

Ākonga (learners, students) are central to our organization and are prioritized. Our responsibility as kaiārahi is the quality assurance of the programmes we manage, including building kaiako (facilitators of learning) capability and ensuring ākoranga (curriculum) is current. We are also entrusted to participate in or lead rituals that are common in our environment such as pōwhiri (welcoming ceremonies), karakia (affirmation ceremonies), tangihanga (farewelling the deceased) and whakangahau (entertainment) to name but a few. These rituals provide us with many Ako moments as we perpetuate the traditions of our tūpuna by actioning them in the present. It is a dynamic synergy that shapes our thinking, modifies our behaviour and uplifts our collective purpose while enabling us to be responsible, reflect on Ako moments and role model these practices. Such is the impact that we are revisiting the curricula and rewriting knowledge content to align with Māori epistemologies. As one kaimahi stated,

"Thinking of our students reminds me of what it was like for me as a student. It was so different; funny when I think about it because now our ways of knowing are influencing our ways of doing and being. We are working from a whakapapa basis ... that feels so right."

To draw insights from personal and professional experiences, to be open to learning from others and to think critically by challenging our own values and beliefs requires us firstly to know ourselves. Positioning ourselves is important if we are to make a difference for our ākonga, kaiako and communities. An example of this occurred when a new kaiārahi arrived.

Coming into the mahi I had fears of the unknown because it was a new area for me but I balanced it out with just as much enthusiasm, excitement and confidence. The mahi was a change from what I was doing so I had to do a lot of accelerated work with my colleague who had a lot of confidence in me. My aroha [love; compassion] to support and nurture him also was important as he spent evenings filling me in and catching me up. Just that alone (being able to reciprocate) brought home for me a great sense of peace, of fulfilment, of joy. As he broke down the work for me, 99% of it I had never heard before. The fear began to set in, the anxiety around the expectations, the negative feelings began to take over. The redevelopment had just been completed, a lot was going on at the time and I attended the marau [curriculum] meeting for the first time. All these things happened in my first week.

At the marau meeting people were talking about their Ako moments. I wasn't sure what was going on, but I started to get a sense of people's thinking that Ako was our core business. I felt the urge to understand Ako and once I realized that I am living Ako, my peace and balance started to come back. Ako is a way of life. I have a lot of positive feelings come up around it. I know that I have lived Ako. The opportunity to connect with it again, to remember, recall and have whānau around me reinforcing my kōrero was okay. Ako within this environment helped to relieve a lot of anxiety.

To be ourselves and learn from our apprehensions, errors and achievements keeps our senses tuned to how we language our thinking and how that languaging is reinforced through constant use. For example, we used to talk a lot about teaching and learning; now we talk Ako which compels us to search and seek out the hidden meanings and to apply this new learning to our curriculum documents and to our Kaiako Support Plans.

Kaimahi in Arōnui are from diverse tribal affiliations and bring to the organization a range of expertise, knowledge and skills. This is an added strength as the stories they bring from their tribal regions enrich the dialogue with subtle differences and commonalities. Positioning oneself within this environment requires an understanding of the depth this knowledge brings to the group. These understandings spill over into developing theoretical frameworks that are Ako driven and value based, as observed through the statement: "If we don't recognize traditional knowledge within our Ako moments we marginalize wairua, which affects our mauri; if these two parts of our being are out of balance then how can we be effective in our practice?" This led to another kaimahi offering the following: "I am settled now around the mahi of Ako because it is part of our process and our practice." The openness to share Ako moments strengthens whanaungatanga (relationships) and is progressive.

Furthermore, Māori knowledge and practice take their rightful place, are core to our work and are valued as contributions of consequence alongside other bodies of knowledge. This means the emergence of traditional knowledge that had been relegated to the margins is now re-centred and normalized. This has strengthened our connection to our Māori world but more importantly to our identity as Māori. The recognition of these moments has legitimized our ways of knowing and enabled the collective to:

build a cultural ethos by investing in kaiako;
build kaiako capability through Kaiako Support Plans;
develop philosophical, theoretical and conceptual frameworks that are grounded within Ako;
re-centre Ako (ways of knowing, doing and being) as core to our programmes; and

develop resources that support the practice of Ako.

As an institution we:

> build staff capability through quality leadership, management, communication, programmes;
> enhance the tuakana/teina (older sibling/younger sibling) relationship through shadowing;
> build research capability; and
> engage with quality reinvestment projects such as "Tauira Voices," Curriculum Alignment and Assessment, to name but a few.

Putting the Koa Back into Ako

Who would have thought that three letters could be so powerful and that it would have such a profound effect on this collective!

To return to the kōrero at the beginning of the article, we are mindful that there are multiple layers to Ako with the recognition that there is a sequence and order to it. As we continue to share Ako moments, it enables us to remember the learning that has been an intrinsic part of our childhood and the epistemological truths that were born innate and nurtured in us through the wisdom of our ancestors and their actions. What they knew is now our knowings, what they did is now our doings, what they said is now our being. In reaching this point, the point of "becoming," we have journeyed many pathways and had multiple experiences. This article is of our lived realities and the collective narratives that have come to form and inform the way in which we interact with our world and the people within it: our whānau, ākonga, kaiako, tuākana and tēina. In a sense we are refashioning our whare and, while these actions are still in their infancy, we feel koa (jubilation) whenever we peel back another layer for each time it builds our capacity to ensure that our ākonga, kaiako, tuākana and tēina have access to knowledge that is an inherent right.

It is significant that we share our Ako moments at this the Traditional Knowledge Conference (2008) and that this conference should be held at the time of Matariki. Matariki in itself heralds the beginning of the Māori New Year and signals the beginning of new wānanga. It is a time to remember the teachings of our tūpuna and a time to re-energize ourselves as we evolve within dynamic spaces that actively engage us to think critically and action the Ako moments. The challenge for us all is to move from a position of remembering traditional cultural knowledge to actioning it in a contemporary present—a present where we are fortunate to access still our vessels of wisdom, to draw on their knowledge and be inspired to venture forth with a new resolve to creating new mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).

In conclusion, our Ako moments are a piercing karanga (call) of transformative truth. It is a timeless cry from deep within that reminds us that there are indeed other ways of understanding; that we are a people that descend from a long line of truly magnificent educators, navigators, warriors, rangatira (leaders) and ariki (paramount chiefs); and that we have our own wānanga and māramatanga that has yet to be fully realized. The messages handed down by our tūpuna were simple. Our responsibility, therefore, is to hear these messages, understand the synergy of Ako and actively engage.

Finally, Whaea Aroha Huaki reminds us that it is all about time and timing. There is a time to share, a time to learn and a time to work. There is a time when people are ready to receive and to give and you will know when that time will be. That time is now, in the time of Matariki.

Glossary

ako	reciprocal process of teaching and learning
ākonga	learners; students
ariki	paramount chief(s)
awa	river
hinātore	glow of light
kaupapa	plan, foundation
kaiārahi matua	senior guide

kaiārahi	guide
kaimahi	worker
karakia	affirmation ceremonies
kaumātua	male elders
koha	gift
kuia	female elder
koa	happy; jubilant; fulfilment; peace; feeling nurtured
kōrero	talk; story
Māori	native to Aotearoa/New Zealand
māramatanga	enlightenment
mātua	adults; parents
mauri	life essence
mokopuna	grandchildren
ngā kōrero o nēhera	stories brought forward from the past
rangatira	leader(s)
Papatūānuku	Mother Earth
poutama	the stepped pattern shown in Figure 1
pōwhiri	welcoming ceremonies
rangahau	search for; research
rangatahi	youth
Ranginui	Sky Father
reo	language
takutaku	recitation
tamariki	young children
tangata whēnua	indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand; Māori
tangihanga	farewelling the deceased
tatau pounamu	greenstone door
tēina	younger siblings
te puna mātauranga	source of knowledge
Toroa te Nukuroa	*Journal of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa*; to reach out; to illuminate
tuakana	elder sibling
tukutuku	lattice-weaved panel
tūpuna	ancestors
wairua	energy of spirit
whaea	mother; aunty
whakangahau	entertainment
whānau	a grouping of people, traditionally those who are related
whanaungatanga	relationships; relatedness
whakaako	preparation to learn
whakapapa	genealogical links

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Frameworks for Traditional Māori Knowledge
Can We Talk about Traditional Māori Knowledge Without Understanding the Paradigm from Which it Originates?

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Royal (1998b) states that Māori research often focuses on examples of mātauranga Māori or Māori knowledge, and very little work has been done on the paradigm out of which this knowledge is created. For this reason much research into mātauranga Māori is conducted through the employment of non-Māori knowledge paradigms.

Present research paradigms place traditional Māori knowledge and concepts and other phenomena specific to Māori in isolation from their origin, making the concepts themselves disconnected from the elucidation that is "Māori". This paper outlines the potential of the Te Ao Mārama (The Natural World) paradigm (Royal, 1998b) to remove traditional Māori knowledge from contemporary contexts in order to discuss traditional links between humanity and the environment, and subsequently make traditional indigenous concepts, values, ideals and strategies for sustaining balanced and healthy relationships applicable to any given context.

The traditional knowledge (wānanga taketake) framework proposed in this paper sits within the Te Ao Mārama paradigm and utilizes whakapapa (genealogy) and whakaheke (theogony) as methodology. This enables Māori to utilize our own method of explaining the world around us. This knowledge is carried and safeguarded by hapū (subtribe/s) and whānau (extended families).

Wānanga as knowledge, and the process by which knowledge is dissected, re-sected, linked together and understood, is currently absent in published debate. As a consequence, there is a dearth of literature that refers to wānanga as a legitimate process for gaining and reaching higher understanding. Literature has largely focused on mātauranga as an endpoint of knowledge, rather than how wānanga as a process can be used creatively to form new mātauranga Māori.
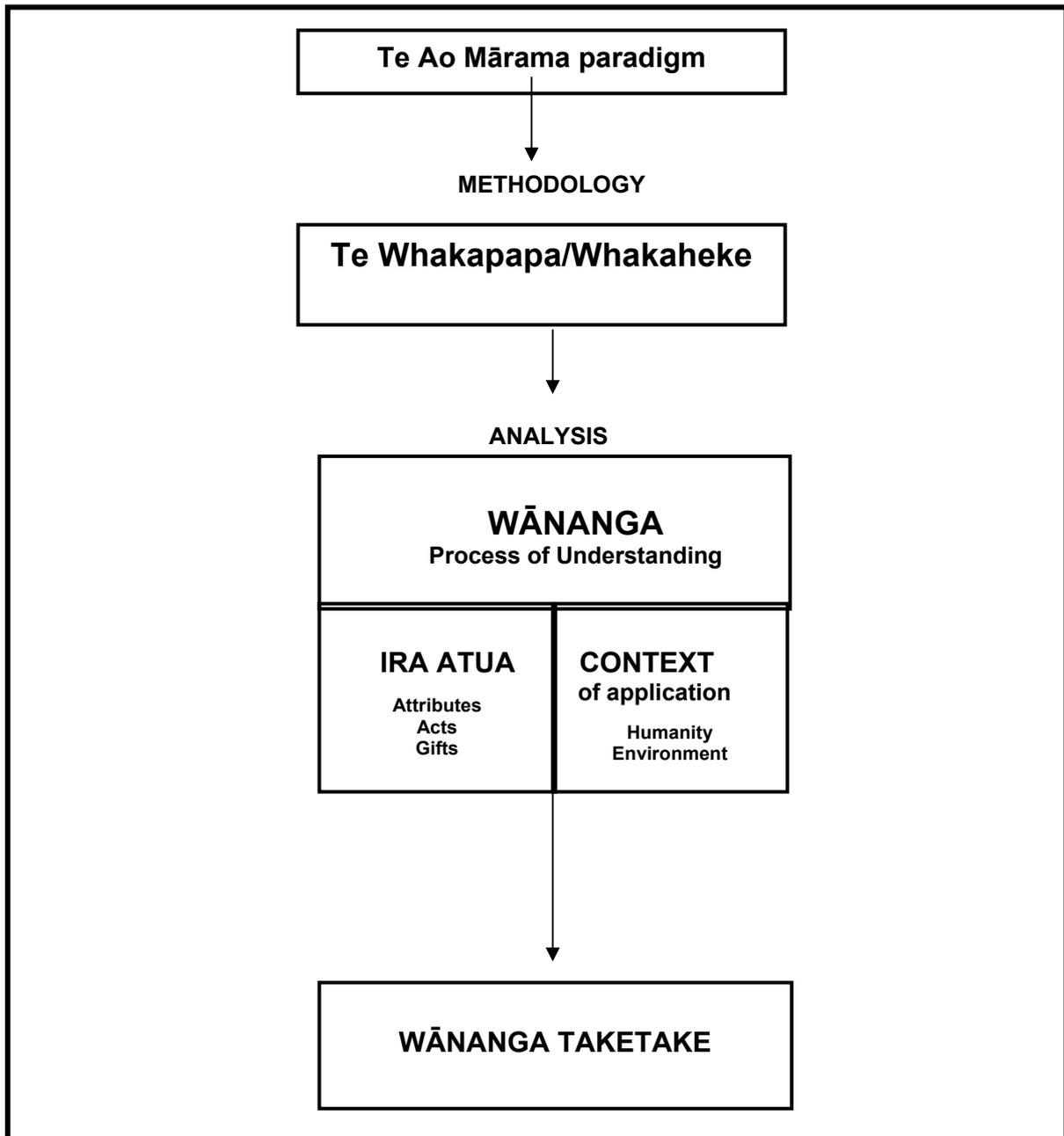
Figure 1. The Knowledge Spaces—A Framework for Research.[51]

Te Ao Mārama Paradigm

Te Ao Mārama, as the Māori world view, is discussed at length in Royal's doctoral thesis, entitled *Te Whare Tapere (The House of Entertainment and Performance)*(1998b). In extensive research that analysed whakapapa from various iwi (tribes) he explained that the separation of Ranginui (Sky Parent) and Papatūānuku (Earth Parent) was a significant event or a "key nodal point", as it gives rise to this world known as Te Ao Mārama. Te Ao Mārama, therefore, must be a conceptualization of the reality of this world and so represents both the physical venue from within which Māori history is played out and a spiritual, philosophical and psychological orientation to the world. Royal concludes that it has also given rise to a societal philosophy and a value system which was applied and found expression in Māori history (1998b, p. 91). "Mātauranga Māori is created by Māori humans according to a worldview entitled Te Ao Mārama and by the employment of methodologies derived from this worldview to explain the Māori experience of the world" (Royal, 1998a, p. 6).

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[51] This figure was formulated through wānanga with TH Paenga (2007).

Many authors have written about the importance of whakapapa and Māori traditional concepts in the construction of a distinctive Māori worldview for their research. But this content is neither analysed nor elaborated on as a point of reference for their research, and is often abandoned as being based on deities that have no reference point for a strong foundation on which robust research can be formulated.

Kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophy) as a methodology is a very important framework. It provides the space in which Māori ideals, values and experiences can be discussed in terms of the position of āhuatanga Māori (Māori features) and the legitimacy to exist. However, similarities of restriction for researching traditional knowledge can be drawn between kaupapa Māori and Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) as concepts. To elaborate, Royal (2007) states that Te Ao Māori talks of a "world prescribed with an ethnic prescriptor, called 'Māori'". What is important are knowledge, experience and action designed to uphold and sometimes defend a "world" called Te Ao Māori. Te Ao Mārama, however, can be seen as follows:

> Te Ao Mārama, on the other hand, is a traditional set of terms (found in many iwi creation traditions) concerning the world of our actual experience, one could say the "real" world. The movement through Te Ao Māori to Te Ao Mārama entails moving from consciously upholding or defending a world to embracing the world as it is and utilizing mātauranga Māori in our engagement with it. I see this as a creative task—utilizing our indigenous knowledge to make sense of our contemporary world. In a way, one can consider this as a move from an "artificial" world called Te Ao Māori to the "real" world of Te Ao Mārama. (Royal, 2007, p. 9)

Full comparisons between kaupapa Māori and Te Ao Mārama methodology are not able to be elaborated on here. What is important at this point is that Te Ao Mārama becomes an extension of Te Ao Māori, and builds on the knowledge that already exists in order for the creative potential of mātauranga Māori to be realized.

The key point that distinguishes the Te Ao Mārama paradigm from the Te Ao Māori worldview, as defined by Royal (1998a), is that traditional knowledge is sourced through methodologies such as whakapapa, which serve to give humans a paradigm, cosmological picture and worldview orientation. Royal states that this cosmological picture held an explanation for the creation of the world and also generated a philosophical orientation to the phenomena of this world. The most important point he makes is that the paradigm of Māori knowledge is, at first, generated from cosmology of this kind.

> There I argue that the Māori worldview, the paradigm out of which all Māori culture was created, is entitled Te Ao Mārama. This Te Ao Mārama worldview arises out of cosmological whakapapa or genealogies, which are metaphorical of the creation of the world and of the psyche of the human being (1998a, p. 4).

Additionally, Royal (2006) states that researchers in mātauranga Māori often study ways in which mātauranga Māori comes to form its views and perspectives on "existence". The most important point he makes is that this entails a study of mātauranga Māori approaches to the creation of knowledge and which, he says, ultimately leads the student of mātauranga Māori to wānanga. This, in effect, alludes to the fact that mātauranga Māori is not the definitive endpoint of Māori knowledge but rather that the researcher's ability to "wānanga" knowledge will lead to more infinite uses for such knowledge. In the context of this paper, this is referred to as knowledge descending from divine knowledge or knowledge held by Atua (Maori gods/supernatural beings). This is illustrated by whakapapa/whakaheke pertaining to these Atua in the following section.

Methodology
Whakapapa/Whakaheke as Methodology
Māori have complex and sophisticated learning systems through which mātauranga Māori is transmitted and received. One such system is through the use of whakapapa. Whakapapa is regarded as an analytical tool to understand the Māori world and relationships (Pihama, Smith, Taki & Lee, 2004). Whakapapa/whakaheke can be used to outline the theogony of Atua and what "attributes, acts and gifts" they contribute to the context of humanity and the environment—in short, which wānanga they are responsible for.

Whakapapa provides a metaphysical kaupapa (schema) of historical descent, pattern and linkage whereby animate and inanimate are interrelated, descending from an ancestral origin, Io Matua Kore (Fatherless One; Supreme Being) (Salmond, 1985; Roberts et al., 1998). Marsden's description of whakapapa is a "paradigm of reality; of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible" (1992, p. 12). As previously metioned, whakapapa for Māori represents a "universal truth", much in the same way that Kuhn describes a paradigm as being an "entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so shared by the members of a given community" (1970, p. 175).

Roberts et al. state that "the extent to which this underlying theoretical rationale for human whakapapa applies to the non-human has hitherto remained unexplored, at least in the published literature", and that whakapapa, on its own, does not provide the reader with a full account of what knowledge it is revealing. They conclude that, in its totality, Māori use of whakapapa and narrative creates a "metaphysical gestalt" or whole, integrated pattern, for the oral communication of knowledge (2004, p. 1).

Whakapapa is contended by Royal to be an analytical tool employed by Māori to understand the nature of phenomena, its origin, connections and relationships to other phenomena, describing trends in phenomena, locating and extrapolating phenomena and predicting future phenomena (1998a, p. 6). He states that it is by understanding the paradigms of Māori knowledge and the application of whakapapa that the evolution of mātauranga Māori will recommence (1998a, p. 8).

Method—Te Ao Mārama Approach

The Te Ao Mārama approach to research necessitates collation of whakapapa/whakaheke in order to analyse the genealogical links and attributes, acts and gifts of Atua Māori in the contexts of humanity and the environment. Whakapapa is the most sacred of Māori knowledge (Mead, 2003) and is therefore protected from those who wish to use it for unscrupulous purposes. As previously stated, Royal comments that it is by understanding the paradigms of Māori knowledge and the application of whakapapa that the evolution of mātauranga Māori will recommence (1998a, p. 8).

The whakapapa/whakaheke is learnt under the tutorage of well-respected elders and tohunga (expert/s) steeped in traditional Māori knowledge; permission must be sought for its utilization in research.

Wānanga as Analyses

According to the Wānanga Taketake framework, the aforementioned *analytical process* of wānanga would be then undertaken with advisors and mentors well versed in the traditional method. Wānanga is used to extrapolate the attributes, acts and gifts of Ira Atua and how they manifest in humanity and in the environment.

Wānanga is used in this framework as a research method. Wānanga is a traditional Māori concept that is complex and unique. Wānanga is a process of learning and content of knowledge that stimulates the learner physically, mentally and spiritually towards the pursuit and retention of traditional Māori knowledge. In our research we have sourced three strands of wānanga that can validate traditional Māori knowledge from a universally indigenous origin.

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│      Te Wānanga             │
└─────────────────────────────┘


┌──────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                  Wānanga                       │
│            Traditional Knowledge               │
│   Process of understanding, content of         │
│   knowledge,                                   │
│        higher realm of understanding           │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────┘


┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────┐
│ Ira Atua:        │  │ Wāhi Ngaro:      │  │ Ira Tangata:     │
│ Deeds &          │  │ Spiritual World  │  │ Intrinsic        │
│ Contributions    │  │                  │  │ Knowledge        │
│                  │  │ Sanctified realm │  │                  │
│ Theogeny         │  │ Communication/   │  │ Receivers of     │
│ Attributes       │  │ understanding    │  │ gifts from Atua  │
│ Acts, gifts,     │  │ from ancestors   │  │ Interwoven       │
│ deeds            │  │ & teachers       │  │ relationship     │
│ Gifts to human   │  │                  │  │ with the         │
│ beings & the     │  │                  │  │ environment      │
│ environment      │  │                  │  │                  │
└──────────────────┘  └──────────────────┘  └──────────────────┘


┌──────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│              Wānanga Taketake                   │
│       Traditional Indigenous Knowledge         │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Figure 2. Te Wānanga.

Implications for Research

The purpose of this paper is to prompt discussion on the place of mātauranga Māori in research and the limitations of describing it in a definitive way. There needs to be more research done on the place of wānanga as a legitimate process for gaining higher understanding but prior to this occurring the whakaheke of Atua Māori needs to become a starting point for discussion. By doing this, the "creation of knowledge" becomes a moot point and is not influenced by the struggle for validation of Māori knowledge. Therefore, this removes mātauranga Māori from the socio-political arena where it currently resides so that it does not become subject to contemporary influences that seek to defend its existence. Rather we must look to understand its origins, and in doing so we can begin to rediscover its creative potential and applicability to any given context.

Glossary

atua	Māori gods
hapū	sub-tribe
Io Matua Kore	Fatherless One; Supreme Being
ira Atua	principles or attributes of the gods
iwi	tribe, tribal
kaupapa	scheme; issue
kaupapa Māori	Māori issue of importance
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge

Papatūānuku	Earth Parent
Ranginui	Sky Parent
Te Ao Māori	worldview, an all inclusive Maori worldview
tikanga Māori	Maori custom/s
tohunga	expert
wānanga	body/ies of knowledge, traditional process of analysis
wānanga taketake	traditional knowledge
whakaheke	theogeny (genealogy of gods)
whakapapa	genealogy
whānau	extended family
whare wānanga	school or house of learning

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Takepū: Principled Approaches to Healthy Relationships

Taina Whakaatere Pohatu
Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa

Hai Tīmata (Introduction)

Hai tauira mo ngā reanga katoa (As an example to all generations). (Pohatu, 2004, p. 1)

We sit with our mokopuna (grandchildren) and as we look at them questions about their future mauri ora (well-being) naturally flow from our hearts.

"What will your time be like, e moko [grandchild]?"
"How will you be in your time, e moko?"
"How real will our cultural ways be for you in your time, e moko?"
"What can and must we do to ensure your future cultural well-being, e moko?"

These are timeless questions. They have been faced and pondered by generations past, including generations of my own whakapapa (genealogical and geographical-specific) grouping. I recall the look in my own tīpuna (ancestor's) eyes when I was their moko and see the significance of Joseph Campbell's words when he wrote, "when the story is in your mind, then you see its relevance to something happening in your own life; it gives you perspective on what's happening to you"(1988, p. 4).

While we look for signposts to guide us through our lives, it is important to recognize that Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) has fashioned ways for Māori to live life by. This has to be thought through, made sense of and the opportunity taken to apply these ways in the lived realities of each ensuing generation since the beginning of its time in the pursuit of balanced and sustaining ways. In addition, there are simple markers that give a timeless purpose to every generation, encapsulated in the statement, "he kaitiaki katoa tātau [we all have stewardship purpose]." Engaging in that purpose carries a myriad of obligations that every kaupapa (issue) and relationship in any place and time requires to be undertaken. Te Ao Māori does not leave each generation on its own to "figure out" how to undertake its purpose and obligations. It has fashioned enduring hoa-haere (valued travelling companions) that journey through time, constantly available, waiting to be invited into our contexts, kaupapa and relationships. Responding to the question, "what can and must we do to ensure your future cultural well-being, e moko?" this paper introduces takepū as one of these hoa-haere.

What are Takepū About?

Takepū are all about supporting people in their relationships, kaupapa and environments in the pursuit of mauri ora. All kaupapa, relationships and environments have purpose, obligations and responsibilities. Whether people who are part of these actively engage with them, however, is another question. Irrespective of this, Te Ao Māori has constructed cultural signposts to guide its members, for example, via such timeless sayings as, "mauri tū, mauri ora, mauri noho, mauri mate" (active engagement equates to well-being, non-participation equals lowered esteem and its consequences) (Kohere, 1951, p. 18). Locating well-being features and their angles in kaupapa and relationships signposts noteworthy "points of knowing" – with their embedded rationales waiting for us to locate and have conversations with them. Takepū are key positions from which these "points of knowing" can be reflected, critiqued and made sense.

Takepū: What Are They?

Takepū are used by Māori in all aspects of any kaupapa and relationship, being treated as applied principles, bodies of cultural knowledge, key strategic positions and multi-featured. They are recognized as having been produced and reworked by Māori from accumulated sources of valued cultural knowledge and wisdoms, constantly thought about, used in contexts and grounded into applied practice. They are considered kaitiaki (responsible stewards) of valued principles, deep thinking,

significant attitudes, ethical positions and ways of life, encapsulating the key essence of humanness crucial to sustaining and assessing the quality of our kaupapa and relationships. Takepū are considered here as kaitiaki of peoples' deepest hopes and highest aspirations. They have been grounded in constant practice and so can always be reflected on and reused in kaupapa and relationships through time and place.

Takepū as applied principles signpost to generations how to live life and behave, and then engage with people as they pursue the quest of their aspirations and needs. They are cultural positions that provide cultural insights, filters, markers and tools, offering well-tried ways of connecting in relationships and kaupapa, demonstrating that they are constantly thought about and used in everything we do.

Takepū have a simple and timeless intent, offering unswerving purpose for being, ways of interacting and figuring things out. They point to the potential of consciously positioning Māori thinking and rationales into kaupapa to advance our preferred ways. Connected with this simplicity is the associated presence of complexity, and the shades within that will show themselves in kaupapa if actively sought. They invite Māori and others to constantly reflect on standards and quality, to consider takepū place and value in any context and time. As we reflect on their importance to our practice and how they may be reworked and reinterpreted into our kaupapa and applications, then do we cultivate a true appreciation of how close the companionship really is between principle and application. As ways are developed of looking at them so do we "see" further depths of understanding and clarify for ourselves our practice. In this process an appreciation of the close linkages between the simple and the complex within kaupapa are highlighted in the movement towards enlightenment.

As takepū are "lived" by everyone, usually unconsciously, this paper emphasizes that people are holders of many examples with their instinctive messages of purpose, obligation and how to do. This instinctive-ness requires us to respond to the question, "are we consciously aware of the transformative potential that takepū hold to inform and guide people in kaupapa and relationships?"

Wāhi ki te Reo (Place of the Language)

Te Ao Māori has a soul that moves to a unique heartbeat and rhythm. These allow interpretations and insights as situated, tested and positioned by Māori thought, values, principles and applications. Māori have formed our language to recognize, interpret and represent those beats and rhythms in our own way. This "way" is the potentiated power held within te reo Māori (the Māori language); that is, the power to activate within its members powerful images, symbols, passions, energies and the joy of belonging to a collective of people with a unique heritage. Language is therefore a valued and integral companion allowing entry to deeper readings of Māori positions, as the Māori language "has been created and moulded to express our feelings and sentiments and no other medium of speech can take its place" (Te Rangihīroa, as cited in Sorrenson, 1986, p. 182). This highlights the dynamic interrelationship between the language, the thinking and the lived and valued reality of Māori in our times as:

> Collecting and recording is livened up by the fact that the material is new, or an old friend in a new place. Here is a reminder that knowledge and their wisdoms are travellers in perpetuity. As they are invited into kaupapa and relationships in a new place so are they re-valued as vital companions (new or old friends) becoming, again, active participants. (Pohatu, 2004, p. 1)

Using the boundless possibilities within Māori thinking and the energies of earlier generations for application in our time is the never-ending hope, commended by Ngata when in 1940 he wrote, "mehemea e kaha ana te hinengaro Māori ki te mea, kia mau ki tōna reo, ōna tikanga, ngā mahi a ōna tīpuna, te whakahī ki tōna Māoritanga, ka mau tonu" (If the Māori mind is steadfast in its intent to maintain its language, values, ways and the undertakings of earlier generations, and to elevate its cultural capital, they will be retained) (ibid., 2004, p. 1).

Takepū today require commitments to steadfastness of interpretation and application, all part of developing a user-friendly pathway for consciously utilizing Māori language, values and ways in daily

activities. Therefore takepū can be either a single word, such as "tiaki", or a phrase like "huia te take" (dialogue and consider all facets of the issue). Treating takepū in this manner acknowledges the fact that both lenses illustrate their applied nature: that they are bodies of knowledge and key strategic positions and are in fact multi-featured. When takepū are always being deliberately invited into our contexts there is a consistent call being extended to cultural thinking and application: to participate, to inform, to guide. Here is the takepū of tomo mai (welcome in) in regular action, heightening the chance of cultural conscientization to occur over and over again.

Te Whakatinana (Application)
This flows into a vital question, "how are takepū used?" Contextualization is a strategic undertaking that must always be applied in order for takepū to have its proper and intended place in every kaupapa and relationship. It allows the identifying, defining, interpreting, naming and exampling templates to be always set and deliberately fitted into place. As takepū come from out of te reo (the language), with its definitions and interpretations, they need to be contextualized and redesigned into each kaupapa and its sets of relationships. Takepū require the heart to take part actively in selecting and clarifying how they can be applied. In addition they must also be applied with respectfulness and integrity. By doing so the potential of offering "positioned" insight, explanation and interpretation for application becomes possible. The following are some examples.

When the positions, "tā te Māori whakaaro" (Māori thinking), "tā te Māori titiro", (Māori views), "tā te Māori tū" (the Māori stance) and "tā te Māori mahi" (Māori applications) are stated and heard they are powerful space claimers, immediately centring Māori into our cultural parameters and referents. These phrases are further takepū, highlighting the language's ability to talk, to inform and move the cultural ngākau (heart). With their clear kaitiaki obligations they have to each other they point to a deep connected implication for the language and cultural heart. Consciously recognizing the level of this companionship potentially lets cultural determination activate Māori creativity and strength in any kaupapa through any time and place.

When everyday examples are shared, they are sites where takepū occur and reoccur. Therefore while talking to my brother who lives in urban Gisborne two months ago I asked, "kai te aha?" (how are you?). His response was, "here I am, sitting in my garden with my friend, having breakfast". When I asked, "ko wai tēnā?" (who is that?), his response was, "he kererū" (a native pigeon). There they were: he with his toast and cup of tea, the kererū with its miro berries. I reflected on that moment and our conversation and thought, "who would have thought, in the middle of urban Gisborne in this day and age, that there would be a kererū feeling safe and happily eating alongside my brother." It dawned on me that the kererū reflected the state of Māori in this time. Māori are just part of modern society, still largely invisible and unknown to the wider society. However, when provided with environments welcoming of our presence, conducive to our mauri ora, we engage, participate and bring unique qualities and their possibilities into each new time.

That was a "tomo mai" moment, where being able to think "in our own cultural referents" led "to conceptualizing in one's own world view" (Trask, 1988, p. 54). It opens up a whole range of possibilities of placing and interpreting what is happening in the world, languaged through Māori and whakapapa lens. This is all part of the processes of making sense of and revitalizing te ngākau Māori at all levels.

At another level I am a grandparent, a son, a grandchild. I am a father, husband, a younger and older brother, with a sister, a cousin and a member of several hapū and iwi. At another level I am a member of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWoA) with the positions that I have there. In addition I am also a member of my community and Aotearoa society. Each of these claim positions that accord me with a purpose to my life, for my being. They each give me unique purposes with distinct obligations. The undertaking or not undertaking of the roles within these multiple positions may be considered key contextualized measuring markers of my willingness to take part.

Takepū as Healthy Relationship Markers

These examples illustrate how takepū access redefined positions from which Te Ao Māori kaupapa and relationships may be treated. At the same time they also emphasize how under-utilized sources of latent Māori knowledge and wisdom are. Inviting them into our activities and allowing them to be trialled and examined to seek out their potential and worth is crucial. Undertaking the determining of ethical boundaries and standards by which performance in kaupapa and relationships is measured is another connected and ongoing challenge. This requires Māori in each new time to reconsider guidelines for kaupapa, informed by our aspirations, thinking, rationales, actions and experiences. In this way we knowingly engage in the practice of influencing the boundaries and standards by which we measure the quality of performance in our kaupapa and relationships. Treating takepū as a significant fashioner of such positions proposes exciting transformative options.

By seeing takepū as essential sources of mauri ora for engaging in our undertakings, space is claimed once again for the articulation of original ideals and principles with their associated intent, purpose and obligations. Some examples are the following takepū, with their purpose and obligations, which have patterns that when reworked can be used again and again in our many contexts.

Takepū	Applied Principles
Āhurutanga	Creating and maintaining quality space to ensure and promote the pursuit of best practice in any kaupapa
Tino rangatiratanga	The constant recognition of absolute integrity of people in their kaupapa, relationships, positions and contributions in any context
Mauri ora	The constant acknowledgement that at the core of any kaupapa and relationship is the pursuit of well-being.
Te whakakoha rangatiratanga	Recognition that successful engagement and endeavour requires conscious application of respectful relationships with kaupapa and people
Kaitiakitanga	The constant acknowledgement that people are engaged in relationships with others, environments and kaupapa where they undertake stewardship purpose and obligations
Tau kumekume	The recognition that the ever-presence of tension in any kaupapa and relationship, positive or negative, offers insight and interpretation

Figure 1. Takepū and whakamāramatanga.

These takepū hold implicit attitudes, behaviours and values with their associated messages. When contextualized and internalized they assume a central place in how people should engage in kaupapa. This is modelled in Te Tohu Paetahi Ngā Pou Whakarara Oranga (TWoA's Bachelor of Social Work degree, Biculturalism in Practice), delivered since 2005. One of the positions taken in the degree programme was the deliberate claim that best practice always included takepū (applied principle) and not just theory and practice. This innovative decision led to the creation of the above takepū, which is fundamental to every paper, its content, assessments and framing of the delivery approaches. This simple positioning and naming process has launched many dimensions and angles that when contextualized to social work contexts opened unique yet complex choices for vigorous discussion, debate and application. A different range of conversations is now occurring in the field of social work education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Takepū: Further Insights

Consciously recognizing takepū as an essential part of the re-identification, reclamation, rediscovery and revalidation process marks culturally transformative choices that have emanated out of Te Ao Māori sources. Takepū-based strategies take their angles of consideration firstly from what the selected term or phrase states. They are simple yet powerful statements of positioning. They set out how kaupapa and relationships may be treated, approached and engaged. Again, an important part of the

process is for definitions and interpretations of chosen takepū to be continually contextualized to kaupapa and relationships. This deliberate action enables takepū to be an active participant in fashioning unique pathways and their patterns. Such an approach is integral, with other features revealing themselves as appropriate through the journey of the kaupapa and relationships.

This indicates a whakapapa, the establishment of an order with its layers of purpose, obligations, patterns and rationales. Each layer needs to be constantly "talked back to" so that its purpose for being is clearly understood and appreciated. The whakapapa order may look something like this. There will be a kaupapa that provides the big picture and its intent. The considering of selected takepū and the articulating of ways of delivering their wisdoms, thinking and intent to the range of participants involved in the kaupapa are then brought forward. Consistently using the pātai (question) method with each kaupapa (Pohatu, 2008), but from the angle of the respective relationships within the kaupapa, is fundamental. This helps arrange how everything and everyone with their contributions are treated. Incorporating the hui (meeting) processes as a reflective and critical companion in the analysis and ongoing treatment of the layers of gathered data—whether they be written, oral or visual—a template can be affirmed, articulated and shared. Also, while takepū have specific purpose and obligations, which become clear when contextualized to their particular kaupapa, they must always be considered together as a whole to be truly effective and complete, the notion of hoa-haere being reactivated.

Kaitiakitanga: Another Example of Takepū
As stated takepū are key pre-requisites to mauri ora of kaupapa and relationships, important cornerstones in our lives of the conscientization process. Another example is through framing, naming and interpreting our practice from out of the kaitiakitanga takepū. Therefore, when posing questions around my purpose and obligations in the raft of roles that I am required to undertake in my life, questions and reflections allow me to frame what I need to do, how and why. For example, "What should I respect?" "Why is this important?" "How would I construct and apply respect in my kaupapa, ways of doing things and relationships?" Such questions reflect an ongoing determination to do "my best in the range of my specific roles and kaupapa." As these are incorporated into "my" approaches so do "I" undergo a process of becoming consciously vigilant and attentive to how and why I need to do things in ways valued by my "old people", by earlier generations. This disciplined approach is encapsulated in the notions of koha (contribution) and rangatiratanga with their shades of interpretation (Pohatu, 2003). Together these notions are named and exemplifed in the following phrases.

Kia rangatira te mahi	Carrying out activities with integrity and respectfulness
Kia rangatira te haere	Responding and engaging in activities with integrity and respectfulness
Kia rangatira te noho	Engaging in kaupapa and relationships with integrity and respectfulness
Kia rangatira te whakaaro	Engaging in deliberations with integrity and respectfulness

Figure 2. Kia Rangatira Framework.

We each have personal, lived examples that we can draw on. Placing our examples within a kia rangatira ai framework allows us to reflect upon them. Utilizing its angles enables the locating of the messages and the significance within them. As a consequence it sharpens our processes of how we access and treat what is in kaupapa and relationships as mauri ora insights and understandings are pursued.

When we consider the multiple roles and functions that we carry out in kaupapa, this paper invites us to deepen our perceptions of kaitiakitanga thinking and rationales, as shown below. They underscore just how everyday kaitiakitanga positions are in our daily activities.

Takepū	He Whakamāramatanga (Interpretations)
Te tiaki	The undertaking of responsibility for guaranteeing appropriate trusteeship obligations in all of its constructions
Te pupuri	The conscious and responsible holdership of knowledge, thinking and experiences, for use when appropriate in kaupapa and relationships
Te arataki	Valued and respectful guidance in all sets of relationships and aspects of kaupapa
Te tautoko	Valued and respectful support in all sets of relationships and parts of kaupapa
Te tohutohu	To ensure the fulfilling of purpose and responsibilities in relationships and kaupapa

Figure 3. Kaitiakitanga Framework.

These positions challenge us personally and collectively to become consciously aware of which kaitiaki role and function we are undertaking at any particular time in kaupapa and relationships. Part of evolving maturity or mauri ora in practice is fashioning a conscious awareness of being in such a process. Time, critical reflection, constant discussion, dialogue and opportunity to implement, reflect and re-implement (praxis) are key elements in such a process.

It is also important to state that there are many more kaitiakitanga positions that Māori will identify, define and interpret to be added to the whakapapa of such a template. Each will then become a further layer of knowing, learning and understanding in the pursuit of mauri ora.

He Kapinga (Conclusion)
Takepū, hoa-haere and the e moko question frameworks highlight how responsive and liberating such approaches can be. They immediately encourage the cultural being to connect through conversations, transformative aspirations and a willingness to undertake our cultural purpose and obligations. The beauty of the range of "e moko" questions is that they provide authentic connected pathways between generations. Takepū points to a clear purpose for people within the appropriate generations to consider always the significance of legacies of Māori cultural capital for the mauri ora of younger generations. With the hoa-haere template and its companionship focus these three frameworks complement, speak to and are kaitiaki of what they are here to do. Together they can always aspire to forge and ensure mauri ora in all that we do.

Aku taonga he mauri e	Our treasures that ensure well-being
Kauaka ra e tinihanga e	Do not depreciate them
Mauria atu hei Māoritanga	Promote them as valued Māori legacies
Kia manawa nui, kei memeha ngaro noa	Be bold and steadfast, lest they be lost
	(Tuini Ngawai, 1985, p. 80)

Papakupu (Glossary)
āhurutanga	safe space
arataki	to guide, to lead
hui	meeting, gatherings
hoa-haere	valued companionships shaped by kaupapa
iwi	tribal group, genealogical and geographical-specific groupings
kai-arataki	one who guides
kaitiakitanga	stewardship
kapinga	conclusion
kaupapa	issues
koha	contribution
Māoritanga	Māori cultural capital
mauri ora	well-being

mauri tū	position of active participation and strength
mauri noho	position of non-participation and weakness
mauri mate	no wellbeing
ngākau	heart
Ngā Pou Whakarara Oranga	Bachelor of Social Work (Biculturalism in Practice)
mokopuna, moko	grandchild, grandchildren
pātai	question
rangatiratanga	integrity and respectfulness in giving and receiving
reanga	generations
takepū	applied principle
tauira	example
tau kumekume	tension, both positive and negative
tautoko	responsible support
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world and its representations
te reo Māori	the Māori language
te whakakoha rangatiratanga	respectful relationships
tiaki	to take care of
tīpuna	ancestors
tohutohu	to correct
tomo mai	welcome in
whakakoha	genuineness of thought and action in the application of giving and receiving
whakapapa	genealogy

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Tikanga & Technology: A New Net Goes Fishing

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Abstract

As we move into an increasingly technological world, are Māori well placed to get the most out of the advances made in technology whilst maintaining strong cultural identity and practices? Here we report on the outcomes of a unique hui (meeting) held jointly between the Environmental Risk Management Authority New Zealand, the Allan Wilson Centre for Molecular Ecology and Evolution and the Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences. The kaupapa (purpose) of the hui was to explore the potential impacts, risks, benefits and appropriate applications of new and emerging genetic and nanotechnologies for Māori. Technological advances were considered in light of tikanga Māori (Māori customary practice), particularly with regard to the role of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) of native species and the environment as well as risk management for environmental and human health. A number of common points of conflict between technology and tikanga as well as researchers and iwi (tribes) were identified. Strategies for establishing and maintaining reciprocal and respectful relationships between researchers and iwi were discussed and deemed critical to reaching common goals of conservation and protection of the mauri (life essence) and mana (authority, integrity and dignity) of native species of Aotearoa (New Zealand). Manaakitanga (protocols and principles of Māori hospitality) and humility, as well as careful selection of venue, proved critical to the success of the hui.

Introduction

Political and cultural priorities of indigenous peoples may be better protected if indigenous communities and authorities join in the current debates about new and emerging technologies (TallBear, 2001). Outside agencies can facilitate this process by providing information and forums for dialogue and debate about cultural aspects of research (TallBear, 2001; Brauerhoch, Ewen & Sinemus, 2007). With this in mind, a unique hui was held in 2008 to explore the potential impacts of new and emerging genetic and nanotechnologies for Māori. The hui was entitled "Tikanga & Technology: A New Net Goes Fishing" and was intended to explore three primary questions. First, are Māori well placed to get the most out of technological advances made whilst maintaining strong cultural identity and practices? Second, are mātauranga Māori (Māori traditional knowledge) and emerging technologies compatible? And, finally, can we achieve better outcomes for society by using emerging technologies and mātauranga Māori in complementarity?

In recent times, the relationship between Māori and contemporary science has been at best fraught with difficulty and at worst non-existent (Roberts & Fairweather, 2004). This lack of engagement has led to (1) the marginalization of Māori in relation to the benefits and opportunities posed by new and emerging technologies and (2) a general inaccessibility of information to Māori on new and emerging technologies (Roberts & Fairweather, 2004). Opposition and fear often stem from such a lack of information, causing people to avoid engaging with the new or unknown (TallBear, 2001; Durie, 2004; McHughen, 2007; Sinemus, 2007). For Māori, this can mean maintaining an opposition and general mistrust of emerging technologies (Durie, 2004; Roberts & Fairweather, 2004). For researchers, it often means avoiding cross-cultural interactions and engagement beyond scientific communities (Durie, 2004).

New technologies have inherent risks, and evaluation of these risks will change over time and among cultures (Sinemus, 2007). Scientists have a clear and shared description of risks and how to estimate them but this understanding is only valid within the context of the scientific community. The same risks will be viewed very differently from different perspectives (Brauerhaoch et al., 2007), and Māori scholars and communities have given much thought as to how best to evaluate the risks

associated with contemporary technologies in a traditional framework (Mead, 2003). There are a huge variety of views among Māori on biotechnologies. These views are not static and can be shifted if concerns are satisfied (Te Momo, 2007). For example, new technologies are more likely to be adopted by Māori if they are viewed as having benefits that outweigh perceived risks, will not harm future generations and will benefit communities and not just researchers and government agencies (Roberts & Fairweather, 2004; Te Momo, 2007).

Cautious and thoughtful risk taking is not new to Māori. When Maui (Polynesian heroic character) fished up Aotearoa he ventured into new, deep water and used traditional knowledge and karakia (prayers) to safely bring forth a new land full of opportunities and possibilities for his people. In more recent times, Māori have generally been without the luxury of full access to either technological or traditional knowledge which has inhibited their ability to make informed and well considered decisions on contemporary risks (Roberts & Fairweather, 2004). In this hui, we sought to encourage information gathering, thoughtful reflection and open discussion of the risks inherent in harnessing the potential of new and emerging technologies for Māori.

We sought a number of outcomes from this hui. First and foremost, the hui served as a trial to establish a forum for Māori to learn about genetic and nanotechnologies. The hui also sought to provide both Māori and researchers with a chance to discuss openly and honestly the implications and opportunities of new technologies for Māori without the pressure or burden of a consultation requirement. Often Māori and researchers engage to meet funding or regulatory requirements, or where milestone deadlines have led to poorly conceived expectations. This hui allowed participants to discuss issues in an environment that was free from these issues. Finally, the hui provided an opportunity for relationship development between iwi representatives and researchers and for each to learn about the roles and responsibilities of their respective organizations and communities.

Who Participated in the Hui?

The hui brought together scientists working in biotechnology and nanotechnology with the National Māori Network (Network) of New Zealand's Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA New Zealand). The Network comprises individuals charged with addressing and managing resource and environmental issues on behalf of their iwi, hapū (clan), or whānau (family).

The hui was organized by ERMA New Zealand, and jointly sponsored by the Allan Wilson Centre for Molecular Ecology and Evolution (AWC) and the Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences (GNS Science). This marks the first time that ERMA New Zealand has invited research agencies to jointly host their hui. The invitation was largely motivated by a desire to facilitate the establishment of good relationships between researchers in these fields and Māori because such relationships are crucial to the success of ERMA New Zealand's legislative decision-making. The Hazardous Substances and New Organisms (HSNO) Act 1996 requires ERMA New Zealand to consider risks, costs and benefits from any application made under the Act to the environment, public health, relationship of Māori to the environment, interests of the community generally and the economy. Obtaining sufficient information about the relationship of Māori to the environment, and thus ERMA New Zealand's ability to make informed decisions, requires a free flow of relevant knowledge and information between parties to the application.

Partnering with the AWC and GNS Science provided the chance to nurture relationship development as well as provide network participants with access to technical and research expertise in the fields of biotechnology (for example, genetics) and nanotechnology. Most of the information given at the hui on genetic research and modification was provided by AWC presenters, whilst researchers from GNS Science provided information on new and emerging nanotechnologies.

ERMA New Zealand's National Māori Network

The Network was established in 2003 as a result of the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification. In its response to the Royal Commission report, the Government directed ERMA New Zealand to "improve the participation of Māori in the development of research programmes" that might lead to the need for applications to be made under the HSNO Act (including genetic modification). The Network

comprised 15 members at its inception, and has grown rapidly to 180 members in 2008. It is now a well informed and influential group.

ERMA New Zealand hosts the Network one to three times annually to discuss controversial technologies and environmental management issues. As a result, ERMA New Zealand has established positive and constructive relationships with Network members. This work has also enabled Network members to establish relationships between iwi and hapū organizations, learn about government regulatory processes involved in environmental management and develop a basic understanding of some of the most well known and controversial technologies currently in practice. This foundation has provided Network members with the confidence and open-mindedness to begin active engagement and a real sharing of knowledge and information with researchers.

Finding the Appropriate Venue

The hui took place in New Zealand's capital city of Wellington and was hosted at two venues that reflected the kaupapa of the meeting. Tapu te Ranga Marae is a non-traditional marae (Māori communal centre) in appearance but very traditional in practice as it is an active papakāinga (home) for the Stewart whānau. Te Papa Tongarewa (the National Museum of New Zealand) is an operational research facility for both mātauranga Māori and contemporary science; its exhibitions and collection spaces provide a unique and living example of the complementarity of these knowledge systems.

An unexpected benefit of both venues was that each provided an environment that was slightly uncomfortable for a segment of hui participants. Iwi participants probably felt more comfortable at Tapu Te Ranga Marae, whilst the scientists were probably more at ease in the conference settings of Te Papa. This produced a more even playing field from which to establish open and productive dialogue. In hindsight, our abandonment of an initial intention to hold the hui in a university environment was justified as the "neutral" and informal setting provided by Tapu Te Ranga Marae and Te Papa Tongarewa proved critical to the success of the hui.

Motivations for Participation: Why Take Part in the Hui?

Motivations differed amongst the parties involved, though common threads are evident. ERMA New Zealand considers the development of relationships between Māori and researchers to be key in undertaking its legislative responsibilities and implementing and enforcing successful regulation. For these relationships to be meaningful, both parties must have the requisite capability and capacity to participate and/or partner with each other. This hui was an avenue for building the capacity and relationships between Māori and researchers. Indeed, ERMA New Zealand has a unique capacity to facilitate the development of these linkages because it has established relationships and networks with a wide range of iwi representatives and research organizations. Finally, ERMA New Zealand was motivated to organize the hui at the request of Network members who wanted to further develop the knowledge they had obtained at previous hui about new and emerging technologies. This contributed significantly to the success of the hui because it meant that the Network was effectively hosting the researchers and therefore applied the ethics of manaakitanga throughout their engagement at the hui. This is in stark contrast to the potentially adversarial environment that might have existed if the hui had been a researcher hosted event.

The Network requested the hui for three principal reasons: to enhance their opportunities for partnership, protection, and participation in research and technology. These are themes that are commonly voiced among Māori in relation to technology (Roberts & Fairweather, 2004). Network members wished to partner with researchers so they could harness and direct new technologies rather than be at the mercy of technology and its users. History notes that Māori are extremely pragmatic people, keen to grasp solutions that might address resource and environmental issues. The Network has expressed an increasing awareness of and interest in the benefits of commercial and environmental opportunities posed by new technologies. Network members were also motivated by a desire to protect people and the environment from the misuse of technology. They sought to challenge whether the use of technology was appropriate and within the bounds of tikanga Māori. Both Network members and researchers recognized the need for information exchange to ensure that risks and benefits of new technologies are appropriately managed. Finally, Network members were keen to participate in

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directing and developing technologies from their inception. They viewed the hui as an opportunity to network with researchers, agencies and other iwi resource managers about potential partnerships relating to specific issues within their rohe (district, area).

Researchers were also motivated to participate in the hui by several different factors. Engaging with Māori communities is often important for meeting funding and regulatory requirements of agencies and universities, and that was certainly a factor in the hui. However, the participating researchers viewed the hui as an opportunity to directly engage with Māori in a meaningful way. They genuinely felt their research would benefit from this interaction. In particular, researchers were keen to hear from communities on what types of research would benefit them. Often researchers are only able to ask this of a very limited number of people, or feel they must guess at what sort of projects might benefit or interest iwi. The hui provided an opportunity to discuss this openly and broadly. In addition, the hui provided a forum for researchers to present their work, receive input on it from Māori communities throughout Aotearoa and hear alternative interpretations of their recent findings. Research agencies were keen to take part in the hui, to provide these opportunities to their researchers and to encourage them to conduct research that is relevant to, useful to and collaborative with Māori communities. Partnering with ERMA New Zealand allowed these agencies to connect with Māori resource managers, environmental practitioners and iwi representatives from throughout Aotearoa, whom they could not have connected with otherwise.

Emergent Themes: What was Learnt from the Hui?

Two of the key issues to emerge from this hui were the importance of providing an appropriate environment for such an event, and finding presenters who understand and can display humility and manaakitanga (Te Momo, 2007). Scientists sometimes unwittingly present their work in an impersonal or condescending manner (McHughen, 2007), prompting an adversarial attitude among Māori. Neither position is conducive to open dialogue. Thus, setting a suitable tone for the meeting in terms of venue, facilitation, programming and presenter attitude was critical to the success of the hui (Brauerhoch et al. 2007). This success was evidenced in an evaluative comment from one participant noting that there was "a huge diversity of positions but [it] seemed like all participants were striving to be open and learn from each other's unique backgrounds."

ERMA New Zealand's unique position between Māori and researchers was highly useful in bringing these parties together to facilitate information exchange and the development of durable and mutually beneficial relationships. A number of both Māori and researcher participants noted their commonalities in vision and values which they previously had not realized. In addition, there was an initial misconception on both sides that relationship maintenance is onerous, time consuming and costly. The hui made it clear that where parties share a genuine interest and common goal, relationships can be maintained with very little effort. All parties involved recognized that there is still much work to do in facilitating relationships between Māori and researchers, particularly as there are a multitude of new and emerging technologies that have yet to be discussed among Māori and the researchers developing them.

For Māori participants, the hui clarified many of their current concerns with regard to new and emerging technologies. They engaged directly with researchers and government agencies to challenge and ask questions about the motivations and uses of the technologies being discussed. Many noted a continued caution relating to unresolved intellectual and physical property rights, particularly as this inhibits opportunities for fully harnessing the benefits of new technologies (Roberts & Fairweather, 2004). Concerns were also raised about the waste products of new technologies, especially with regard to physical (for example, the excrement of genetically modified animals or the disposal of nanoproducts and particles) and spiritual contamination (for example, inteference with whakapapa (geneaology) and mauri) (Roberts & Fairweather, 2004). Some of these concerns were born out of the perception that we are experiencing a "gold rush" period of new technologies, where research is charging ahead with considerable uncertainty and in the absence of monitoring or regulation. For others, these concerns simply reflect the lack of mutual engagement in decision-making about the use and management of technology.

The hui also highlighted that there is increased awareness among Māori of the opportunities and innovation potential of new technologies and particular interest in using traditional knowledge as a foundation for developing technologies. Although participants maintained a healthy scepticism, they also asked questions about using technological solutions to address specific issues within their regions. In addition, the dialogue reflected, recognized and affirmed the traditional and contemporary knowledge and experience held by flaxroots people who typically underestimate their own knowledge. This reinforced the importance of researchers establishing truly mutually beneficial partnerships in the development of their research ideas and programmes. A Network participant noted that "the scientists stayed, slept and ate with us. Many of us got to meet with them and form great contacts. The information presented was exciting and interesting because it related to current issues that impact on Māori communities."

Researchers also said that they gained experience and learnt several lessons from the hui. They were able to make contacts and begin to build relationships with various iwi and Māori resource managers. They found it highly valuable to "meet with Māori from around New Zealand and (hear) about genetic research from a completely different viewpoint." Participating researchers felt the hui improved their understanding of Māori perspectives on genetic research and technology in general, and on their own specific projects in particular. For some researchers this input was coming at the earliest stages of their project and could help them refine their study questions and design. For other researchers, this input provided expertise or oral history of species they were well into studying. Still other researchers were nearing the end of a project and were able to use the hui as an opportunity to report back to Māori communities on what they had learnt. Researchers expressed that they now felt more comfortable interacting with Māori communities and iwi representatives and felt encouraged rather than apprehensive to seek out Māori perspectives on their work. Finally, the hui provided both researchers and Network members with a new appreciation of their mutual interest in working together in research. This came as a surprise to many participants, who had previously assumed a lack of interest among Māori in working with scientists or vice versa.

Comments received from researchers at the hui reflect that this was a positive experience for most. In particular, researchers were keen to keep up the relationships that started at the hui and suggested a follow-on meeting in the near future. In the words of one participant: "I thought it was incredibly successful … as scientists we got a lot out of it. From a personal perspective, I made lots of contacts, which is always a sign of a successful meeting. I would really like to go back to the same group in 18 months or so and talk about progress we've made." For many of the researchers, this was their first stay on a marae and a unique and engaging cultural experience as well, "I learned a lot, both science and tikanga."

Realizing Continued Benefits from the Hui

The hui was not without conflict or tension but most participants' comments were positive, suggesting that the hui succeeded in providing a forum to begin working through contentious issues kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face). More than 140 people participated in the hui, including approximately 35 scientists. We have several strategies for following on this progress. ERMA New Zealand has produced a short video of the hui for public dissemination with the hope of spreading the dialogue beyond the original hui. In addition, participants noted that the hui focused quite strongly on the technological side of the kaupapa and asked that a follow-up hui be held to look with more depth into tikanga and its relationship to technology. We hope to hold such a hui in the near future. This will enable further discussion of new research findings and collaborative research opportunities, and will assist in the maintenance of relationships initiated at the first hui. We plan to maintain ongoing general communications between participating agencies and parties through newsletters, research papers, hui at the hapū and/or whānau level, and attendance at future ERMA New Zealand hui and scientific meetings. Finally, we will be following up on discussions of specific projects and collaborations that arose at the hui. This initial hui, however, has already provided a great deal to think about and discuss and several participants felt the next step was to return to their research groups and iwi to share what they had learnt thus far. One participant noted that "my kete (baskets) were filled and time is now required to consider the information and to take it back to my people."

Are Mātauranga Māori and Emerging Technologies Compatible?

Yes. Indeed, they must move forward together as technological advances are occurring and being embraced rapidly, often with little regard for cultural implications. For example, genetic modification is the fastest adopted technology in the history of agriculture (McHughen, 2007). Given widespread concern among Māori that research be conducted in a way that is tika (culturally correct) (Roberts & Fairweather, 2004), it is heartening to know that researchers are beginning to develop culturally appropriate protocols for working with sensitive topics and materials in research. For example, researchers have developed tika procedures for working with human brain tissue in studies of Huntington's Disease (Cheung, Gibbons, Dragunow & Faull, 2007) and the collection of blood and urine samples for nutritional studies among Māori children (Durie, 2004). In both instances, Māori and non-Māori researchers worked together to understand their different views and design protocols for the protection of both (Durie, 2004; Roberts & Fairweather, 2004). This interface, where differing worldviews come together, can be particularly fruitful for developing creative research, innovative approaches and new knowledge (Durie, 2004).

The hui itself, as well as comments made by participants during the poroporoaki (farewell ceremony), reflected the whakataukī (proverb), "mā tā koutou rourou, mā tā mātou rourou, ka ora te iwi" (with your contributions and mine, the people will be well). We hope this hui marks the beginning of a continued and fruitful effort to develop collaborative research that will harness the benefits of new and emerging technologies for Māori and encourage Māori to weigh the benefits of taking a new net fishing.

Glossary

Aotearoa	New Zealand
hapū	kinship group, clan
hui	meeting
iwi	tribe(s)
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
karakia	prayers
kaupapa	purpose
kete	baskets
mana	authority, integrity, dignity
manaakitanga	protocols, principles of Māori hospitality
marae	Māori communal centre
mātauranga Māori	Māori traditional knowledge
mauri	life essence
papakāinga	home
poroporoaki	farewell ceremony
rohe	district, area
tika	culturally correct
tikanga Māori	customary practice
whakapapa	geneaology
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	family

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The Complementarity of Wānanga and Deliberations in the Work of the Bioethics Council

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Part One
The Value of Wānanga Māori

> Ko te kai a te rangatira he kōrero (the food of chiefs is talk)

The focus of my paper will be to show how wānanga Māori (Māori learning process) complements and refines the model of deliberations and vice versa. I will draw on the Māori concept of wānanga Māori to show how the two processes complement each other. Some Māori have said that wānanga, which has its own set of protocols, values and principles, *is* the process of deliberations.

What are Deliberations?

The process of deliberations is when participants are invited to frame an issue and then to prioritize together ways of acting. The deliberations model utilizes the wealth of ordinary people's knowledge, experiences and wisdom to inform policies. The goal is to bring about better decision making and, ultimately, decisions that people are more likely to support.

Indigenous peoples, globally, have used similar models of deliberation like the *Circle Pow Wow* and the *Peace Pipe* to discuss in depth important issues for their people. Reflections on these ancient processes of deliberating are noted in Iroquois Indian Chief Tadodaho Leon Shenandoah's[1] statement as he opened the first inaugural Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (PFII) in New York in 2002:

> The Chiefs of the Haudensaunee shall be mentors of the people for all time. The thickness of their skin shall be seven spans; which is to say that they shall be proof against anger, offensive action, and criticism. Their hearts shall be full of peace and good will and their minds filled with yearning for the welfare of the people. With endless patience, they shall carry out their duty. Their firmness shall be tempered with a tenderness for their people. Neither anger nor fury shall find lodging in their minds and all their words and actions shall be marked by calm deliberation.

Māori may not use the word "deliberation" but what happens in wānanga is all about deliberation.

Before I discuss the model of deliberations that the Bioethics Council has used in their face-to-face and online deliberations on national issues, I want to talk a little about the traditional Māori form of wānanga. The ancient form of wānanga was a place of higher learning, where tohunga (experts) taught the sons of rangatira (chiefs) their people's knowledge of history, genealogy and religious practices. In more contemporary times, wānanga has evolved and taken on Western ideas. For example, most Māori studies in mainstream universities are considered wānanga now; all universities, polytechnics and tertiary institutions that have a Māori component to them are considered wānanga and from these wānanga there are a myriad of subjects and courses one can enrol in and females are included in the classes. I remember being able to enrol in a paper titled whaikōrero (Māori oratory) at Auckland University, a topic that was usually reserved for males as it was thought that only males could be orators although some Māori scholars have suggested that this was not the case at all (Mikaere, 1999). At the base of all wānanga is mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).

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[1] Tadodaho Leon Shenandoah, Chief from the Haudensaunee, Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy.

It was my good fortunate to be born into the tribe of Ngāti Raukawa (as well as other iwi) because it was Ngāti Raukawa who established the first contemporary form of tribal wānanga, Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa (TWOR). It was here that I received formal classes in mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) in the late 1980s. These week-long wānanga were held on marae (tribal meeting grounds) within and around the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Raukawa (the Kapiti Coast and the Horowhenua). We were in these wānanga for seven days and seven nights at a time, twice a year for four years. We were immersed in te ao Maori (the Māori world) and te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (the language and its protocols and customs). The use of English was banned.

This contemporary version of wānanga drew from the traditional institution of wānanga in the sense that we looked to our elders for guidance and understood that, when we stood to speak, we had the respect of all involved. Amongst the set tasks, we as participants were expected to prepare, present and then defend our ideas on a given theme set by the elders. Our kaumātua (male and female elders) played a moderating role and were held in very high regard by us all; they were, after all, linked to us through whakapapa (genealogy), a cornerstone of Māoridom. Of course you do not always have this dynamic in public deliberations but there is the potential to build a communal connection. Some of the Māori deliberations were amongst a kohanga reo (Maori language crèche) community or a kura whānau (primary school grouping).

Our wānanga sessions were totally in the Māori language. We were some 50 students or participants taught by eight or more elders (at a time) as well as senior students of TWOR. The objectives of these wānanga were that we presented our views and at the same time shared our collective knowledge, our views and ideas always being critiqued by our peers and elders.

TWOR was established formally in the early 1980's, 30 or so years before the writing of this article. We were nurtured and tutored by kaumātua like the late Rangiamohia Kereama, Rongokino Hekenui, Tukawekai Kereama and Māori Marsden. We also had knowledgeable experts such as Professor Whatarangi Winiata, Huirangi Waikerepuru, Iwi Nicholsen, Piripi Walker and other tohunga, leaders in Aotearoa New Zealand today. In these wānanga our lives were changed forever, not only because we were learning from these loved and respected elders, but also because these wānanga came at a time when "to be Māori" was not in vogue nor was it commonly believed that Māori could re-establish a wānanga (university), their own institutions of higher learning.

Today, wānanga has been acknowledged by the Western legal system. It has its own legislation under an amendment to the Education Act 1989, which allowed for the official funding of wānanga and is used for many recently-established Māori universities. Wānanga is a place where iwi (tribes) deliberate and develop policy acceptable to iwi.

During those special days at TWOR we learned very quickly that we could not just turn up and talk "off the top of our heads". The other participants were certainly not passive and the most challenging part was to respond to our elders' questions or challenges. We had to listen to other points of views on the same topic by our peers, which were often diametrically opposed to our own views. Then we had to search for common ground on an issue, we had to make trade offs and also weigh the costs and benefits of our propositions.

Our sessions lasted well into the night. They were very well organized wānanga that brought together an amazing energy of young and old, male and female, local and urban Māori, all trying to make sense of our position in a world that has greatly changed from the time of our ancestors. We talked through land alienation, the colonization of our minds, the resurrection of the Treaty of Waitangi and all national issues of vital importance to the cultural survival of Māori in our ancestral lands.

The deliberating process was far more demanding than anything I have ever experienced in a Western learning institution. The deliberative process currently carried out by the Bioethics Council is far less demanding than our week-long wānanga. It is one thing to share your views in three hours of a day but an entirely different matter to have your views tested over a week.

We graduated as different people. The wealth of knowledge given and shared amongst each other was ours collectively and forever; all we had to do was to take the knowledge out to iwi who wanted it. Myself and others set up the very same wānanga model in the urban setting and ran them amongst Māori and non-Māori who wanted them; that wānanga still exists today.

Our advantage was that we were in a loving environment with elders who welcomed our ideas, conservative or otherwise. The level of stimulation was high and many of the policy ideas—although we did not call them policies but rather *take* (issues)—have come to fruition today; examples are the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori, a myriad of Waitangi claims including those which now recognise Māori rights to airwaves, family group conferencing, Māori Television and other Māori initiatives that assert tangata whenua (people of the land, indigenous) status.

So, when I began the work of deliberations with the Bioethics Council in engaging the public on controversial issues such as pre-birth testing, I was well equipped, certainly from the Māori perspective, to engage with the public. In fact, what I found from both my past and present experience in wānanga was that Māori had much to offer in further refining the deliberations process, in particular when engaging Māori in deliberations on national issues. Not that Māori have one view; their views are as diverse as any other racial grouping.

The Bioethics Council's Work in Deliberations

The Bioethics Council was established in 2002 because Māori amongst others questioned genetic engineering, which led to a Royal Commission on Genetic Modification (RCGM) in 2000/01. Extensive consultations were carried out with the public.

The key terms of reference for the Bioethics Council are:

> To advise the Government on biotechnological issues of national importance involving significant cultural, ethical and spiritual dimensions and to guide decision-makers on these matters. The advice is made public and will take into account the values of New Zealanders.
> The social context and dimensions of biotechnology and the issues it generates.
> To articulate and report on the diversity of views on an issue.
> To take account of the values and views held in common as well as identifying areas where a diversity of values and views remain, in particular those created by Treaty issues.

Part Two
Distinguishing Consultation, Dialogue & Deliberations

I will now distinguish between *consultations*, *dialogue* and *deliberations*. Although the three words are used interchangeably they are distinctly different.

Consultation is when a position is presented and the public are asked to comment.

Dialogue is when two individuals or parties agree to meet, talk and "really listen". Here there needs to be a commitment to try and understand another point of view, that is, that one would put oneself in the other's shoes in order to see where they are coming from.

Deliberation, as noted above, is when participants are invited to frame an issue and then to prioritize together ways of acting together. The deliberations model utilizes the wealth of ordinary peoples' knowledge, experiences and wisdom to inform policies, with the goal of bringing about better decision making and, ultimately, decisions that people are more likely to support.

We are witnessing an international trend to greater public participation in government decision-making, resulting in a movement toward "public consultation" or "public engagement". These require two-way communication, transparency of the decision-making process and meaningful incorporation of public input into that process. However, in practice, much consultation involves tightly scripted opportunities for public comment on well-developed policies, with no public deliberation or institutionalized mechanisms for reflecting the publics' input in policy construction.

That said, there is a continuum, ranging from just providing information through to empowering the public. Each process may be appropriate, depending on the purpose of the engagement. It is the process of empowering the public or tapping into ordinary people's wisdom and experience that is at the core objective of the deliberations process when dealing with controversial biotechnology. The process also needs to take into account the cultural, ethical and spiritual aspects of that biotechnology.

Part Three
The Bioethics Council's Report on Pre-Birth Testing

In the Bioethics Council's recent report, they undertook for the first time a three-stage process in deliberations with the public on the topic of pre-birth testing. Firstly, the Council informed itself with a literature review. Then interviews were held by 11 experts who had significant expertise and experience in various fields related to pre-birth testing. This resulted in a brochure outlining pre-birth testing's important scientific, cultural, ethical and spiritual aspects. Then six framing meetings were held nationwide during July and August of 2007, including a hui (Māori gathering) and fono (Samoan gathering). The goal of the issue-framing was to bring ordinary members of the public together so they could create a document that expressed the basic concerns that are behind the way people see a problem.

Four distinct approaches emerged that reflected different and competing ways of dealing with pre-birth testing. These four approaches are outlined in *The Choicebook*:

> My Choice My Right;
> Life is A Gift;
> Tangata Whenua Perspectives; and
> Information, Knowledge and the Public's Involvement.

The Choicebook also contained background information, targeted at lay people, on the scientific, ethical and social aspects of pre-birth testing.Using *The Choicebook*, participants were then able to participate in 18 deliberations conducted nationally and use the tailor-made website that enabled participants to deliberate anonymously online at http://www.bioethics.org.

In the deliberations, we were able to get participants to go beyond what they thought about pre-birth testing and to recognize that their thoughts and opinions have costs and consequences. Because not everybody agrees on what should be done, trade-offs needed to be made. During the 18 deliberations sessions, groups from around the nation had to carefully weigh up the evidence giving reasons as to why they held the views that they held. They had to work together to find a way forward when their individual beliefs and values were often very different.

What the Bioethics Council Heard

A snapshot of some of the more common themes from the pre-birth testing deliberations includes:

> the value of human life;
> how pre-birth testing would impact on whakapapa;
> how to reconcile tikanga Māori and existing and emerging biotechnologies;
> where the Treaty of Waitangi was positioned in the deliberations;
> provision of appropriate information to Māori mothers;
> varied views as to the point at which life begins, from the point of fertilization, to once the embryo was implanted in the mother's womb through to belief that the moral significance of the foetus increases as pregnancy progresses;
> women's rights to reproductive autonomy;
> the importance of parental decision making;
> the value of having people with differences and disabilities in society;
> the need for disabled people and their caregivers to be socially and financially supported;
> the concern that some health professionals viewed termination of a problematic pregnancy as the "default option";

some unease about sex selection for social reasons, although the reasons for this were unclear as it was accepted that in New Zealand there is no particular preference for children of either sex; concern about creating "saviour siblings"—generally because of concerns about the future welfare of the tissue matched baby, rather than whether the condition suffered by the sick child was heritable.

There were areas where the participants were able to agree, particularly about the need for better information for parents, as the possible consequences of tests were not always fully understood and some people had unrealistic expectations of testing, so they needed information that explained its limitations and risks.

Some people were concerned that new technologies could change views about what is "normal": we could become a society in which "eugenics", "designer babies" and sex selection could be commonplace. Also that pre-birth testing could effectively create two social groups—the genetic "haves" and the "have-nots."

After all the deliberations were completed, the task was to collate all the information and recommendations gathered from the 18 deliberations as well as the data from the moderated online sessions, which had engaged 700 people in total. The collated material was written into a formal report by the Council. The Council's 11 recommendations were informed by content from the public deliberations. This report was then launched and given to the Associate Minister for the Environment for her and her Ministerial group to consider. The recommendations are not binding and they will be for the Ministers to decide as to which recommendations will be acted on.

Drawing Conclusions

In conclusion, do wānanga Māori complement deliberations? Absolutely! It is a normal part of Māori life to come together on national issues; history has shown that Māori hold public hui on all important issues. As detailed in the paragraphs above, the concept of deliberations in the form of wānanga has always been with iwi Māori—whether they were traditional Māori communities or as we know Māori communities in the urban setting today.

As a reaction to colonization, Māori have had to reclaim their "space" in every possible setting in order to have a voice. This is seen not just on traditional and urban marae or in deliberations spoken of here, but also by the artists, poets, writers, sculptors and carvers, Māori have used artistic expression in order to be heard and, as is seen, Aotearoa New Zealand is richer for it.

The fact that there is an international trend to utilize the deliberations model in engaging the public on important national issues that have a cultural, ethical and spiritual aspect has meant that Māori and non-Māori have come together to wānanga, to deliberate—whether on the issue of pre-birth testing or any other issue of national importance. For Māori, everything has a cultural ethical or spiritual aspect, not just existing or emerging biotechnology.

We can conclude that Māori have always understood deliberation as it related to their world. Just as these recent deliberations have shown, Māori have a particular way of engaging with each other and others. We have a tradition of whaikōrero (oratory) which is why we say, "Ko te kai a te rangatira he kōrero" (The food of chiefs is talk). Māori also pride themselves in being able to be the best hosts to manuhiri (visitors), providing kai (food) and providing insight into all and any topic of national importance. These customs come naturally to Māori. No doubt, those brave Māori ancestors deliberated on the pros and cons of getting in their waka (vessels) and voyaging the oceans to explore and discover Aotearoa/New Zealand. Clearly, they would have thought through what might lay beyond their spiritual home of Raiātea.

So it is natural that they would refine and give a cultural context to the model of deliberations currently being used by the Bioethics Council.

We can see already that the Māori worldview is permeating and shaping the culture of this country. There are more and more public practices in Aotearoa/New Zealand that celebrate the Māori culture, such as the now annual celebration of Matariki (Māori New Year). Like wānanga, this is an old practice now revitalized for current and future generations. There is the karakia (spiritual blessing), the sharing of kai (food) the whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building) and the pōwhiri (welcoming of participants at the beginning of each deliberation). This hybrid blend of a deliberation model is proving to be a process valued by all New Zealanders. Further, this hybrid model of deliberating has the potential to break down barriers when dealing with controversial issues important to the people of this country, to build relationships across families, communities, iwi and indeed the nation. We can expect to have not only more enduring and credible policy in terms of pre-birth testing but integral to this hybrid of deliberation are principles of reconciliation, restorative justice and other nation-building principles.

Glossary

fono	Samoan gathering
hui	gathering
iwi	tribes
kai	food
kaumātua	elders
kohanga reo	Maori language crèche
kōrero	talk
kuia	elder (female)
kura whānau	primary school community
manaakitanga	hospitality
Māori	indigenous person, native to Aotearoa/New Zealand
marae	tribal meeting grounds, Māori communal centre
Matariki	Māori new year
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
pōwhiri	welcoming
Raiātea	spiritual home for the Māori
rangatira	chiefs
take	issue
tangata whenua	people of the land, indigenous
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	custom
wānanga	place of learning
whaikōrero	oratory
whakapapa	genealogy
whakawhanaungatanga	relationship building

References

Mikaere, A. (1999) Colonization and the imposition of patriarchy: A Ngati Raukawa woman's perspective. *Te Ukaipo*.

Māori Grandparents:
Raising Mokopuna Fulltime

Cherryl Smith
Te Atawhai o Te Ao: Independent Māori Institute for Environment and Health

He tupuna, he mokopuna.
Ma wai e whakakī ngā whāwhārua o ngā mātua tūpuna?
Mā ō tātou mokopuna!
He mokopuna, he tupuna.
Who will fill in the spaces left by our ancestors?
Our grandchildren will!
Respect our whakapapa by caring for our children!
Respect your whakapapa by caring for your children!
(Nā Tū Tama Wāhine o Taranaki, tēnei kōrero)
(These words are composed by Tū Tama Wāhine o Taranaki)

There is significant evidence that suggests that over recent decades the number of Māori grandparents raising mokopuna (grandchildren) full time is increasing. The main State financial assistance for grandparents raising mokopuna is received through the Orphan's and Unsupported Child's Benefits. There has been a steady increase in the number receiving this benefit over the last 10 years. In July 1998 there were 6,440 recipients nationally and in April 2008 this number sat at 10,526. Anecdotal evidence from communities also suggests an increase, for example, reports from kohanga reo, schools, Māori health workers and Māori social workers, who are noting a steady rise in the number of grandparents raising mokopuna. This could be for a number of reasons: there is an increasing youth population which could mean that the percentage of grandchildren is actually staying the same; with fewer grandparents, there are more taking over this role; and there is possibly more reporting and more action taken by whānau when a child or children are viewed to be at risk, especially with the intense focus by the media on Māori children at risk and their families. Child Youth and Family's (CYF's) notifications by family/whānau members have increased in recent decades (*Child Maltreatment Report 2006*), which suggests an increased willingness for reporting to report to statutory child protection systems. Statistics New Zealand notes that there is a lack of information about grandparents raising grandchildren: "Some information on grandparents in a parental role is available from the 2001 Census, although a limitation of this data is that it excludes situations in which the parent(s) of the child are living in the household. Due to quality issues, this data is not available from the 2006 Census. If these quality issues are resolved, it is intended that this information will be available from the 2011 Census." Several of the people I spoke to have the parents living in the house or close by, but the grandparents are the ones raising the grandchildren.

For Māori, the task of raising grandchildren is considered an honour. It is generally considered that mokopuna raised by grandparents are treasured because they will learn the knowledge of the older generation.

Relationships between grandparents and mokopuna within Maori society are regarded as special in that love is shown freely and openly in actions, words and affection. Children that are whangai [foster children] of their grandparents or older whanau [family] members are sometimes chosen as repositories of whanau and hapu [clan] knowledge, ancestral lineage, tikanga [correct procedures] and tribal history. Grandparents often whangai their grandchildren to keep the extended family together. For whatever reason, when a whangai relationship is established, positive value and connotations are attached to this customary practice. (McRae & Nikora, 2006)[1]

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[1] This report uses the term whāngai for grandparents raising mokopuna. However, when speaking to grandparents within this study they tended to just talk about mokopuna and whānau and tended not to use whāngai. The term

Grandparents are just one group within whānau that can assume care of children; there are also brothers and sisters of parents, older children of siblings, uncles and aunties who can assume care of children. The broader extended whānau can also offer care for children. Numerous arrangements exist in whānau where grandparents, uncles and aunties can live under the one roof or where care of mokopuna is shared between parents and grandparents.

Internationally, research data from Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia tells us that the number of children being raised by grandparents is rising across these countries. Within New Zealand, researchers and grandparent advocacy groups indicate that there are growing numbers of grandparents raising grandchildren for a range of social reasons including parental drug and alcohol abuse, mental illness, physical illness, death, divorce, poverty, neglect, abuse, abandonment, gang affiliation, teenage pregnancy and increased female incarceration (Worrall, 2005). The researcher who has done the most significant research on this area in New Zealand is Jill Worrall. She notes that: "Maori children are still over-represented in state care statistics; however, they are more than twice as likely to be placed with grandparents or other extended family than are European children" (Worrall, 2006).

State care statistics form only one part of the number of Māori grandparents who raise their grandchildren. In addition, there are a number of grandparents who have proactively assumed care of their mokopuna as part of their role within the whānau.

Enquiries into whānau well-being show that it is often grandparents who maintain oversight of whānau health and well-being. When there is a breakdown in parenting, grandparents can assume care of their mokopuna, providing a valuable safety net for whānau. Because of their significant role in the whānau, grandparents may have complex responsibilities such as caring for their elderly or sick parents, caring for their partners, supporting their children, as well as raising mokopuna. That is quite aside from the fact that some will be kaumātua (elders) and kuia (female elders), which often involves a higher commitment to whānau, marae (Māori communal centre), hapū and iwi (tribe). Their own health issues may also be exacerbated by financial hardship. Recent research shows that the health needs of many elderly Māori are already not being met and there are significant barriers for them to access health services and financial assistance (Kepa, 2005). What a number of international studies indicate is that the health and well-being needs of grandparents who are raising their grandchildren are high but there is very little support or assistance for these needs (Minkler & Roe, 1993; Minkler & Fuller-Thomson, 1999; Worrall, 2005). There are a number of Māori writers who have documented health disparities for Māori (Reid, Robson & Jones, 2000; Robson, 2004). It is particularly the young and the elderly who have high needs, so grandparents raising mokopuna often bring two high health needs groups together.

In 2007 and early 2008 I began to have informal discussions with Māori grandparents raising mokopuna in Whanganui.[2] These discussions were preliminary conversations that had two purposes: first, to pass on the information that I was undertaking research and that I would be conducting formal interviews at a later date and, second, to discuss general issues that may need to be explored in the study. At a later time formal interviews will be undertaken and these discussions will be key to scoping some of the issues that may arise and will provide a base for considering.a range of experiences.

During these conversations, some key issues emerged which are discussed in this paper. The grandparents' comments showed some clear differences from the existing literature in the area. Familiar themes were also identified that would need to be considered in the later interview setting.

Most of the grandparents that I spoke to have whakapapa (genealogical links) to Whanganui iwi (tribe), Taranaki and Rangitīkei. The grandparents all had clear oversight of their whānau, whether they lived within Whanganui, out of town or out of the country. I was surprised to find there were over 30

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mokotaura is also occasionally used for a grandchild raised by grandparents. The term whāngai originally means to nurture but it is, in modern usage, being used for adoption or fostering as well.
[2] My interest in this study has arisen out of my own experience of raising a mokopuna and this has prompted me to talk to other grandparents who are doing the same.

grandparents who were raising mokopuna in my immediate network; over several months, I spoke to 30 of them who had full-time care of and were raising a total of 85 mokopuna. Yet these individuals are only the tip of the iceberg. Although they are present in our communities, they are "invisible" to most people.

There were a number of stories of severe hardship but nobody identified grandparents raising mokopuna as whānau with specific needs. This group of grandparents are all part of strong whānau and all were committed to the health and well-being of their whānau. They all took their roles of maintaining the physical and emotional well-being of the mokopuna seriously but they were also dedicated to the role of overseeing the whānau and whakapapa.

What emerged from these discussions is a strong confirmation that extended whānau are maintaining strong connections. All the people I spoke to are strong in terms of whānau knowledge and support. Within this region we are still seeing the traditional role of Māori grandparents overseeing the general well-being of their grandchildren. Grandparents can range in age from their 30s to 80-plus years, so they can span over five decades of age difference. The majority I spoke to were in their 50s and 60s with only a few in their 40s and a few over 70.

Common Themes that Emerged when Talking to the Grandparents
Common themes that emerged when talking to the grandparents were as follows:

Grandparents are an extremely important backstop in many whānau when things go wrong. They are often sought out by grandchildren when there are problems in the whānau.

They are important for monitoring the overall health and well-being of the whānau. For example, they work to maintain the whakapapa connections with mokopuna born to sons or daughters who may not be directly involved with parenting.

Brief outlines of the ways that grandmothers took over the care of the grandchild showed that the "authority" of the grandmother could still hold sway. When the grandmother made a firm and clear decision for the well-being of the mokopuna it was often agreed to, even if disliked.

Grandparents are often not asking for help, even if they need it. They are primarily focused on the grandchildren and place the needs of mokopuna before themselves, commonly "going without".

There are likely to be impacts on the health and well-being of the grandparents when important support and help is unavailable or when they do not have whānau-friendly support to access help that does exist.

Pride was an important issue that arose in conversations with three of the grandparents: "We are managing ok," was said forcefully even though they were struggling in different areas, for example, in getting children to appointments, covering uniform costs, overlooking their own health needs, et cetera.

Only one person used the term "whāngai" when speaking of their mokopuna. They just said mokopuna.

Very few of the grandparents were aware that there was a grandparents' advocacy group.[3]

There were a range of reasons for mokopuna to come into the care of grandparents. The following list gives an indication of some of the reasons that grandparents gave for taking over the care of their grandchildren. In some cases grandparents had a combination of the following reasons:

maintaining connections to their hapū and kāinga (home) and parents living away from their rohe;
retention of land and whakapapa ties;
transmission of knowledge to chosen mokopuna (language, whakapapa and kōrero);
mothers young and not ready to take on the full responsibility of parenting;
teenage child/ren getting into trouble at home so grandparent takes them;

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[3] The Grandparents Raising Grandchildren Charitable Trust is based in Auckland and has support groups around the country. They provide valuable information for grandparents, have a website available and a number of key resources.

drugs, alcohol, violence and neglect;
children/babies with health problems;
children choosing to live with grandparent; and
parent dying through illness or accident.

Not just grandparents are raising mokopuna; great grandparents also are raising mokopuna, sometimes in their seventies. The grandparents I spoke to were just as likely to be raising their sons' children as they were their daughters' children, despite the fact that literature overseas suggests a predominance of focus on maternal grandparents taking over the care of children.

What also arose were issues of single grandparenting. A reasonable number were single and did not have the assistance of a full-time partner. The majority were not the stereotypical grandparent who is retired and has hobbies and a relaxed lifestyle. The majority of the grandparents were working full time. Three that I spoke to who are in their seventies are working part time.

The lives of grandparents raising mokopuna can be very complicated and they may be dealing with a number of agencies or with none. Grandparents have no legal standing to care for their mokopuna without going to the Family Court and obtaining parenting orders. Many grandparents may prefer to work things out as a whānau and not go to court. But this can create a "catch 22" situation for grandparents because if they do not have custody, children can be uplifted at any time. A number of grandparents I spoke to are or were caught up in custody, guardianship and access issues.

Ani Mikaere (2002) points out some of the conflicts when Māori try to engage in child custody issues:

> The notion of children as "possessions" clearly does not sit well with Maori beliefs ... By assuming that parents are a child's natural and exclusive guardians, the Guardianship Act lends itself to the interpretation that non-parental guardians are essentially substitutes for parents. Usually their number is limited to one or two and they are appointed when a parent dies, abdicates responsibility or is disqualified on grounds of illness or wrongdoing. To Maori used to the responsibility for children being widely shared, this interpretation is both limited and limiting.

Child, Youth and Family (CYF) is the key government agency that has legal powers to deal with child protection. When talking to grandparents about the study, a number indicated their aversion to the agency and this is one of the areas that arose as needing further analysis. A significant number of the grandparents I spoke to had no CYF involvement, which indicates that there could be a significant number of grandparents proactively taking children before family situations get so bad that CYF are involved; again, this is an area that needs further exploration.

The cost of caring for children can be high. It is not unusual for power and food bills to double. Although the Unsupported Childs Benefit (UCB) is available through Work and Income,[4] it appears to be easier to access if you have been through CYF. If you proactively take the grandchildren without CYF involvement, it can be harder to prove the need for financial help. UCB requires grandparents to prove there is a breakdown in the family but grandparents can also be trying to help their children who may have addictions, be in debt or have other problems. Sometimes financial support can come from the wider whānau.

Conclusion

This paper provides an introduction to issues arising when considering research with Māori grandparents raising mokopuna. While the numbers are increasing, there is a lack of clear statistical data to accurately count the number of Māori grandparents who have full time care of their mokopuna. There is data on the number of grandparents receiving financial assistance through Work and Income; there is data on the number of grandparents who gain parenting orders in the Family Court; there is data

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[4] Work and Income is the government agency that administers state welfare benefits such as unemployment, invalid, superannuation benefits, et cetera.

on the numbers of Māori children who come under the supervision of CYF; but these are all incomplete numbers because, as noted by the grandparents I spoke to, a number of them are not engaging with agencies. Significant and growing numbers of Māori grandparents are now raising their grandchildren and they tend to be invisible within communities yet the work they do is often critical to the well-being of children. A key question this research asks is: Who is taking care of the caregivers?

Glossary

hapū	clan
iwi	tribe
kāinga	home
kaumātua	elders
kōrero	talk
kuia	elder
marae	Māori communal centre
mokopuna	grandchildren
mokotaura	grandchild raised by grandparents
rohe	boundary
tikanga	correct procedures
whakapapa	genealogical links
whānau	family, extended family
whāngai	foster children

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Tohu and Māori Knowing

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Introduction

The Māori word tohu is often translated to mean mark, sign or proof. Contemporary translations are broader than the specific contexts in which the word was used in pre-colonial times. With colonization in Aotearoa (New Zealand) came the loss of tūrangawaewae (homelands) accompanied by changing social and economic circumstances for Māori people (T. Smith, 2007a). Shifts in language have occurred, contributing to current understandings. Problematic is the tendency to define tohu within Western, European and Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) understandings and frameworks of knowing where thought and memory are centred within the brain (T. Smith, 2008). In this paper I discuss tohu and explore the importance of tohu for Māori knowledge and knowing, and assess its relevance within the context of contemporary Māori social transformations.

Kaupapa Māori theory (theory based on Māori philosophy) creates space within academic debate for this type of discussion (G. Smith, 1995) and, accordingly, my theoretical standpoint is positioned from here. Pre-colonial evidence in this paper is drawn from early manuscript sources and also evidence in Māori "art" which connects to pre-colonial knowledge systems (T. Smith, 2008). Māori knowledge transmission and tohu have been interpreted from this context and the impact of colonization is assessed. I then argue that the redefining of tohu provides for insights and better understanding of Māori knowledge and contemporary Māori social transformations.

Pre-colonial tohu

Within the pre-colonial environment, tohu were critical for economic survival and were therefore an important part of the pre-colonial values system (T. Smith, 2007b). For example, tohu rangi were signs observed in the sky and provided meteorological and astronomical information. Tohu whenua were landmarks associated with whakapapa kōrero (genealogical discussion) that validated tūrangawaewae. Tohu moana were signs associated with the sea that was important for fishing and canoe travel. Tohu rangatira were symbols of leadership and chieftainship. Tohu aituā were signs of impending or potential death, ill health or misfortune. Signs of seasonal change were referred to as tohu nō te tau. Manuscript evidence also indicates tohu ora and tohu mate as two important categories of tohu. Tohu ora are indicators that provide knowledge to sustain life and were signs of good health. Tohu mate are indicators of death, illness or calamity and poor or potentially poor health. Tohu provide information for future action in order to avert negative consequences and provide positive outcomes. For pre-colonial Māori, social and economic survival were contingent upon the negotiation of tohu.

Tohu and the ngākau

Western knowledge systems are often premised upon the assumption that events occur and are conveyed by the senses to the brain where they are rationalized in the mind and stored. For Māori knowledge systems and other Pacific cultures with the same epistemological origins, memory and rational thought are perceived as occurring within the ngākau, the same place where memories and knowledge are stored and protected (T. Smith, 2008). The ngākau is often referred to as the heart or source of the emotions and feelings. Definitions also include the mind or the organs centrally located in the human body. The ngākau of a whare tīpuna or ancestral house refers also to the inside of the house. The open porch area of a whare tīpuna is often referred to as the roro, which also translates to mean the region of the brain or internal organs of the head. Whakaaro, which is popularly translated as thought, is a process that occurs within the ngākau.

Language and other pre-colonial evidence indicate that tohu are perceived within the internal memory system of the ngākau. Unlike Western and European knowledge, which might be described as brain or mind-centred, Māori knowledge can be defined as ngākau-centred. Tohu transmit a message to

the ngākau which is recognized through the response of the ngākau. The ngākau is where thought is centralized and stored as memory. Evidence in karakia (invocations) indicates that once knowledge is settled in the ngākau it may be described as mātau (knowledge, understanding). The disturbance of this latent state creates memory recall (maharatanga).

The source from which tohu might be initiated and conveyed is external to the human body and the ngākau of the receiver. There are various ways that tohu are perceived by the ngākau. The head and roro (brain) are particularly sacred and important for tohu perceived by smell, sight, hearing or other sense occurring around the head of an individual. The transfer of tohu to the ngākau of the human body is termed rongo (hear, sense) or whakarongo (listen, sense). In contemporary Māori language these are terms that are often translated in relation to hearing alone. Early manuscript evidence indicates, however, a much greater use of these terms being qualified by the particular sense through which the knowing or tohu entered the human body, for example, rongo ā taringa (hearing), rongo ā kitea (knowing by seeing), rongo ā ihu (knowing by smell). A metaphorical sense of the word might be provided in pre-colonial philosophical narratives of whakapapa kōrero. Rongo was a supernatural being that fled from the violence of the outer external world to comfort and safety by interring him/her self into the darkness of the earth.

Knowledge might also be perceived through the wairua (spirit) of a person and internal visioning. The wairua of a person is said to travel during sleep and has the ability to gather knowledge during this activity. Pre-colonial houses also provide a metaphorical sense of the same theme. The inside of a meeting house is sometimes referred to as the ngākau of the house and the sheltered porch area as the roro or the brain area. The open area in front of a meeting house (marae ātea) is sometimes referred to as the domain of Tūmatauenga (te marae o Tūmatauenga), an exposed, open area of potential violence and struggle. In opposition to this, the inside of a house (ngākau) is sometimes metaphorically referred to as the domain of Rongo (te whare o Rongo), a place of peace, warmth and goodwill. In formal debate on the marae ātea (forecourt) the discussion is "heard" at the front of the house and this knowledge is transferred to the ngākau (the interior) by way of the tāhuhu or ridgebeam which is also the backbone of the house (T. Smith 2007a).

Tohu and kōrero

Tohu can be classified as active or passive (non-reactive), and verbal or nonverbal. Pre-colonial evidence suggests that tohu were primarily nonverbal. However, verbalization of and about tohu occurred within specific contexts. An active tohu might be a physical gesture or behaviour by a person that indicates something more powerful and therefore more sacred: ka tohungia te whare o te rangatira (the chief's house was indicated). Another example of an active tohu not verbalized might be a particular wind that indicates a change in weather conditions. A passive tohu might be a symbol or representation that appears to remain dormant or non-reactive to the observer but, nevertheless, has the potential for the manifestation of power. An example might be a symbol in an artwork that represents a tipuna (ancestor) or an aspect of a tipuna. Yet another example might be an element within the environment: a mountain, stone, tree, river or natural feature of the landscape that serves as the representation of a particular tipuna or holds significance to the whakapapa kōrero within a tribal tūrangawaewae.

Tohu communicated by people can be classified as verbal and nonverbal. In pre-colonial narratives tohu are not only signs, marks or indicators that are nonverbal but are also verbalized as kupu tohutohu (words of import) within specific contexts. Tohu connect to whakapapa kōrero and are therefore sacred within themselves. Within formal learning contexts kupu tohutohu are discourses imparted by tohunga within whare wānanga (places of learning), the curriculum of the whare wānanga being whakapapa kōrero.

Tohu as a language of silence

Nonverbal tohu include actions or gestures that communicate shared understandings for survival. In pre-colonial tangata whenua (people of the land, indigenous people) communities the use of these tohu is likely to have increased in times of stress or warfare or during hunting and food gathering. Food gathering required silence in order to capture prey and children were socialized into reading and

understanding the tohu associated with practices such as bird spearing, snaring and fishing. In warfare silence was also important so that an enemy might not be alerted. Tohu were therefore critical for survival and pre-colonial values reinforced and reflected the use of these tohu, as evidenced in Māori art and personal adornment and accounts within philosophical narratives of whakapapa kōrero.

Tohu and tohunga

Experts that could understand and knew how to read tohu were called tohunga. The word tohunga in pre-colonial evidence suggests that it was applied to a person who was an expert in interpreting and conveying knowledge about a particular type of tohu. In pre-colonial Māori society, specialist fields of knowledge determined what the tohunga was considered expert in. A tohunga whakairo, for example, was an expert in interpreting and dealing with tohu relating to whakairo (sculpted or scribed markings, signs, symbols and images, generally in wood). A tohunga tārai waka was a canoe building expert, tohunga tā moko a tattooing expert, tohunga hanga whare a house building expert. Ritual experts in the use of incantations of the tūāhu (sacred place for ritual practices) were called tohunga ahurewa. Seers who interpreted visual images were called tohunga matakite. A specialist in astronomy is referred to as a tohunga tātai arorangi. A tohunga pūkenga is referred to as an instructor. An expert not yet fully qualified but still in training is referred to as a tohunga tauira. People who interpret tohu and convey this knowledge to others are called tohunga. Accordingly, tohu exist externally and a tohunga has the ability to recognize and perceive a particular tohu with the senses of the human body and to engage this knowledge with the ngākau. The tohunga is able to interpret a potential outcome or outcomes based upon previous knowledge from prior experience or from the teachings of another tohunga.

In contemporary use the word tohunga is often substituted for the English word expert. The separation from the pre-colonial meaning of the base word tohu has also been enhanced by the redefining of the word tohu to mean any sign, mark or indicator, whereas pre-colonial use suggests connection to sacred values of critical importance as opposed to everyday matters and the mundane. A critical distinction was therefore an underlying assumption of associated whakapapa kōrero.

Colonial interpretations variously describe tohunga as priests, wizards, skilled persons, et cetera. The redefining of the word tohunga with colonization, which culminated with the legislation of the Tohunga Suppression Act, also had the effect of separating or underplaying pre-colonial understandings. The notion of an expert with an understanding or ability to read, interpret and convey knowledge about tohu—already marginalized through colonization when the Act was introduced—became further subordinated by a colonial discourse concerned with "witch doctors", "shamanistic practices" and "heathenism".

Tohunga whakairo deal with tohu relating to whakairo or the creation of signs, symbols, marks or signifiers in any given medium, although the term is generally associated with wood and woodcarving. Tohunga whakairo is also often described by the term "master carver". The emergence of the term master carver is associated and correlates with colonial descriptions of the master painters and craftsmen associated with the Renaissance period of European history.

Colonization and tohu

The impacts of colonization on Māori communities and understandings of tohu included missionary influence, the loss of tūrangawaewae and social and economic marginalization accompanied by language and cultural loss. Missionaries de-spiritualized pre-colonial views towards land and the environment by campaigning against the views of tohunga and associating the pre-colonial Māori worldview with heathenism. The spirituality of land, associated with Papatūānuku, the Earthmother or forebear of all natural things on Earth, was negated through the promotion of a patriarchal view by declaring Rangi-the-sky as heaven and the missionary concept of God as the ruler of Heaven and Earth.

Loss of tūrangawaewae and pre-colonial land and sea-based economies meant that the deep understanding of tohu, critical for survival and seasonal food gathering, was no longer of critical necessity. Dependence on colonial, Western economics and incorporation into the colonial economic system accelerated the loss of the pre-colonial knowledge of reading and understanding tohu. This loss of knowledge corresponded with socially and economically marginalized Māori communities who had

lost tūrangawaewae through the colonial government's agenda of colonization (T. Smith, 2000). At the same time Māori knowledge was already being redefined through the canon of European literature.

The importance of tohu as an indigenous form of communication, with an emphasis upon the nonverbal, has often been considered relatively unimportant by the classification of Māori as an "oral" society. The discussion in this paper indicates, however, that by redefining the nature of tohu, useful insights and understandings for the underpinnings of contemporary Māori social transformations may be provided.

Glossary

aituā	death, ill health, misfortune
ahurewa	sacred place
karakia	invocations
kaupapa Māori	Māori theory
kōrero	discussion, speech
kupu tohutohu	words of import
maharatanga	memory recall
marae ātea	open area in front a meeting house
matakite	interpretation of visual images
mātau	knowledge, understanding
moana	sea, ocean
ngākau	heart, interior, source
marae ātea	open area in front of a meeting house
mate	death, illness, calamity
ora	health
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
pūkenga	knowledge
Papatūānuku	Earthmother
rangatira	leadership, chieftainship
rangi	sky, heavens
rongo	hear, sense
rongo ā ihu	knowing by smell
rongo ā kitea	knowing by seeing
rongo ā taringa	hearing
roro	brain; open porch area of a meeting house
tangata whenua	people of the land, indigenous people
tārai waka	canoe building
tau	year
tauira	student, apprentice
tipuna	ancestor
tohu	sign, mark
tūāhu	sacred place for ritual practices
tohunga	expert in interpreting signs
tūrangawaewae	homeland
wairua	spirit
whakaaro	thought, understanding
whakairo	sculpted or scribed markings, signs, symbols and images, generally in wood
whakapapa	geneaology
whakarongo	listen, sense
whare	house, domain
whare tīpuna	ancestral house
whare wānanga	places of learning

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An Indigenous Commentary on the Standardization of Restorative Justice in New Zealand and Canada

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Abstract

The development and implementation of restorative justice policy and initiatives have increased dramatically in Western jurisdictions, including New Zealand and Canada, since the early 1990s. With this rise in activity has come a desire on the part of the state and some practitioners for the design, funding and delivery of restorative justice initiatives to be standardized.

This paper argues that for the most part the process of standardization is dominated by the state and exhibits well documented neo-colonial tendencies inherent in institutional responses to the issue of the over-representation of indigenous people in the criminal justice system. Through a critical examination of various rationales advanced to support the state-driven standardization process occurring in both Canada and New Zealand, the paper will contend that the process inhibits First Nation-centred development and delivery of responses to social harm.

In response to the state's indigenized standardization process, the author recommends that Māori practitioners develop their own standards, or tika (doing what is right), in order to ensure Māori empowerment in the development and delivery of restorative justice initiatives to their own.

Introduction

The development and implementation of restorative justice policies and initiatives has increased dramatically in Western jurisdictions, including New Zealand and Canada, since the early 1990s (Jantzi, 2001). With this rise in activity has come a desire on the part of the state and some practitioners for the design, funding and delivery of restorative justice initiatives to be standardized (Cormier, 2002; Ministry of Justice, 2007; Roach, 2000).

The paper will begin by looking at the (re)discovery of restorative justice in New Zealand and Canada[2] and the ironies this phenomenon has for indigenous people in both countries. The paper will then critically examine various rationale advanced in support of the state-driven standardization process that occurred in Canada and is underway in New Zealand.

Finally, the author will recommend that Māori practitioners and the Māori academy respond to the barriers related to state-driven standardization by developing their own standards or tika for enhancing the delivery of restorative justice initiatives to Māori offenders, victims, whānau (extended family) and communities. These indigenous standards will then form the basis for meaningful dialogue between Treaty partners on the development and delivery of restorative justice services to Māori individuals, whānau and communities.

Before we look at the issue of standardization, a short discussion of the reasons for the contemporary (re)discovery of restorative justice is necessary.

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[1]   All comments made in the paper are those of the author.
[2]   Activities in New Zealand and Canada are highlighted to emphasize the fact that standardization is not confined to one jurisdiction and that the issues faced by Māori are being experienced by other indigenous people. The commentary is informed by PhD-related research comparing state responses to indigenous justice in New Zealand and Canada.

The (Re) Discovery of Restorative Justice in Neo-Colonial Jurisdictions

Justice systems around the world have recently (re)discovered restorative justice and are rapidly turning to it as a key component of the State's response to criminal behaviour and victimization (Braithwaite, 1996; Zehr, 2000). The reasons for this (re)discovery are complex but broadly speaking can be linked to the following factors.

Rising Costs of the Penal System

Arguably, the most compelling factor behind the contemporary state's increasing interest in restorative justice models was the utilitarian need to reduce the fiscal costs of the rising number of court hearings and increased prison musters that impacted Western jurisdictions throughout the 1970s and into the 1990s (Barlow, Hickman Barlow, & Chirico, 2005; Zimring, 2001). The rise in court hearings and prison musters prompted many jurisdictions to look at procedural innovations such as community courts, group conferences and in-community alternatives to formal incarceration such as electronic monitoring.

The Ideological and Theoretical Challenge of the Restorative Justice Industry

At the same time as they were dealing with the rising costs of an expanding penal system, Western governments found themselves confronted by a rapidly growing, vocal, restorative justice industry, one that challenged what many perceived to be the punitive basis of the formal system of justice (Braithwaite, 1996). By the early to mid 1990s, in true Gramscian style, the state began to respond to what might be described as the counter-hegemonic potentiality of the restorative justice movement (Tauri, 1998).

In New Zealand the state's response was focused primarily on a transformation of the youth justice system. Commentators claim that New Zealand transformed the system into a restorative-based process through family group conferencing—an intervention many argue is strongly based on traditional Māori cultural philosophy and practice (Consedine, 1999; Maxwell & Morris, 2000).

In Canada the spread of restorative justice steadily increased from the mid-1990s (Roach, 2000), culminating in recently enacted legislation to entice provincial jurisdictions to implement restorative processes for youth offenders and their victims (Wilson, Huculak & McWhinnie, 2002).

The contemporary process of recognition of indigenous justice processes in both countries has clearly identifiable phases. At first, the dominant system acknowledges that indigenous communities are enhanced by having traditional ways of dealing with crime returned to them via the state-centred jurisdiction. So it was in New Zealand, in 1984, when the Department of Social Welfare published a report calling for a culturally appropriate way to deal with Māori youth offenders, later operationalized with the passing of the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act 1989 (Maxwell & Morris, 1992). The second part of the process of rediscovery occurs when the state system begins to adopt for its own use and control (traditional) justice approaches it once prohibited or restricted. During this phase, the state invites indigenous communities to share their approaches to social harm so they may be situated within the framework of a state-dominated process (Tauri, 2004).

The (re)discovery of restorative, communitarian responses to criminal behaviour by neo-colonial states appears ironic to some indigenous commentators (Palys & Victor, 2005; Tauri, 2004). After all, one of the key platforms of the introduction of such policies and initiatives is their comparability to traditional indigenous justice practice. And, so, we have a situation in jurisdictions such as Canada, New Zealand and Australia, where the contemporary use of supposedly indigenous justice philosophies and practices is being driven by, or at the behest of, the very system that drove the eradication of their social control mechanisms throughout the colonization process (Blagg, 1997; Cunneen, 1998; Tauri, 1999). It appears that at present we are moving to a position similar to that which occurred during the initial phase of colonization, where states recognize the value of indigenous justice as part of the formal response to crime, at least those philosophies and practices deemed culturally and jurisdictionally palatable (Tauri, 2004).

The Drive to Standardize Restorative Justice Practice

As more and more restorative justice programmes begin to develop and bottom-up, and community demand for such processes grows, a number of things begin to happen. Firstly, requests from communities and practitioners are made for state support for their restorative justice processes; secondly, state officials (those working in the system, such as court workers, probation officers, et cetera) demand that clarity and certainty about the place and function of restorative justice be provided (Probation Officers Association of Ontario Inc., 2000); and thirdly, the state provides policy direction and financial support which in turn creates the necessary mechanisms for bringing the communitarian practice within the rubric of the formal justice system (Roach, 2000; Tie, 2002).

In New Zealand and Canada, state support has followed the usual policy development process: defining what is restorative justice, creating standards of practice and service delivery to inform funding decisions, and identifying and constructing the place for restorative justice in the formal system (Archibald, 1999; Cormier, 2002; Ministry of Justice, 2003).

Generally speaking, the policy process established in New Zealand takes the form of top-down managerialism, which applies the techniques of business accounting and ethics to the policy development process (Enteman, 1993). The central focus of this policy process is on fiscal responsibility, accountability and measurable outcomes (Dillow, 2007; Easton, 1997).

Top-down managerialism as a policy technique does not have a positive history in criminal justice, particularly where indigenous peoples are concerned. The reasons for this are many, but broadly speaking it can be explained by the fact that indigenous justice is a component of a bottom-up social movement (tino rangatiratanga (self-determination, sovereignty)), for which a key philosophical fundamental requires Māori—meaning hapū (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and urban authorities—to exercise power accountably (Tauri, 1999). By contrast, managerialist (restorative) justice is by definition a state-centred, top-down process designed to ensure state control of programme design, delivery and funding.

It is in this context that the process of the standardization of restorative justice is occurring in many Western jurisdictions. The federal government in Canada has developed a set of guidelines for restorative justice programmes based on the model guidelines developed by the United Nations but tailored to address Canadian concerns (Cormier, 2002). Central government in New Zealand is in the process of developing a range of standardization tools and establishing guidelines for standardization of programme design and delivery (Ministry of Justice, 2003).

At first glance, the state-centred process of standardization is an understandable response. After all, it is state resources, tax payers' money and policy support that practitioners are demanding access to. In the New Zealand context, funding and policy support is made to and sometimes provided by the Department for Courts (2001), now subsumed within the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Justice's Crime Prevention Unit. In Canada, requests have been routinely made to federal, provincial and territorial governments (Rudin, 2003). The more frequently these demands are made, the more the state is compelled to develop proscriptive policy frameworks that enable officials to make "standard" policy and funding decisions.

One of the key ideological and supposed practice-based features of these proscriptive policy frameworks is the equality principle. The principle of equality—meaning equality in programme delivery (everyone gets treated the same)—funding and expectations (like is compared to like), can be described as a fundamental meta-narrative[3] of the criminal justice policy context in both New Zealand and Canada.

Equality with respect to programme delivery focuses primarily on the types of case that are appropriate for restorative justice programmes. In this case, the equality concern is that everyone should be treated the same by the justice system. While community capacity may mean that not every community will have a restorative justice programme, the types of case that programmes can deal with

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[3] See Lyotard (1984) for a discussion of meta-narratives.

should generally be the same. After all, at least in theory, justice in New Zealand and Canada does not differ from one place to the next as there is only one set of Criminal Codes for each country. It would not be fair or equitable if a person charged with an offence in one region could avoid criminal liability by having their case diverted to a restorative justice process that was not available in other parts of the country. This potential problem would be further exacerbated if restorative processes were open to dealing with serious offences. Therefore, standardization is viewed as essential for ensuring that restorative justice programmes are not dealing with crimes that are outside their capacity and capability (Rudin, 2003), or which might cause political problems for government officials and Cabinet ministers at some point in the future (Tauri, 2008).

In the Canadian context, standardization is viewed as beneficial, as bureaucratic efficiency will be enhanced because programme design and delivery would be made comparable (Cormier, 2002). Standardization would make it easier to assess both providers and their programmes' ability to meet specific goals and targets in comparison with other programmes. In turn, comparability in design and service delivery enables officials to measure the impact of initiatives across a range of geographic locations. There is no reason to presume that the motivations of government officials in New Zealand to standardize restorative justice are any different from those in Canada.

A more recent rationale for standardization was to address the need to situate restorative justice models within the formal system. Work was required to define restorative justice, to identify what was a restorative justice programme and clarify how these approaches differ from other formal components of the criminal justice system.

Let's examine each of these rationales in turn.

The Argument for Equality

The first rationale—that everyone should be treated the same when appearing before the courts—suffers from two problems. The first is that it compares an idealized version of the justice system with the reality of the operation of restorative justice in the community.[4] As Rudin argues (2003) a better comparison would be with the actual reality of justice as it is practised on the ground, in different social contexts, rather than to a state-centred idealization of how justice is done.

On this basis the equality argument collapses before it has begun. Despite the fact that criminal law is the same across Canada, there is no uniformity in sentencing practice. Both across and within provinces, there is discrepancy in the way certain offences are handled. In some cases those discrepancies emerge even when comparing neighbouring districts. More broadly, for example, crime tends to be treated with longer prison sentences in smaller communities than in larger metropolitan areas and cities (Rudin, 2003).

Given the absence of provincial jurisdictions in New Zealand there is, theoretically, less likely to be a similar degree of difference in judicial practice. Unfortunately, the lack of independent, critical research on operations of the criminal justice system in New Zealand makes it difficult to talk about differences in sentencing patterns from one court to the next and from one region to another. However, there is plenty of anecdotal evidence of variations in response to different categories of offence and type of offender, in particular Māori and non-Māori offenders and victims and between street crime and corporate crime and white collar offences. All of this puts the lie to the claim that in a practical sense there is equality of treatment of offenders at all times and for all cases, in either jurisdiction.

The second problem with this argument is that it advocates a model of justice that is at odds with a key goal of all concerned with social harm—namely achieving quality, meaningful outcomes such as reducing reoffending, victimization and restoring harmony. The idea that equality is achieved by making sure everyone experiences a similar process and receives the same sentence for similar offences is an argument for formal equality—equality of treatment (Rudin, 2003.). I submit that an alternative

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[4] Literature and research on the biased operations of Western jurisdictions are plentiful, particularly as these impact on ethnic minorities. The exception is New Zealand, which has a poor history of research on issues related to bias in the criminal justice system (Tauri, 2008).

indigenous position would be to advocate for treating people differently in order to achieve the same results—social justice and/or social harmony.

If the result we wish to achieve through the formal justice process is to deter offenders from committing crime and keeping communities safe, then we must recognize that there are many ways to accomplish this goal. This argument has received partial recognition in New Zealand with the inclusion of restorative justice provisions in the Sentencing Act 2002, in particular the principle whereby a Court must when sentencing an offender "take into account any outcomes of restorative justice processes in the case" (Ministry of Justice, 2002). Similarly, the Supreme Court of Canada has explicitly recommended that courts adopt a more restorative and thus a more individualized approach to sentencing (Rudin, 2003).

Defining Restorative Justice and its Place in the Formal System

The bureaucratic process of standardization has the potential to create difficulties for Indigenes wanting to continue to deliver services to their own. By standardizing programme design and delivery—and restricting the types of offences restorative justice initiatives can process—local creativity and the formulation of responses to social harm wedded to localized contexts are stifled (Tauri, 2004).

From a communitarian perspective, restorative justice develops in response to the needs of communities of concern and results from the collaborative efforts of local actors (Rudin, 2003). This is true of indigenous responses as it is for any other community of concern. These creative and innovative responses then form the basis for more communities wishing to undertake such projects. Ironically, this growth then spurs the bureaucratized process of standardization, thus prohibiting the very factors that made the programmes innovative and community-centred in the first place.

In many respects, this situation is an extension of the historical contest of power, authority and survival between the colonizer and the colonized, which has played itself out in numerous ways in the neo-colonial histories of New Zealand and Canada. The problem for indigenous peoples of the continual centralizing of power through bureaucratic projects like the standardization of restorative justice is that they lose their ability to respond meaningfully to issues in ways defined and controlled by them (Tauri, 1999).

A significant issue with the Canadian standardized guidelines is that they were heavily modelled on those developed by the United Nations, which favour one particular model of restorative justice—victim−offender reconciliation (Cormier, 2002). For victim−offender programmes, the guidelines have some utility, but equating restorative justice with victim−offender reconciliation does a great disservice to the range and scope of restorative justice programmes, indigenous responses in particular (Rudin, 2003).

On the one hand, this issue might be seen as largely semantic—who cares what the programme or preferred approach is called as long as it is delivering results? The difficulty with this position lies with the often limited bureaucratic definition of restorative justice that forms the basis of standardized processes. There is a great danger that programmes that do not fit the proscribed, "standard" model will find it difficult to obtain state support. Furthermore, even if existing programmes are exempt from a newly minted standardization model and continue to receive support this development might well make it difficult for new programmes that do not conform to a constricting definition of restorative justice.

Compounding these issues for Māori is that past examples of standardization and general policy development in the justice sector have highlighted the criminal justice sector's reliance on imported theories and interventions upon which tikanga (customs and traditions) is added to make the model culturally appropriate (Tauri, 1999).

And, lastly, there is the issue of the truly independent providers and programmes: not seeking state assistance is no guarantee of continued existence. In all likelihood, they will find their operations restricted because of the codified, legislated ideal of restorative justice developed by the policy industry.

The Political Economy of Standardization

All these issues are particularly significant for indigenous justice programmes and the drive by indigenous peoples for jurisdictional autonomy.

For indigenous communities, the development of restorative justice programmes is part of a reclaiming of the process of social control and order maintenance—a process that was explicitly targeted for eradication during the initial period of colonization (Ward, 1995). The development of justice programmes based on indigenous theories and practice such as tikanga is very much part of decolonization and indigenous re-empowerment—of reasserting the importance, vitality and significance of indigenous communities having responsibility for taking care of their own (Tauri, 2004).

If, as indigenous and non-indigenous practitioners and theorists argue, restorative justice is about empowering communities (Lilles, 2002; White, 2003) then surely re-imposing the state to set standards of restorative justice shifts power back to the state? And, given the part played by the state in both jurisdictions in the process of colonization, surely it is reasonable for indigenous people to be wary of this situation (Rudin, 2003; Tauri, 2004).

The counter argument to the above statement is that state-sponsored standards can and do protect human rights as is arguably demonstrated in international, post-conflict contexts (Rudin, 2003). However, I argue that the impact of state-centred criminal justice in neo-colonial jurisdictions such as New Zealand has been overwhelmingly one of disempowerment (Tauri, 1998). Yes, state standards can empower communities. It all depends on the relationship between the state and particular communities, such as Māori or Canadian First Nations, on what the standards are and how they are implemented.

I cite the processes utilized by government officials to develop criminal justice policy, especially for Māori, as evidence of my call for caution in supporting state-sponsored standardization of restorative justice. The past 20 years is littered with numerous examples of policy projects informed by inadequate, unethical and culturally inappropriate consultation. Māori views on policy and initiatives are often sought long after they have been designed or implemented. Policies and initiatives are often imported wholesale from North America or Great Britain and tikanga simply clipped to the end to make them culturally appropriate (Tauri, 2008).

Our experience of policy development and standard-setting in the criminal justice sector highlights the dangers for indigenous peoples in the state-dominated process of standardization of restorative justice that is gathering pace in neo-colonial jurisdictions. As John Braithwaite, Professor of Law at Australian National University, argues: "[a]ccreditation for mediators that raises the spectre of a Western accreditation agency telling an Aboriginal elder that a centuries-old restorative practice does not comply with the accreditation standards is a profound worry" (Rudin: 2003:6).

Braithwaite describes a situation many Māori theorists and practitioners have experienced in their dealings with government agencies.

What can we do?

Having critiqued the state-centred process of standardization, I now want to pose a contradiction: standards are not all bad! As Māori practitioners, theorists and researchers, we should all be concerned with the quality of programme design and delivery. After all, there is such as thing as poor practice, which can be just as damaging as no practice. Surely, we are all concerned with ensuring that tikanga is appropriately applied when dealing with the actions of individuals and/or groups that have torn the social fabric of our communities? One limitation of the state-centred process is its use of the terms "standard" and "standardization", both of which imply there is one way of doing things. It may be more helpful and accurate for us to use the term tika in its broadest sense, meaning "doing what is right". As Māori we know that there are many ways of doing "it" right, as hapū and iwi determine their own tikanga.

If our programmes are based on tikanga, as they should be, then by their very nature they are based on standards defined by historical practice, underpinned by theories of the causes of and appropriate responses to social harm (Jackson, 1990). The important difference is that they are our standards, our practices and our theories. One way of ensuring the survival of our practice is for Māori practitioners, providers and communities, to develop their own standards or tika for enhancing restorative justice service practice.

It must be acknowledged that the majority of Māori practitioners cannot escape the state's standardization process, particularly if they are reliant on government funding. Engagement with officials and the policies and legislation they generate is unavoidable. However, engagement can take place in a variety of ways. For example, we might choose to engage on the state's terms, according to bureaucratic timeframes and processes. This form of engagement will invariably follow a top-down approach where Māori are asked to assist in identifying a few culturally relevant principles, et cetera, that are tagged to the end of pre-conceived Eurocentric frameworks.

An alternative process would be for Māori to develop their own tika on restorative justice practice, separate from the state's standardization process. A full set of Māori designed standards would:

> underline the authority of tikanga as the basis for Māori practices for responding to social harm;
> ensure/encourage discussion and debate of all relevant issues related to standardization as opposed to a small number of "cultural elements"; and
> provide the basis for meaningful dialogue between Treaty partners by focusing attention on finding ways of empowering Māori to deliver appropriate services to their own rather than on Māori as passive recipients of programmes formulated and controlled by the state, provided the state is both willing and capable of engaging meaningfully on these terms.

Glossary

hapū	sub-tribe, clan
iwi	tribe
tika	doing what is right
tikanga	customs and traditions
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty
whānau	extended family

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Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices of Natural Resource Management: A Gender-Based Study among Magars of the Tanahu District in Western Nepal

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Abstract

Indigenous knowledge systems among the Magars are incorporated in their practices on a trial and error basis in their daily lives. Magars have a close relationship with their environment through forest management and the utilization of local herbs. Forest resources as well as local herbs are the main products in which Magars are directly using their indigenous knowledge systems and practices, as shown in the cases of the Bhagwatipur and Sundhara Village Development Committees in the Tanahu District of western Nepal. Indigenous knowledge has been practised inside the community forest during the managing, protecting and utilizing of the forest products; and the use of local herbs is common for minor illnesses. In the area studied, men and women showed different levels of understanding when utilizing natural resources. Women played an important role in managing forest inside the community forest, although they had no idea of the importance of their knowledge and most credit was given to the males for their knowledge, protection and transformation. Both males and females have different domains of understanding about the local herbs and their utilization though, mostly, both sexes are collecting local herbs from the forest as well as from their farm land. The use of local indigenous knowledge systems and practices must be protected for the sustainable utilization of natural resources for future generations.

Introduction

> Banko kada aafai t-ikhrincha (The thorns of a wild plant do not need to be sharpened). Nepali Proverb

Indigenous knowledge systems have been practised in day-to-day life by the rural people in Nepal—according to time and situation, and learning by trial and error methods. Due to their dependence on natural resources in their daily lives, various kinds of indigenous knowledge systems and practices have been found among males and females in relation to their adaptation to the environment. While depending upon natural resources, day-to-day learning and practices make people understand the importance of the natural resources but people have little understanding of the importance of their knowledge systems and practices for the sustainability of their surrounding resources. No attention has been given by the Government to the protection and management programme for the community forest in Nepal since the 1992 Forest Act; this was when the Government handed over the community forest to the local people for them to manage the protection, management and utilization of the forest without hampering its condition.

Both men and women are directly involved in resource utilization, management and protection. They use their indigenous knowledge in their daily lives, with their own level of knowledge on utilizing resources as well as transferring their knowledge from one generation to the next—although some indigenous knowledge has been forgotten through lack of practice due to various outside interventions. People's participation in decision making and group dynamics, and the people's role in resource mobilization, cost effectiveness and sustainability are the development themes that have been at work in the natural resource mobilization in Nepal. The importance of the protection of the indigenous knowledge system in hill areas in Nepal is shown by the benefit to the local people, the promotion of valuable traditional practices and the employing of culturally appropriate and environmentally sustainable adaptations by the local people when exploiting resources. Indigenous knowledge systems

are deteriorating due to the intervention of new development themes and technology, especially in ethnic communities, like the Magars and others, experiencing exposure to the outside world.

This article will try to analyse gender-based knowledge systems which are practised by both males and females as distinct knowledge legacies and defined according to their roles and perspectives. Gender-based knowledge systems are named specifically as "women's and men's knowledge, encompassing gender specific roles as referred by society and supervisory functions for the conservation of particular biodiversity domains and cultural dynamics" (Reichel, 1999).

The Magars, one of the largest ethnic groups among the 59 indigenous and ethnic groups of Nepal, have been found settled from far western to eastern Nepal. Known as hill people, they have inhabited the hill areas of Nepal and depended on natural resources such as forest and water for their living, which is based on a subsistence economy. The Magars constitute 7.14% of the population among the 59 indigenous and ethnic groups; within a total population of over 16 million, the Magars number 784,828 males and 837,593 females (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001).

It has been most important to study the indigenous knowledge systems and practices of the Magars of Tahanu in order to know the importance of their adaptation to the environment they live in. The Magars are directly involved with their surrounding environment in their day-to-day lives due to their dependence on agriculture. While working for their living by managing, protecting and utilizing natural resources, both men and women have their own knowledge that informs their day-to-day social, cultural and religious practices.

This article explores the existing indigenous knowledge systems and practices, based on the daily practices of local people in their use of forest products and their collection of herbs for the treatment of minor illnesses. The article is based on a study, conducted in 2006, in Sundhara and Bhagwatipur in the Tanahu District in the Western Region of Nepal. The study focused primarily on the utilization of forest products and local herbs in this area where the majority of population are Magars. The aim was to find out the existing indigenous knowledge systems and practices in the Tanahu District through an anthropological, gender-based study.

Theoretical Discussions

Numerous scholars and researchers have studied natural resources and the common resource management systems in Nepal. Moreover, some scholars have generalized theories on common property resource management based on their research findings. Not a single study has been conducted from a gender perspective on the indigenous knowledge systems and practice of the Magar of the Tanahu District. In Nepal, many traditional systems of natural resource management are not indigenous because they have been set up as governmental intervention activities (Rai & Thapa, 1993).

From human, ecological and ethno-science perspectives, very few action research studies have been conducted in the context of Nepal, though several research projects have been completed from a development perspective on indigenous knowledge systems, especially as regards people's participation in resource mobilization in forestry, irrigation and farming systems (Silliote, 1998).

> Every ecosystem is conceptualized as a web of social relationships between a specific group of people such as family, clan or tribe and other species with which they share a particular place. So ecological models often appear in the stories of social institutions as alliances among species through the negotiation of an order in which all species are bound together by kinship and solidarity … Every individual bears a personal responsibility for understanding and maintaining their relationship, with knowledge of the ecosystem … They are not only expected to teach their insight to others, but also to mediate conflicts between humans and other species. This confers heavy responsibility as well as the power to interfere in the relationships between humans and non-humans. This must be transmitted personally to an individual apprentice who has been properly prepared to accept the burdens and to use the power with humility, which results in the moral development of pupil by his courage, maturity and sincerity. Knowledge is transmitted between kinspeople, who inherit responsibilities for their own ancestral territory. This knowledge

must be localized and need not necessarily be applicable to other ecosystems. Sometimes knowledge might be shared with visitors within a territory so that they can travel safely and subsist from local resources but knowledge cannot be alienated permanently from the ecosystem to which it pertains. The misuse of knowledge can lead to catastrophic consequences for the environment. Staying as a group in an ecosystem is a precautionary approach taken by indigenous people in relationship with their own land and territory. (Gray, 1999)

Research studies on forest resources and their protection and management have made it clear that indigenous systems of forest management are widely distributed throughout Nepal (Tamang, 1990). Some argue that indigenous and traditional knowledge management systems provide "effective management" based on the capacity of rural people to use their own environment in many ways (Fisher & Gilmour, 1991; Gurung, 1988) and that the practice by Sherpa people, known as "Singgi Nawa", has been more effective in protecting resources in the high mountains of Nepal (Furer-Haimendorf, 1964).

Gilmour and Fisher (1991) also reported on forest resource management in many places in Sindhu Palchok and Kabhre Palanchok districts where local people, without outside guidelines, made arrangements for the protection and management of the local forest. They had formed a formal committee to establish and uphold rules and regulations. Forest watchers were appointed who were called "Chitadhar", a local term. The forest users collected a certain amount of money from each household to pay for the watchers. Forest products were collected during specified periods and children were not allowed to cut green grass in order to protect the new saplings. This is practised in other places in Nepal as well (Chhetri & Pandey, 1992).

Local people have their own methods of forest utilization and control mechanisms while using natural resources (Gurung & Harris, 1988), such as restrictions on women from entering the forest for cutting grasses and fodder during menstruation, and also on men when changing a roof with thatched grass (khar) on the day of Sarun (Thapa, 1996). People have a rich knowledge of how to utilize their surplus private and government land for extra income-generating activities; cash crops like cardamom are grown inside the community forest and on private land in eastern Nepal (Thapa, 2000).

Some aspects of forest protection and management are human-centred, human-controlled and human-manipulated through specific norms, values and beliefs. It is normal to find differences in the strategies used by the different societies. Religious fencing has been crucial in some places in far western Nepal. People have different strategies to control resources. The most effective methods have been a process of sanctioning those users who go against the pre-determined local decisions to close access to resources (Chhetri & Pandey, 1992; Tamang, 1990).

Traditional indigenous knowledge systems and practices were practised even after the promulgation of the Private Forest Nationalization Act 1957. The Forest Act 1961 was the first comprehensive forest legislation in Nepal's history. It was an attempt to institutionalize better management of the forest. After Nepal's National Forestry Plan—proposed in 1976 as the needed Community Forestry Programme for the management of the forest—several laws were passed defining government authority over the forest and regulating use of those resources. In 1977 and 1978, Panchayat Forest (PF) and Panchayat Protected Forest (PPF) were introduced under the Community Forestry Development Programme (CFDP) with the purpose of handing back the protection and management of the forest to the Plan, which restricted local indigenous knowledge systems and practices in the utilization of local natural resources. There are five different types of forest in Nepal, namely, government forest, leasehold forest, religious forest, community forest and private forest. The community forest has always been home to effective practices which help to include all those who are using that resource as members.

Methodology
Two Village Development Committees (VDCs) (Bhagwatipur and Sundhara) were selected for the conducting of this research, and 190 copies of a research questions survey were prepared at the beginning of 2006. To fulfil the objectives of this study both qualitative and quantitative data were collected, including key informant interviews and a random sampling survey with structured research questions. The collected household survey questionnaires were analysed using the Statistical Package

for Social Science (SPSS) program, with the help of two enumerators. Key informant interviews were also conducted with several males and females in order to get more concrete data using quantitative data collection tools and techniques.

Glimpses from the Studies of the Two Village Development Committees in the Tanahu District

There are 47 VDCs in the Tanahu District. Among them only Bhagwatipur VDC (Resing) and Sundhara VDC (Ghiring) were selected for this research study. The total population of Bhagwatipur VDC (Resing), a place historically ruled by Magars, is 7,979 (3,756 males and 4,223 females); and the total population of the Sundhara VDC is 7,461 (3,504 males and 3,957 females) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002). Thapa, Ale and Rana Magars and other Magar clans inhabit both VDCs. The Magars in Tanahu speak Dhut Magar language and in Barhamagaranth Nepali is used as the lingua franca. Most Magars have followed the Hindu religion although, after the 1990 movement, some Magars declared themselves to be Buddhist and are trying to follow Buddhism as part of their new identity construction process. Although there are different religious practices among Magars in the study area, Magars followed Hinduism in Bhagwatipur VDC whereas in Sundhara VDC Magars had started following Buddhism for their new identity construction process with help from wapa, a local Magar Buddhist priest. To me, this change seemed like a reformation practice rather than Buddhism. Among the 190 respondents in the random household survey, 82.6% called themselves Hindu and 7.4% declared to be Buddhist.

The educational status of Magar women is very poor especially in comparison with the males. There are very few women who have finished secondary-level schooling. The reason for this percentage of women is that no value has been placed on girls' education in the past due to social values that judge it is not worth women studying to a higher level as they cannot provide income for the support of the family. Due to the dependence on agriculture, people mostly give more preference to work than to education, saying, "Padanta pani maranta, napadanta pani maranta, tesaile khurukhuru kaam garanta" (A person who is not educated dies, a person with education also dies, so go on working on your farm for your living). Whatever the explanation recorded in the collected data, Magars have started to send their children to school these days. However, very few students pass the School Leaving Certificate on a regular basis and those wanting to take further study have moved to Damauli and other places.

Land Ownership
Land has been always a vital factor for Magar survival. As part of a patriarchal society, the two VDCs studied have not been exceptional in the priority given to women's ownership of land. Most of the property is held in the husbands' or fathers' names. Among the respondents, 46.3% (88 households) owned property in their husband's name and 39.5% (75 households) owned property in their father's name; whereas, property owned by mother-in-laws was 6.3%, which was much higher than the 0.5% of land which was owned by wives, who obviously owned much less than their brothers and sons.

Livestock Ownership
The Magars inhabit the hill areas in Nepal and are dependent on subsistence agriculture. The dependence on agriculture shows direct and indirect relationships with the environment: keeping livestock for living, meat and protein supplementation; using firewood for cooking; growing fodder for raising livestock for the production of milk and ghee, as a fat supplement; and using manure on the agricultural fields for good crop production.

Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices from a Gender Perspective
The word "indigenous" refers to the point of origin, the source of initiatives. Indigenous systems may incorporate elements and processes from the outside world, provided the initiative lies with their local incorporation. Traditional systems are old by definition but indigenous knowledge systems are often quite new and constantly evolving. Thus, traditional systems may be indigenous but the converse is not necessarily the case (Gill, 1993). Working from this concept, this research into indigenous knowledge systems and practices from a gender-based perspective seeks to find out how males and females understand and apply their indigenous knowledge systems while mobilizing resources in their surroundings.

Forest Management Systems in the Study Area

Dependence on forest products has forced Magars to maintain a close relationship with the environment. After the handover of the community forest, the Magars in the Bhagwatipur VDC started to protect the forest by planting new saplings under the initiative of the Sunaula Yuwa Club formed by local people. In the Sundhara VDC, people are allowed to take floor grass openly but firewood can only be taken twice a year when the forest management process inside the community forest takes place. Users also used forest products from their own private land to fulfil their requirements. Looking from a gender perspective, both males and females in the study area collected firewood from the forest but, in general, it was mostly females that collected firewood and fodder grass. When asked about the low percentage of males collecting firewood from the forest, they claimed that males work outside the home so women are compelled to do more of this work than the males.

Forest users have to participate in forest management, protection and conservation as well as supervision according to their Operational Plan (OP), based on the Forest Users' Group constitution and working plan which is activated through the Forest Users' Group Committee with support from the District Forest Office. In Bhagwatipur VDC, most people are more protection oriented than utilization oriented, due to the young saplings. In Sundhara VDC, a very small percentage of people are using forest products from their community forest based on the Operational Plan. All the forest users must become members to use forest products as Community Forest Users. As members they have to contribute financially if they are not making a physical contribution. Users are more aware and active towards the condition of the community forest and the user's contribution in Sundhara VDC than in Bhagwatipur VDC.

More than 180 household individuals are aware of their membership fees but the rest were ignorant of them. According to the respondents, 152 households (80%) answered that forest products are sufficient for their living, having sufficient private land to provide what they need, whereas, 34 households (17.9%) claimed they did not have enough private forest and had to depend on community forest as well as the government forest.

Those people who do not have enough private forest land and do not become members of the Community Forest Users' Group Committee go in for stealing forest products from the government forest. There are certain types of controlling mechanism for those who go against the Operational Plan. A hundred and eighteen households were aware of the controlling mechanism provision, 39 households were not aware of the mechanism and 26 households were unaware there were rules and regulations.

The Magar community is also influenced by Hinduism with its patriarchal system where women are always seen as subordinate to men. Due to a lack of education, women's voices are not heard if they attempt to speak. Women are kept as members of the Community Forest Users' Group in fulfilment of the criteria that there is to be 33% representation of women, and they participate when there is an absence of male members inside their homes. Most women admitted to having knowledge of the differences between males and females in the society, whereas males denied any knowledge of differences between the two sexes.

Women's Role in Resource Mobilization

Women's participation in resource mobilization has an important role for family and community. The roles of people have been divided according to their work as community members. Most roles are divided between both males and females inside the Community Forest Users' Group Committee. All users have to actively participate in forest management. While 57.9% of the respondents replied that there were no differences in work division, 36.8% of the respondents agreed that there are some differences in work between males and females. Usually, males work outside the house, dealing with economic and social problems, whereas females are always focused on their own household tasks and do not show interest in participating in group activities since the males of the society take that role.

Utilization of the Users' Group Fund Inside the Community Forest Users' Group Committee

The Users' Group Fund has been one of the main mechanisms for the running of the Community Forest Users' Group Committee and for bringing all the users together. The proper management systems inside the Community Forest Users' Group Committee can be seen in the group dynamics, the funding of mobilization practices, the authoritative process inside the Community Forest Users' Group, in the income and expenditure and the transparency of the group's practices. More than 82.6% of people are aware of there being a Users' Group Fund but 14.2% of people do not know there is such a fund inside their community forest.

While utilizing the Users' Group Fund, both males and females have separate responsibilities regarding the use of funds, which is agreed by both males and females. Most of the respondents replied that the majority of the funds are used on community development programmes. The funds are collected through the monthly collection of membership fees, fines, playing bhailo (a practice of singing and dancing to collect money) in the Tihar festival and selling forest products to needy people for a minimal rate. Usually, funds are used for social services, purchasing utensils for community development work and loan lending to the users at a minimal interest. Sometimes disputes emerge amongst the users concerning the Forest Users' Group Fund. Most of the cases are solved inside the Users' Group Committee. Disputes emerge for various reasons such as: the division of the workload; elite captured attitude; financial issues from buying and selling forest products; inequality in the resource distribution amongst the Users' Group; less representation of deprived groups; and the ways things have been handled without conscience by some people. Most disputes emerge from males inside the Users' Groups due to the high level of awareness about their activities as users and the transparency concept for financial matters in the Users' Group Committees. Disputes involving women are few. Whenever disputes emerge inside the Users' Group, males play an important role in solving disputes when compared with females but sometimes both males and females take part in solving disputes in the Users' Group when needed. Whatever decision is taken during the settlement of a dispute within the Users' Group, the males' decision is mostly accepted by all users. Decisions are accepted in communities when given by a few women, ones who have already attained their status as an elder or as an active woman.

Indigenous Knowledge and Local Herb Utilization

Local herbs play an important role in rural areas in the absence of allopathic and Ayurvedic medicine; they are used as medication for stomach ache, headache and other minor illnesses. Local people have different kinds of indigenous knowledge for the use of the herbs available in their agricultural fields as well as inside the community forest. Various types of local herb have been used by the people using their indigenous knowledge systems for cures, but they do not have any sort of mechanism to protect against the haphazard use of the herbs. Villagers have been using fodder and fuel wood as well as the herbs found in the community forest, the government forest and on their private land. Most of the herbs have been collected by the faith healers, who used them to cure local people but without any thought of ensuring protection of the resource. Among the 190 respondents in the study area, 66.1% of the people used local herbs for the treatment of sickness but 34.7% did not use the local herbs. In getting treatment for sickness, 42.9% of the people went to the Health Post, 45.5% to a faith healer and 11.6% went to hospital in the district headquarters for the treatment of serious illness. Mostly, people used tree barks and the roots and leaves of herbs for their treatment. The herbs used by local people are mostly related to treatment for gastrolitis, bone fracture, muscle sprain, tonsillitis, irregular menstruation of women, dog bites, snake bites, headache, fever, sinusitis, stomach aches, abortion, uterus prolapse and removing an evil spirit from a person's body for good health. Medicine is mostly collected by males and very few herbs are collected by females, although females are familiar with using local herbs for the treatment of minor illness.

Provision of Protection in the Use of Local Herbs

Local herbs are used whenever needed. Both sexes collected herbs from the forest and other agricultural places but males did most of the collection. Nobody cares about protecting the herbs from careless use. They are almost going to go extinct unless limited to collection by faith healers in the area. There are no Magar faith healers in Bhagwatipur and Sundhara VDCs. People are using the local herbs for

themselves before going to a faith healer or the Health Post. Most of the local herbs are used especially for gastrolitis (gastric problems), good health by getting rid of an evil spirit, muscle sprain, bone fracture, irregular menstruation and abortion of an unwanted child.

Rituals and Belief Systems with Regard to Herbal Collection
Local rituals and beliefs lead people to continue their cultural practices. In both VDCs there were no distinct rituals for collecting herbs, apart from Aklebir for which certain spiritual rituals must be followed. Before collecting Aklebir, a climber with some akchata (raw rice) and a dhup (incense stick) are used. The root of the Aklebir is collected in the middle of the night and brought in in the morning. However, the people in Sundhara VDC said that these kinds of practices have already been stopped and that this herb has been collected haphazardly by whoever needed and was familiar with the herb.

There is also a common system of collecting local herbs in the agricultural field as well as in the forest. People have been using herbs whenever they needed them but, due to the availability of allopathic medicine, there were people who were not bothering to collect the local herbs. Mostly, people collect herbs from the government forest and the community forest as well as from their own private land. In using these sources, the Magars collect the herbs from the community forest openly. Among 175 respondents, 93 replied that they collect the herbs from the community forest whereas 78 said that they get their herbs from the government forest and very few answered that they get them from their own private land. Due to the limitations on using herbs for treatment, most of the local herbs are not used.

Conclusion
Magars have reciprocal relationships with their environment, and they are using their indigenous knowledge systems and practices, which were learned from their elders, in utilizing, managing and protecting forest products. Due to the abundance of forest products in their own private lands, people rarely prefer to collect forest products from the community forest, which in both VDCs is far from their homes. Users in Bhagwatipur VDC are not using forest products from the community forest because of its poor condition; they usually collect forest products from private land and the government forest, which is the forest not handed over to the local people. Both males and females collect local herbs to cure illness. The local people are using their indigenous knowledge systems and practices, based on the knowledge they gained from observing the previous generation in their daily lives.

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Naivety, Boldness and Conflict: Causes and Impact of Conflict among Magars in Western Nepal

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Abstract

The Magars, the largest indigenous and ethnic group of Nepal, are directly influenced by the 12 years of violent conflict in Nepal. The main causes of conflict in Rukum and Rolpa have played an important part in the Magars getting actively involved in the conflict, which has had a severe impact since the very beginning of the Maoist movement in Nepal. Due to poverty and other social, cultural, religious, economic, geographical and political factors, most Magars—both males and females and of all ages—have been actively involved in the conflict. Either through consent or by force, and because they have been naïve and bold in response to socio-political issues, they have acted as Maoist commandos, militia and volunteers. As a result they have experienced the maximum number of deaths during crossfire and counter attacks, and killing and torture owing to suspicion by the security forces. There are no written records to show the numbers of deaths accurately but these are very different from the numbers for the higher caste, who have been in political control. Although the conflict has had adverse effects among the Magars, there have also been positive effects for the Magars in western Nepal. The awareness level between men and women has risen; and consciousness of the Magars and their status, since their involvement in the Maoist movement, has spread to all other Nepali people.

Introduction

> Greed is the source of conflict. (Cambodian proverb)

Nepal has faced violent conflict for 12 years. This violent conflict brought about an unstable situation in Nepal. More than 16,000 lives have been sacrificed, not including those incidents that have not been identified (Informal Sector Service Centre [INSEC], 2005). Not only have Royal Nepal Army personnel, police and insurgents lost their lives, but the lives of civilians have also been taken, from all ages, all castes and ethnic groups and all parts of Nepal.

Nepal is rich with 59 indigenous and ethnic groups identified by the Government of Nepal. The Magars form the largest population amongst all the indigenous ethnic groups. They are known as sincere and honest. They have only 7,000 graduates from higher education (Harka 2005). They are the third largest population group in Nepal and the highest population among the 59 indigenous and ethnic groups, being 7.14% of the total Nepal population and 37% of the indigenous ethnic groups (Central Bureau of Statistics [CBS], 2001). Magars speak three dialects, called Kham, Kaike and Dhut. The Magars' population was dispersed all over the country in the process of unification during the period of King Prithvinarayan Shah. Being dependent on agriculture and less fertile land, the Magars were forced to migrate to other places in search of work for their survival. The Magars are the groups most affected by the Maoist conflict because the Maoist movement started from Rukum and Rolpa, in the mid-western part of Nepal, and a high percentage of the Magar are settled in this part of the country.

This paper sets out to clarify the situation of the Magars during the People's War, and the causes and impact of the conflict. Answers are sought to the following question: What are the factors that made the Magars get involved in the conflict? Then, in line with this Conference's themes of traditional knowledge and gateways to balanced relationships, the paper will discuss sustainable relationships with and across the whole of Nepal since the end of the conflict and the country becoming a Federal Democratic Republic following the election of the Constituent Assembly.

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Conflict in Western Nepal: Its Causes and Impact

The Maoist movement has been rooted in the mid-western part of Nepal. It originated from western Nepal because of illiteracy, poverty, exclusion from all development work by the state, unemployment, etc. Are these the only causes that meant the taking up of arms for the movement occurred especially in the Magars' area? Philippe Ramirez (2004) has explained that the geopolitical condition with external interference or, at least, socio-economic factors and external influence that might be decisive are the most commonly invoked causes of the Maoist insurgency. He also argued that the first creation of the Cambodian Communist Movement in the 1950s originated from Ho Chi Minh's original scheme for an "Indochinese Federation" of socialist states; and that the combined interference of Hanoi, Beijing and Washington in Cambodia were the crucial ingredients in the emergence of the Khmer Rouge. The Sino-Indian crisis was one of the major components of the Naxalite phenomenon. The failure of the state to address the economic grievances of deprived populations is most often identified as the primary causative factor for the Maoist presence in a nation.

It is clear that the Maoist insurgency has originated from materially distressed areas. The launching and continuation of the armed struggle supported by Mao Zedong has been helped where there are mountainous and forested regions to act as base areas; this is due to the secure and established defended places in the hills and dense forest where it is easy to practise military tactics. The Naxalites in India first appeared in 1967 and have been situated in the least populated belts of eastern India where the inhabitants belong to the Santhals, Oraon and Rajbansi villages. They have been present in the Indian-populated zones of Peru from 1980. They were in the Central Luzon in the Philippines as the New People's Army and then shifted to northern Luzon, the islands of Samar and Mindanao, under the military pressures of 1974. They are also to be found in the thinly populated zones of the Khmer ethnic groups and in Sri Lanka where, following the JVP (Janata Vimukti Peramuna) insurgency of 1971, they became established in the central, populated part of the island. The Communist Party in Nepal has proved that the natural environment has been of most advantage to them. They say that a geographical situation with mountainous terrain is the most favorable for waging guerrilla war.

The Maoist movement has a strong hold in Rukum and Rolpa as the first successful Maoist base area in 1996. The main reasons for establishing the base areas were the existence of "autonomous" political networks and the presence of fairly numerous ethnic minorities, and especially those inhabited by the Magars. The origin of the name Magars is commonly understood as coming from 12 Magaranth groups in the east and 18 Magaranth groups in the west. In the past, according to the oral history, there used to be 30 Magar states. Because of the large numbers of Magar facing poverty and deprived or excluded from state development work, it was easy for the Maoists to influence local people to take up arms. During the conflict, the Magar regions faced difficulties from both the Government and the insurgents. The Magars are attracted by the Maoist declaration to grant them a separate autonomous region by establishing autonomous regions within the state. The Maoist movement started from Nuwa village in Rolpa and was strengthened when the Magars showed their support through the high numbers that became involved in the movement. The Magars are more affected by this conflict than the other indigenous and ethnic groups of Nepal. The ancestral lands of the Magars have been affected through the forgetting of all traditional and indigenous knowledge, skills and practices. The interventions of the People's War in the name of scientific practices have meant the leaving behind of all traditional culture and moving ahead for the mirage of a classless communist society. The main reason for the high involvement of Magars in Maoist activities is their not getting access to and benefit from the state to fulfil their basic needs (Budhathoki, 2005). After being attracted to join a Maoist cadre, most of them were involved in volunteer military squads and as commandos, who were killed in crossfire and counter attacks. They are assumed to have been killed in large numbers without any records and identification, contrary to the data of INSEC (2005) which shows far fewer numbers being killed.

Anne de Sales' study (2003) of western Nepal gave reasons for the origin of the Maoist base area in Rukum and Rolpa. Since the 18th century they had always been attached to the state and, following the unification process, they were kept in a lower caste level in the formation of the state. There are different reasons and arguments as to why the main origin of the Maoist movement is from the area of western Nepal inhabited by the Magars. It is commonly said that "Magars are the most exploited group in the state and need to fight for their rights without tolerating any kind of exploitation from the state."

After the people's movement of 1990, 61 indigenous and ethnic groups started to raise their voices for their rights against the discriminatory systems, embedded in the Constitution of Nepal. People began to be aware of their own identity as against the themes of nation building in the name of unification during the period of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, when military force was used to bring all castes, ethnic and indigenous groups under one flag.

The Maoist movement brought into expression all the people's grievances which had been suppressed inside them. They raised their voices against the discrimination by the state and the high caste and high class people, in every sphere: social, economic, political and religious. The people's movement was supported by the United Nations (UN) Declaration that 1993 would be an "International Year of Indigenous People", helping them raise their voices against the system established in the national policies, rules and regulations (de Sales, 2003).

The Causes of the Maoist Stronghold in Magar Territory

The Magars have always been known as brave, honest and sincere. Due to their given attributes, they have been trusted in the British, Indian and Nepalese armies. Some people have the impression that the Magars can be influenced easily by anyone;[1] and it has been strongly expressed that the present conflict situation in Nepal has resulted from the state's inability to bring groups into its structure inclusively:

> a naïve people … easily swayed … but who, if they can be enlisted for a task, continued in it or died in the attempt. There is an irony in the fact that as many Magars have been killed by the Maoists as by the police. According to unofficial statistics half of all victims have been Magars. (de Sales cited in *Awaj Weekly Chronicle*, 1999)

They have been thought to be naïve and innocent and their boldness could be used by any one as its mohara (stamp). Usually, the British Army has given priority to recruiting Magars because of their innocence, sincerity, boldness and honesty. Magars are mostly known as a naïve group, always loyal to their master. The reason for this loyalty could be found in the Dibya Upadeh by King Prithvinarayan Shah and the saying, that it is always safe to give authority to Magars who will perform their given duty with honesty. The evidence can be seen in the establishment of the Purano Gorakhgan where, in the past, all army personnel were from the Magars community; but these days, other caste groups have been recruited and most of the officers are from other castes and ethnic communities.

The main reasons for the Maoist movement starting in this area, as commonly analysed and assumed, are favourable geographical topography, the presence of the forest, which offers opportunities for guerilla operations, the poor economic conditions of the people and, finally, a local population of Magars who are unemployed because of a lack of education. Besides these given reasons, other possible reasons for the Maoist activities originating in western Nepal are the isolation from the other parts of Nepal and poverty due to having less fertile land. Because of their lack of education and not having enough resources for their living, Magars were attracted by the Maoist influence out of self-interest or were forced into the movement by Maoist cadres in the villages. Besides the social and economic conditions, Magars were also influenced by the communist political ideology from 1957; through the revolutionary movement by Mohan Bikram Singh from the Pyuthan District who stayed several months in Thawang; and because of Burman Buda, elected mayor of Thawang, being imprisoned for burning the portrait of King and Queen which was regarded as a great crime (de Sales, 2003).

Due to their naivety, boldness, innocence and honesty, Magars have been involved in the Maoist movement to fulfil their beautiful mirage of becoming a separate autonomous region so that power is in their own hands. Historical events show that Magars have a history of revolution against autocratic rule in the country. They were hanged in public as a lesson to other people because they went against the rules and regulations of the country; this was as part of a movement initiated by Lakhan Thapa, who was born in 1834 and hanged in 1876 at 42 years of age, along with his six friends. The Magars had also been involved in revolution against the Rana regime and this was controlled by hanging. Pathank's

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[1] Personal communication in an informal interview with an ex-Member of Parliament during my field visit to the Tanahu District.

analysis (2005) showed that the main root causes of conflict were 32% economic, 26% politico-ideology, 25% social, 9% due to isolation from the other parts of Nepal in the terms of development and 4% because of cultural and other reasons, especially in the Rolpa and Rukum area.

Due to international influence and not being accepted by India as a peaceful country, the Government of Nepal did not take any steps towards controlling the Maoist activities from 1996. This was because of the inexperienced and untrained military forces and a lack of sufficient arms and ammunition, which was unlike the actions of the Government in the attacks in Jhapa in 1971 and Okhaldhunga in 1974. The beginnings of the Maoist activities in 1996 were targeted only at the low-posted government officers, police and some low-level party workers and were never seen as a serious issue that might affect all aspects of people's lives in the future. Because of its concern to maintain an image of the country for the tourists from abroad, the Government took no interest in using police and army forces to control the forthcoming situation of violent conflict in Nepal which was fuelled by the slow reaction of the Government in dealing with the conflict. Rolpa and Rukum lacked development work such as road access and the fulfilment of basic needs and, combined with the earlier ideological belief in Maoism going back before the Panchayat Period, this helped the discord to exacerbate into violent conflict.

Because the land was infertile and the climate favourable to raising sheep, the people owned large numbers of sheep for their living. The impact of conflict, resulting from the Maoist movement, has affected the sheep raising as well as causing the young generation to lose interest in herding sheep. This has forced people to search for other work and, subsequently, to be even more easily influenced by the Maoist movement. The local occupational caste Kami, artesanal caste (blacksmiths) of this area, especially in Jailwang Village Development Committee (VDC), the southern frontier of the red zone area, extracted iron from 20 manually excavated iron mines about six metres deep. These mines were closed in 1977 due to deforestation. This factor also played an important role in causing people to search other means of access to a living and attracted them to join the Maoist activities in and around the Rukum and Rolpa districts where they were trained and convinced to act as martyrs for their country.

The Sija Campaign
The Maoists started their consciousness-raising and political-mobilization campaign in the Rukum and Rolpa area during 1994; it was organized by one of the most senior Magars in the Maoist movement, a military commander from the Gulmi District commonly known as Ram Bahadur Thapa (Badal), along with other Magar Deputy Commanders. The Maoists have more than 60% of Magars involved in Maoist cadres in different positions rather than in political positions, though Magars have the second highest numbers in the politbureau. Maoists are skilled in using certain, appropriate, traditional techniques in their strategy for conquering the Kham Magars' territory for use as their insurgency base area. These techniques included the use of traditional Kham-Magar symbols, sites and cultural concepts, among them the name SIJA (acronym of Sisne peak and Jaljala shrine), in the campaign to boycott the elections. SIJA activities gave Magars the feeling it was their own campaign and energized their support for the Maoists. During the Sija Campaign the Maoists used the local symbols and songs to capture the attention of the local Magars and get them involved in the Maoist movement, directed as it was to the poor economic, political and rural situation of the area.

Operation Romeo
With the Prime Minister, Sher Bahadur Deuba, as leader of the coalition Government of the Nepali Congress and under the supervision of the Home Minister, Khum Bahadur Khadka, Operation Romeo was started as a police campaign. This campaign was known for its brutality, human rights violations, rape and its detention and murder of local people. Due to the direct effects of this operation on ordinary people, people were attracted to Maoist activities. Operation Romeo affected 11 VDCs of the Rolpa District as well as some of the nearby VDCs of Rukum and resulted in some displacement of people in the Salyan and Dang districts. Research has shown that there were 12 known deaths, and that severe cases of rape took place, causing harassment to the Magars in this place; no perpetrator in these cases was punished. The report in the *INSEC Human Rights Year Book 1995* said that around 6,000 people left their villages, the majority being displaced temporarily, and 132 people were arrested without warrant. Valuable jewellery was stolen; fowls and animals, especially goats, were confiscated; and

prisoners were physically tortured. After three months of the Romeo Operation, the Maoists declared their People's War. The Romeo Operation helped accelerate the conflict, which might otherwise have taken a lengthy period of preparation, but the assertion that Operation Romeo was a core cause of the conflict is not accurate.

Rukum and Rolpa, the least developed districts in Nepal, have far less fertile land for the production of a subsistence economy. Most of the resources (land) have been captured by local landlords who make poor people work under them as peasants. These peasants have to work the whole year in their fields and give the landlords half of their harvested crops, which help sustain their families for barely three to four months. Male peasants are forced to immigrate to India and other parts of the country in search for work to provide extra income. In particular, the Magars have been influenced to seek labouring work in Kalapahad, the Indian border, in order to support their families. People have to depend on their landlords or local feudal lords for immediate cash when needed for occasions such as festivals, marriages, social and religious functions and death rituals. The high interest rate means that the borrowed amount increases into a large sum of money that people cannot repay and so have to give up their property, gold and money they have earned. In the absence of males, females have to do all the inside and outside household chores to survive. To get some source of income as well as support to fight hunger, local poor people started to join in Maoist activities in any form, whether as local volunteers or by joining a cadre and taking up arms (Pathak, 2005).

Impact of Conflict on Magars

The INSEC report (2005) shows the total number of Magars killed, with 477 killed by government forces and 201 killed by Maoists. The official numbers are based on the dead bodies found after recorded incidents, but there are not any records of the numbers of Maoist cadres who were killed during crossfire and collected by the Maoists and buried near the side of the river, unidentified and unrecorded.

During the conflict, it was common that the pictures in *Samaya* (the Samaya weekly journal), and most of the weekly papers showed the Maoists with guns as having Mongolian faces, and especially Magar, on the cover page. Although there were several Aryans in the commandos and cadres the majority of them seemed to be Magars, with white-star red headband and even carrying a child on their back.

The Magar Autonomous Region Leader said:

Magar have been suppressed and oppressed for decades; they are becoming aware of fighting for their rights in spite of the fact that Magars from Rukum and Rolpa have died in this People's War and though there is not a place to bargain inside the party. People have sacrificed themselves for the party and party has declared them as martyrs. All Magars have to take pride that many Magars have become martyrs in this People's War (2004). (Nepal National Weekly, 2004, p. 15)

The Magars' involvement was very high in the Maoist politbureau, with the next highest numbers (10.31%) after the Brahmins (31.96%) and Chhetris (14.43%). As the third highest group, the Magars are working effectively in taking up leadership roles in the Maoist movement in Nepal.

The Direct Effect of the Maoist Movement Among the Magar

Due to socio-economic and political factors, geographical topography and continually being excluded from the Government's development process, the Magars were attracted by the Maoist declaration that they would be given a separate autonomous region with the right to self-determination. The Maoist movement started from the Nuwa village of Rolpa and the Maoists gained strength when the Magars supported them, with high numbers getting involved. The indigenous ethnic groups dwell in the hill and rural areas. In getting them involved in Maoist activities, it has been very easy to convince them that if they fight for their rights they will get direct benefit from this movement. The Maoist movement is the one that has included all the indigenous and ethnic groups in Nepal. Most Magars have been involved in Maoist activities and as volunteers as well. It is not only political issues that have attracted Magars to take part in this movement; they have also been involved in order to fulfil their basic needs through

being paid as cadres in the party. Because of the poor economic conditions, Magars are working both in the Government and for the Maoists: in infantry lines, as volunteers or as cadres. They suffered heavy casualties, being killed in large numbers and also being disabled, orphaned and widowed. Of any of the indigenous and ethnic groups the Magars have the largest numbers involved in and affected by the conflict.

Those people having faith in other political ideologies are displaced from their own villages, forced to leave all their land, crops, and livestock after being threatened from Maoists in the village. They are in a risky situation and often suspected of being informers to the police and army. Some of them have also lost their lives. After they have been displaced, they have to work as labourers in the district and are reduced to a miserable condition.

Local Magar boys and girls were not treated well by other caste groups. Even their school teachers say that "Magars are joining the Army and Police, or becoming Maoist, rather than coming to the schools." Can we imagine the psychology of Magar children in the villages and how the society will develop?

While Magar Maoists are taken into custody and detention, the issue of their whereabouts is never raised. This is because of their involvement in the Maoist cadres, who were shot dead during crossfire and buried without any identification by their own party's people.

Conclusion
Rukum and Rolpa, known as the Magar people's land, was used as a base area by the Maoists after starting the People's War in Nepal. Among the indigenous and ethnic groups of Nepal, the Magars have the largest population that has been influenced by this war; they are known to have had the third highest number of those killed during this insurgency—by the Maoists as well as the state—after those from the high castes, the Brahmins and Chhetries. Due to their socio-economic, political and geographical location, the Magars were easily convinced into becoming involved in the Maoist movement in Nepal and have been involved in large numbers. It has been said that the Magars were directly involved in Maoist activities. Magars constituted 10.31% of the Central Committee of the Maoist politbureau and they have been made district commanders in districts with a majority of Magars and, thus, the district leaders focus on the Magaranth Autonomous Region. Although the INSEC data shows that the numbers of Magars killed are the third highest after Brahmins and Chhetries, it is important to search for the actual data.

In spite of the large number of deaths during the conflict, the Magars participate at the national level following the recent Constituent Assembly in Nepal. In the direct election during the Constituent Assembly Election, more than 40 Magars were elected to the Constituent Assembly; their representation came mainly from the Maoist Communist Party and only a few were elected from other political parties in Nepal. Practically speaking, before the advent of democracy in 1990, most indigenous people did not have a constitutional right to raise their voices against discrimination by the state. Even then, they were not given any opportunities to participate in debates about policy; and their lack of knowledge and education meant they would have been unable to perform well even if they had been provided with the opportunity to take part. Following the 12 years of conflict, most Magars, along with other indigenous and ethnic groups, have the chance to get a nomination from the Maoist party. It is now the case that all political parties have been compelled to nominate women, Dalits (schedule caste) and representatives from the indigenous and ethnic groups.

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He Ara Whanaungatanga:
A Pathway Towards Sustainable, Inter-generational,
Research Relationships
The Experience of Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine

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Abstract

A hapū (kinship group) research project, encapsulating the recollections and perspectives of kuia (elderly females) and koroheke (elderly males), is nearing completion for the Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine hapū of Whanganui, Aotearoa/New Zealand. The aim of the research was to stimulate discussion amongst these respected hapū elders and to elicit those factors that affect social, cultural, health and environmental well-being. This paper intends to draw on the experiences of hapū researchers, as well as the kuia and koroheke participants, in their pursuit of this research objective. It acknowledges the inter-generational relationships that have been strengthened as a result of this project.

Through whakapapa (kinship ties; genealogy) and whakawhanaungatanga (the building of personal relationships), the hapū researchers have had direct and unfettered access to their kuia and koroheke for the purposes of this research and, in turn, elements of enduring obligation and reciprocity are clearly understood by the hapū researchers. The importance of culturally appropriate research methods, including ongoing consultation with the hapū community, the adherence to tikanga Whanganui (Whanganui customs, protocols and practices), and the recruitment, selection and participation of kuia and koroheke will also be illustrated. Furthermore, the notion of ahi kā (the burning home fires; people living on and maintaining the ancestral land base), and its traditional and contemporary application to research, will be examined.

The paper not only looks at the role of the hapū researchers as hapū members, but also as researchers based within a New Zealand university context. This dual role has had benefits for both the hapū and the university, and provided the conduit through which a sustainable research relationship has been fostered. It proposes that, if the appropriate research processes are negotiated, understood and enacted from conception, and if the research participants (in this case, kuia and koroheke) guide those processes, then the likelihood of conflict is minimised.

Research Overview

Kuia and koroheke within Māori culture and other indigenous contexts are deemed to be key repositories of traditional knowledge and respected leaders of their whānau (family), who provide guidance in various spheres of life. It has become vital in many communities to encourage kuia and koroheke to impart their knowledge, experience and wisdom to successive generations as often the answers to contemporary concerns reside within this older generation. The significance of capturing their views may not be fully appreciated until they have departed from this world.

This research project, named *He Morehu Tangata*, was conducted to learn from kuia and koroheke of the hapū community of Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine (based at Rānana, Whanganui River, Aotearoa/New Zealand) their experiences and knowledge in four broad themes: social well-being, cultural well-being, health, and environmental well-being. While this study has been undertaken in one small Māori community, it has relevance for others, including hapū and iwi (tribes). Importantly for this hapū community, it has direct usefulness for succession and strategic planning as it offers an inter-generational, educational resource for hapū descendants.

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The project also established a long-term alliance between the hapū and a Māori research centre based within a Western university framework. The Rānana Māori Committee (consisting of resident hapū kuia and koroheke) forged a relationship with Te Au Rangahau (the Māori Business Research Centre) based at Massey University, Aotearoa/New Zealand. This relationship was fostered through researchers who are active hapū members, and work within the Centre and the University.

Whakapapa and Whakawhanaungatanga

Whānau (family; extended family) as a concept has undergone meticulous examination, redefinition and evaluation, and is described in many ways by many people (Durie, 2005; Metge, 1995; Taiapa, 1995; Tamihere, 1999; Te Pūmanawa Hauora, 1997). Whānau is the core noun or verb that is prefixed or suffixed, or both, to demonstrate the proposed meaning. Whakawhanaungatanga then becomes an intransitive verb, and with the addition of "whaka", and "tanga" highlights that it is an action pertaining to people (Rangihau, 1977). Gillies, Tinirau & Mako (2007) found that as an expressive notion whakawhanaungatanga can be applied in a number of contexts including research, and it emphasises the development and enhancement of relationships and making connections with people through whakapapa. In Māori society this is constantly applied and even in a contemporary context it is realized across a range of sectors. They found that authors such as Bishop (1996) use the concept of whakawhanaungatanga to determine their own "place" or establish theirs and others' intention to research in Māori communities. Whakawhanaungatanga can be described as a "rediscovery of identity and family-ness and of one's place in the world … through whakapapa (genealogy) and extended family" (Bishop, 1996, p. 63). In this sense, Bishop draws attention to the diversity of Māori experience and realities, where whānau do not necessarily live within or close to their tribal lands, their whānau, hapū or iwi (Gillies et al., 2007). Whānau may not necessarily be based on whakapapa, opting for kaupapa (purpose) whānau instead (Metge, 1995). As such, the "dynamics of whānau today often reflect differing degrees of knowledge of and reliance upon whakapapa and tikanga" (Cram & Pitama, 1998, p. 142).

Generally, specific tribal knowledge is not considered to be freely accessible to those outside the hapū or iwi, even when the researcher is Māori (Gillies et al., 2007). From a Māori perspective, Western research is considered an invasion, where researchers have taken without giving and interfered with Māori cultural norms including whānau and whakawhanaungatanga (Bishop, 1998, 2005; Gillies et al., 2007; L. Smith, 1999, 2005). In *He Morehu Tangata*, kuia and koroheke of Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine requested that their mokopuna (grandchild, grandchildren) not only be involved in the research, but have a leading role in the research. The research stems from the concern of mokopuna, who understand the value and potential of research but are also mindful of past, negative experiences of research that many kuia and koroheke and their forefathers have been subjected to. Therefore, this research demanded a cautionary and protective approach, ensuring that this hapū community, and specifically the kuia and koroheke, maintained control of the research process. Although this process was steered by mokopuna trained in Western systems of knowledge, retaining and subscribing to Māori ways of knowing and preferences for knowledge acquisition and sharing were paramount. Such practices from a Western perspective infer a range of preconceptions that are said to distort or contaminate the data collected—making the findings less valuable—yet from a Māori perspective the opposite is true. Protection, respect for participants, richness of data and researcher privilege were found to be of more importance and value.

The history of Māori development in relation to social, cultural, health and environmental well-being has been well documented from a range of perspectives and, in most instances, from a Western-based paradigm. However, the perspectives and aspirations of older Māori have not been well articulated (Gillies et al., 2007). The themes within this research recognize the interconnectedness between Māori and the natural world. *He Morehu Tangata* identified that to participants this interconnectedness is not just a notion but is real and personal (Gillies et al., 2007). It is perhaps because of this intimacy that past experiences of research in Māori communities have not been positive for many. Being objectified and compared to a non-Māori population through a post-colonial gaze remains a distasteful and valueless exercise for Māori (L. Smith, 1999). Other indigenous peoples around the world have similar views and responses to conventional scientific research (Gillies et al., 2007; L. Smith, 1999; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005).

Culturally Appropriate Research Methods

An initial consultation hui (gathering; meeting) was held between the research team, the research partner (the Rānana Māori Committee) and the local community on Waitangi Day, 2006, to advance research discussions. An overview to the research was formulated and disseminated, and the research partner and community were given the opportunity to analyze and endorse the research area. In the course of this research project, 19 kanohi-ki-te-kanohi (face-to-face) hui between the research team and the local community have been held to date. These were used as opportunities for the research partner and local community to be updated on research developments, and have allowed them to feed directly into other areas of the research process (R. S. Tinirau, R. P. Tinirau, Gillies, Palmer & Mako, 2007).

"The lodestone of research is truth and this must never be obscured" (Walker, 1992, p. 82). To reveal this lodestone, *He Morehu Tangata* utilized a customary yet appropriate concept—tikanga Whanganui. Due to common whakapapa interests and tribal understandings shared by the hapū researchers, the research partner and the research community, tikanga Whanganui was practised throughout the research process. Tikanga Whanganui provided the ground rules for research and was often deferred to when seeking perspectives and guidance from kuia and koroheke. Karakia (prayers) pertinent to Whanganui were invoked and specific kupu (words) or phrases unique to te mita o Whanganui (the dialect of Whanganui) were referred to during the discussions with kuia and koroheke. The fact that the hapū researchers had an innate understanding of tikanga Whanganui was important and appreciated by participants; such tikanga is based on Whanganui-specific whakapapa, whanaungatanga, wānanga (traditional knowledge forums), the mita, and whenua (land). Among the taonga (gifts, including books, photographs and autobiographies) offered by participants, a taonga pounamu (greenstone pendant) was given to the hapū researchers as a source of spiritual inspiration, guidance and protection for the research process.

Whakapapa and whakawhanaungatanga were an essential component of gaining access to the hapū community and three main recruitment strategies were used during this research project. The first saw recruitment occur at two major iwi/hapū events that were attended by kuia and koroheke of Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine. These events were the closing of the Te Awa Tupua Exhibition at Te Papa Tongarewa National Museum, Wellington, as well as the unveiling for the late Rotohiko Pestall Pētera Pauro at Rānana. The second strategy was through word of mouth, where kuia and koroheke of the hapū offered names and known contact details of suitable participants. The third was through hui with the Rānana Māori Committee, where potential research participants were discussed with Te Au Rangahau (Gillies et al., 2007; Tinirau et al., 2007).

Ultimately, the selection of participants was done by the Rānana Māori Committee. Due to the number of potential participants, the development of proper guidelines to define kuia, koroheke, and pahake (Whanganui term for an elder proficient in marae etiquette) or kaumātua (elder proficient in marae etiquette) was required. The Committee's view was that kuia and koroheke were whānau roles, in that any elder could be a kuia or koroheke in their extended whānau, hapū and iwi. It was noted that although the term "kaumātua" is foreign to Whanganui, it has now been integrated along the Whanganui River. The traditional term is "pahake", and was defined as people who uphold and protect tikanga Whanganui on the marae (traditional gathering place). Their roles are executed at the paepae (threshold of the traditional meeting-house), and include kaikaranga (women who perform the traditional call of welcome), kaikōrero (orators), kaiwaiata (chanters; singers)—regardless of age (Gillies et al., 2007; Tinirau et al., 2007).

A major guideline for this research project was that kuia and koroheke involved in this research must have a strong connection to Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine. This link may be as a result of whakapapa, marriage or union, land interests and/or residence in the Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine rohe (area; region). At monthly hui, and on a case-by-case basis, the Rānana Māori Committee confirmed potential participants that have such connections. Where the participants were not known to the Rānana Māori Committee, the researchers were guided by a hapū pahake who was not a member of the Rānana Māori Committee. In Committee deliberations due regard was given to whānau representation. Not all prospective participants agreed to participate, deferring instead to other whānau members. Those who were not

confirmed by either the Committee or hapū pahake were not invited to participate. The importance of being known to the hapū community and having resided in Rānana, either in the past or present, became necessary criteria (Gillies et al., 2007; Tinirau et al., 2007).

The Notion of Ahi Kā

> Land … contributes to sustenance, wealth, resource development, tradition; land strengthens whānau and hapū solidarity, and adds value to personal and tribal identity as well as the well-being of future generations …. A Māori identity is secured by land; land binds human relationships, and in turn people learn to bond with the land ... for all land an entitlement was conditioned by occupation, the maintenance of a continual presence—ahi kā. (Durie, 1998, pp. 115–116)

Over 1000 years ago, Kupe, an early Māori explorer, arrived on the shores of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Buck, 1950). According to Whanganui oral tradition, when Kupe entered the mouth of the Whanganui River he noted, "Kua kā kē nō ngā ahi", meaning that the fires of occupation could be seen. From this utterance, Kupe acknowledged that the Whanganui lands were already occupied (Te Mana Matua Iwi, 1999). Kupe then navigated the Whanganui River, and eventually rested at Mairehau, near the present day settlement of Rānana, the community in which this research is centred.

The arrival of the European heralded the imminent changes that would occur in Māori society, affecting the way in which Māori lived and interacted with themselves and others. The Native Land Court (known later as the Māori Land Court) was established in 1865, with the purpose of individualizing the title to Māori land, thus bringing Māori lands under a system reflecting British land law (Royal Commission of Inquiry, 1980; N. Smith, 1942, 1960; Williams, 1999). As part of this process, Māori were required to present evidence to the Court, proving their relationship and rights to their land. The term *take* refers to the customary right of Māori over their estates. One such *take* that took a prominent role was ahi kā: continuous occupation and use, where the home fires had never been extinguished (Firth, 1959; Kawharu, 1977; Rikys, 2001; Salmond, 1976; Sinclair, 1981; N. Smith, 1942, 1960; Toitū Te Whenua, 1959; Williams, 1999). Ahi kā could be proven in various ways. First, claimants had to confirm genealogical links to the ancestors associated with the land. Second, the claimants had to provide knowledge of the land, including its topography and history. Third, they were also required to give evidence of utilization; thus, the ancestral flame was required to be alight and alive on the land (Sinclair, 1981). N. Smith (1942) also suggests that such ahi kā rights had to be protected over time, and activities such as fishing, hunting, bird snaring, cultivations and others were used to prove that ahi kā had been retained. Those other rights—such as *take tūpuna* (ancestry), *take raupatu* (conquest) and *take tuku* (gift)—also required similar proof, as ahi kā was considered an "act indicative of ownership and user" (N. Smith, 1960, p. 94).

As temperature can be measured in a variety of units, so too can one's relationship to the land be measured through ahi kā and its related concepts. "Ahi tere" denotes an unstable fire; relocating away from the homeland (for example, marrying and moving outside one's tribal domain) indicates that one is no longer able to kindle an ancestral flame. Ahi tere gives a period of grace for approximately three generations, within which time the ancestral flame will need to be rekindled. Otherwise, "ahi mātaotao" sets in, whereby the ancestral flame is extinguished, and rights to the land are lost (Sinclair, 1981; N. Smith, 1942, 1960; Toitū Te Whenua, 1959). However, Boast, Erueti, McPhail, and Smith (2004) suggest that rather than there being any explicit rules regarding the degree of ahi kā, the histories of various interactions and the availability of land and resources were factors considered in the context of re-examining one's ahi kā.

Current perspectives of ahi kā, while based on custom, have been influenced by impeding, foreign worldviews and contemporary notions of economic expediency. Following World War II, Māori migration to urban centres accelerated the breakdown of many Māori rural communities. On leaving their ancestral homelands for work in cities and townships, entire whānau became culturally dislocated, a form of ahi tere. Today, many of these whānau have become ahi mātaotao, as fourth and fifth generations are permanently displaced from their ancestral flame. Furthermore, the system of

succession to land interests employed by the Māori Land Court has itself been criticized for degenerating the rights associated with ahi kā. Perspectives of current generations recognize those of their kin (although relatively far removed) who keep the ancestral flame burning on behalf of those who live away from the land, and have been doing so for some time. Therefore, the definition of ahi kā has expanded, and acknowledges that genealogical ties, no matter how distant, can act as a conduit to the ancestral flame for Māori urban dwellers. A waiata-ā-ringa (action song), presented by the Aotea Utanganui group at the *Te Matatini National Kapahaka Festival* in 2005 concurs with this view that the ahi kā is now considered to be the people who maintain the marae (traditional gathering place) on behalf of affiliated whānau and hapū members:

Manaaki mai te tangata	Caring for the people
Kia ora mai te wairua	Lifts the spirit
Tiaki mai te tangata	Looking after the people
Arā ko te tohu o te ahi kā	This is the sign of the ahi kā
Ka kite atu ai i ngā mahi nei	You have experienced the labour and sweat
He taonga tuku iho i ngā mātua	To maintain the treasures handed on from elders
E mārama nei koe me whakapupuri	You understand that you must take hold of these things
Kia hurihia koe hei hunga ahi kā	To earn the right to be ahi kā. (Apou, 2003)

It became quite clear that criteria for inclusion in the *He Morehu Tangata* research project would need to include one's connection to the land (around Rānana) through occupation. In other words, kuia and koroheke participants needed to have lived on the land at some point in their lives. In a sense, the ancient custom of ahi kā was being revisited and applied. There were some exceptions however, where whakapapa was not a key determinant for inclusion. Such cases concerned whāngai (foster child; foster children) who felt that their foster whakapapa or whānau and their sense of ahi kā or personal connectivity between themselves and the land were sufficient.

An interview schedule was developed to help guide the interviews with kuia and koroheke participants. Questions within the interview schedule needed to remain relevant for the participant being interviewed; it became apparent that each participant would be classified, using three considerations:

whether the participant identified as Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine;
whether the participant had been raised in Rānana; and
whether the participant was resident in Rānana. (Tinirau et al., 2007)

The classification is illustrated in Figure 1 below:

	Uri (descendant) of (through self-identification) Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine		Connection to (but not *uri* of) Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine	
	Raised in Rānana	Not Raised in Rānana	Raised in Rānana	Not Raised in Rānana
Resident in Rānana	A1	A3	B1	B3
Not Resident in Rānana	A2	A4	B2	B4

Figure 1: **Classification of research participants.**
Guide to selecting the relevant interview schedule, based on a participant's *whakapapa* (through self-identification) and connection, the place where the participant was raised, and their place of residence

Hapū Researchers and Research Relationships

He Morehu Tangata was initiated by mokopuna and kuia and koroheke of Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine. The research team undertook to work with an elaboration of established traditions and customary understandings of the whānau concept to develop and adopt the notion of a "research whānau". In practical terms, whakawhanaungatanga was incorporated into the research design, necessitating that the research was undertaken by a group of researchers who were connected to one another through whakapapa, and were considered whānau. This represents a departure from Bishop's (1998) "whānau of interest" where whānau might include non-Māori. Further, whakawhanaungatanga in this research involves a Māori research team made up of members who are both whānau in traditional terms of whakapapa, and whānau in terms of kaupapa, which in this case, involves Māori academics working collaboratively on a project with a specific kaupapa. This research exemplifies a contemporary interpretation of Māori customary principles while staying true to the core notions of whānau and, in particular, whakawhanaungatanga, which are fundamental to a Māori worldview (Gillies et al., 2007).

The two researchers who were of Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine contacted each participant personally (where possible), and conducted the interviews kanohi-ki-te-kanohi at a time and place convenient to the participant. Whakapapa and whakawhanaungatanga were applied to introduce the researchers when speaking or meeting with kuia and koroheke participants for the very first time. For most participants, interviews were conducted in English, with some responses given in te reo Māori (the Māori language). There were some participants who chose to be interviewed entirely in te reo Māori. In one of these cases, an interpreter (an uri of Whanganui) asked the questions, with the hapū researcher guiding the process. The total number of research participants interviewed for this project was 63. During the interview process, most non-resident kuia and koroheke participants would defer to the resident kuia and koroheke participants regarding current Rānana-specific issues, as they felt that these issues could not be commented on by those who had moved away from the area. Again, ahi kā became a deciding factor (Tinirau et al., 2007).

It is noted that some whānau felt that talking about themselves was not in accordance with tikanga Whanganui as this can be considered as "showing off". On the whole, kuia and koroheke participants involved in this research project believed that this was an important project and that the needs of successive generations were a key consideration for initiating this project. For example, the research process facilitated opportunities for participants to talk about and share memories that they had not shared with others:

> I hope I did cover what needed to be covered to the best of my knowledge, my memory … when you haven't been living among the old Māori people and talking about the history of the river, which they used to always be talking about, you don't hear them … I've been miles away, and this is the first time I've been able to speak about it … and who should I talk to about it … and you don't know anyone that do that … so it's good, you know, refreshes your memory. No it's good to remember it again. (HMT A211)

The research also allowed kuia and koroheke participants to speak about experiences that they would not have shared with researchers from outside the hapū:

> It's been quite interesting actually, I mean I suppose I, I spoke about things I normally don't talk about … I don't know what it's going to look like or sound like but … it's been quite interesting … yeah, talking to anyone, I know, anybody else and I probably wouldn't have. But it's good to work with people you know … there's a lot of people that would rather write books of people's life stories … and they make millions out of it, but for this, I think it's quite good, because we are going to look at each other's story when it's all completed … it'd be just interesting. (HMT A111)

The way in which this research was undertaken meant that kuia and koroheke immersed themselves in the process alongside the hapū researchers. There was a strong element of guidance and direction in all aspects of the data collection stages, with each stage being peer reviewed on a monthly basis. Kuia and koroheke also directed the researchers to where they could best access information and identify the

ways in which they wanted it presented. The research participants were able to talk freely with the hapū researchers due to shared interests, such as tūpuna (ancestors), whanaungatanga, hapū, marae, tikanga, reo, wānanga, whenua and ahi kā.

As has been previously implied, research relationships between the hapū community, the hapū researchers and Te Au Rangahau are now firmly established. The recording of kuia and koroheke life experiences, perspectives and knowledge has contributed significantly to the hapū. These recordings are taonga—precious resources (in the form of taped interviews, transcripts and reports) for their whānau— and thus advance the inter-generational transmission of hapū knowledge. Furthermore, the hapū community of Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine continue to provide guidance to Te Au Rangahau on Māori issues that may arise in other research contexts; thus, a sustainable research relationship has been fostered as a result of the *He Morehu Tangata* project. The research has also strengthened the bonds between the hapū researchers, all kuia and koroheke participants and the resident hapū community. The researchers and some of the participants are not only engaged in marae activities (committee, trustee and maintenance), but also in Rānana community development projects, and are hapū representatives at local government and iwi levels. It is hoped that other research initiatives will arise as a result of this project, encouraging the whānau, especially the younger generation who live away from Rānana, to return home and contribute to the hapū community.

Concluding Comments

While *He Morehu Tangata* has been valuable in providing one way of expressing whakawhanaungatanga, it shows that whakawhanaungatanga has a much wider application, and can be used as a tool to contribute to Māori knowledge development and advancement. Further, through practical application and acknowledgement, research projects such as *He Morehu Tangata* have shown that the underlying tenets of whakawhanaungatanga have a place in research. It supports a Māori worldview that Māori people, society, culture and the environment are interconnected. As such, any misalignment of these elements affects the balance of growth and development, in terms of both human and natural processes. The post-colonial history of Aotearoa/New Zealand has impacted negatively on Māori society generally, and this history highlights the imbalances currently reflected in Māori social, cultural, health and environmental well-being. What whakawhanaungatanga does, in particular, is to reaffirm and strengthen traditional alliances and linkages in a way that makes sense and remains relevant in a contemporary context. Māori people understand, appreciate and seek to preserve these links and connections. Thus, whakawhanaungatanga can provide guidance, cooperation and support in times of peace or trouble, and relationships such as these can be considered durable, strong and highly valuable, circumventing the need for tatau pounamu (sustainable peace agreements).

Culturally appropriate research methods played an integral role in gaining access to and acceptance by the research partner (Rānana Māori Committee) and the hapū community. These research methods include the importance of adhering to tikanga Whanganui throughout the research; ongoing consultation with the Rānana Māori Committee and the hapū community; the researchers being of Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine descent; whakawhanaungatanga, where the research team was both whānau whakapapa and whānau kaupapa; and consideration of whakawhanaungatanga, whakapapa and ahi kā in the recruitment, selection and participation of kuia and koroheke. *He Morehu Tangata* endorses a Māori worldview that these methods are culturally affirming and take account of Māori cultural imperatives.

The notion of ahi kā has far-reaching implications for research with Māori and possibly other indigenous communities. Within the context of this research project, potential participants must be acknowledged as well-known and active members of the researched community and, at the same time, must have an in-depth and institutional knowledge of that community. This knowledge grows with time and experience, and is enhanced by one's direct connection with an ancestral flame. As a concept, ahi kā and related notions were utilized throughout this research project for kuia and koroheke of Ngāti Ruaka/Ngāti Hine. The application of ahi kā may have altered slightly from customary usage but the traditional philosophical tenets remain and continue to guide contemporary Māori thinking.

Through working with a collective of kuia and koroheke, cultural and customary guidance on the collection, collation and analyses of Māori information was achieved, and the capacity of the hapū community and the hapū researchers has been enhanced. Importantly, Te Au Rangahau has established a long-term relationship with the hapū community and has ensured that Māori participation is meaningful and relevant in ways which are empowering and enabling, and encourage community leadership right through the research process.

Glossary

ahi kā	burning home fires; continuous occupation and use of land; people living on and responsible for maintaining the ancestral land base.
ahi mātaotao	extinguished ancestral fire
ahi tere	unstable ancestral fire
hapū	kinship group; clan
hui	gathering; meeting
iwi	tribe
kaikaranga	women who perform traditional call of welcome
kaikōrero	orator
kaiwaiata	chanter; singer
kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	face-to-face
karakia	invocations; prayers
kaumātua	elders, proficient in marae etiquette
kaupapa	purpose
kaupapa Māori	Māori focused; Māori centred
koroheke	elderly male
kuia	elderly female
kupu	words
marae	traditional gathering place
mita	dialect
mokopuna	grandchild; grandchildren
paepae	threshold of the traditional meeting-house
pahake	Whanganui term for elder, proficient in marae etiquette
rohe	area; region
take	right to land
take raupatu	land obtained through conquest
take tuku	land obtained through gift
take tūpuna	land obtained through ancestral connection
taonga	gifts
taonga pounamu	greenstone pendant
tatau pounamu	sustainable peace agreements
tautoko	support
te mita o Whanganui	the dialect of Whanganui
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga Whanganui	Whanganui customs, protocols and practices
tūpuna	ancestors
uri	descendant
waiata-ā-ringa	action song
wānanga	traditional knowledge forums
whakapapa	kinship ties; genealogy
whakawhanaungatanga	the act of building of personal relationships
whānau	family; extended family
whanaungatanga	relationship building
whāngai	foster child; foster children
whenua	land

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Pupuruhia Tō Manawaroa: Holding Steadfast to Our Enduring Covenants of Peace: Designing Rangitāne Waiata as Educative Tools in the Transmission of Knowledge and Understanding Across Generations

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to explore the peaceable themes expressed within three waiata (songs) that were written for Te Whānau o Te Kura, a senior kapahaka (Māori performing arts) group from Palmerston North, New Zealand. Te Whānau o Te Kura was established to allow past students, teachers, parents and the whānau whānui (extended family; wider school community) of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū, the region's first Māori medium school, to realize the benefits that kapahaka offers and to provide for a Rangitāne-based kapahaka to participate at regional and national festivals. As such, Te Whānau o Te Kura is a collective which provides membership for all generations represented within Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū and exemplifies the importance of traditional relationships within the social unit of the whānau (family) and the responsibilities assigned to it.

The waiata discussed in this paper typify indigenous strategies for collaboration and cooperation between individuals, whānau, hapū (sub-tribal kin groups) and iwi (tribes). These waiata were composed to share narratives and give voice to those whom Te Whānau o Te Kura seeks to acknowledge and celebrate. The waiata form a curriculum framework and resource, not only for the tauira (students) but also for the entire whānau. Through participation, education is achieved by way of a multi-disciplinary approach and the objectives of promoting and operating from a Māori worldview are upheld and pursued. Whānau development is strengthened by the combined effort of the whānau through role-modelling, shared experiences and with a transparent and clear vision.

The waiata become artefacts of significance within our whānau because they are explored and contextualized. They serve a greater purpose than meeting the immediate goals; they are for future generations and signpost strategies for resolving conflict, appreciating peace making and valuing collective strength and purpose. The peace agreement of Te Manawaroa between the iwi of Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa, the gifting of three patu pounamu (greenstone clubs) to past Māori leaders and whānau and the conceptualization and establishment of Te Marae o Hine in Palmerston North are three kaupapa (themes) illustrated in these waiata. Consultation with local Rangitāne whānau and community leaders occurred during their composition, an important process in any similar research endeavour. Te Whānau o Te Kura have determined that a prerequisite for future Māori leadership and development will be the need to know such narratives and understand the significance of traditional relationships and alliances between Rangitāne and other iwi.

Historical Overview

The people of Rangitāne claim descent from Whātonga, who came to Aotearoa aboard the Kurahaupō canoe (Buck, 1950/1929; Matheson, 1983; McEwen, 1986). With his crew, Whātonga came in search of his grandfather, Toi-te-huatahi, who had come earlier in search of his grandson. Toi-te-huatahi established a pā (fortified village) named Kapūterangi at Whakatāne, Bay of Plenty, and is recognized as one of the earliest inhabitants of this area (Buck, 1950/1929). Whātonga eventually found his grandfather at Kapūterangi and navigated the Kurahaupō to Nukutaurua on the Māhia Peninsula. It was here that the Kurahaupō canoe came to rest; the crew then set forth to establish homes for themselves.

Some settled in the Māhia area, whilst others spread southwards. Whātonga proceeded to Heretaunga, known today as Hawke's Bay. He also explored several other localities along the eastern and western coasts of the North Island but eventually returned to Heretaunga. Whātonga had two wives and by his wife Reretua he had a son named Tautoki. Tautoki had a son and his name was Rangitāne, also known as Tānenuiārangi (Matheson, 1983; McEwen, 1986). He is the eponymous ancestor of the Rangitāne people.

Today those that claim descent from Rangitāne are widely dispersed throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand and the world, though it is acknowledged that Rangitāne have four main regions: Rangitāne ki Manawatū, Rangitāne ki Tāmaki-nui-ā-Rua, Rangitāne ki Wairarapa and Rangitāne ki Wairau. Each of these kaupeka (branches; sections) of Rangitāne is autonomous and share whakapapa (genealogical connections) with other iwi resident within their takiwā (region). The kaupeka also maintain connections with one another through various forums such as Te Rūnanganui o Rangitāne, which include representatives from each kaupeka. The Rangitāne ki Manawatū people also descend from Turi who was the captain and navigator of the Aotea canoe, which landed near Kāwhia and whose people settled in South Taranaki and Whanganui (Matheson, 1983).

Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū

Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori-centred immersion schools) is a Māori initiative that serves to preserve and revitalize Māori knowledge, language and traditions through Māori medium and Māori-centred education for school-aged tamariki (children). There are currently over 70 kura kaupapa Māori nationwide that "actively construct Māori world-views by providing young children with a sense of communion with the environment" (Durie, 2005, p. 238). Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū, the first Māori-medium school in Palmerston North, is 18 years old and has a current roll of 140 students aged from 5–13 years old. The kura has 72 contributing whānau spanning four generations, eight qualified and experienced full-time pouako (teachers), five full-time pouāwhina (teacher aides), one poutaki-tikanga/poutaki-reo (language and cultural advisor) and three support staff. Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū is housed on a permanent site and is purpose built. It has recently opened two new roll-growth classrooms.

The Kura is located within the tribal domain of Rangitāne ki Manawatū and continues to have a positive and meaningful relationship with Rangitāne and neighbouring iwi, with all taking pride in the collective education of their tamariki. In addition to the day-to-day learning and teaching activities, covering the national and local Māori medium curriculum, the kura offers extra curricular opportunities of an educative, cultural and sporting nature to the entire whānau; these include kapahaka, korowai-making (cloak-making) classes, te reo Māori (the Māori language) and tikanga Māori (Māori customs, protocols and practices) programmes. Decision making resides with the whānau, who meet regularly in a forum named Te Pā Harakeke, meaning the centre of the flax plantation. The Kura also has a rūnanga whakahaere or working party, who are selected by the whānau to deal with administrative or confidential matters.

Te Whānau o Te Kura

Te Whānau o Te Kura was formed in April 2006 and was launched at Te Rangimārie Marae, Rangiōtū, with the blessing of local Rangitāne ki Manawatū elders. The idea of establishing Te Whānau o Te Kura was first mooted by a small group of people associated with Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū. This group now forms the steering committee that is responsible for the management of Te Whānau o Te Kura. The group was formed to promote cultural learning and whānau participation as an extension of and an enhancement to Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū. Adult members of the kura community promote Māori language and knowledge through this forum. Team members of Te Whānau o Te Kura reside in Palmerston North and surrounding localities and consist of whānau whānui members, which include past and present students, staff, parents and friends of the Kura. The group is led and guided by people who affiliate with Rangitāne but its membership base includes people who belong to several iwi from throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Members of Te Whānau o Te Kura, both young and old, have a keen awareness of the importance of the language and culture for distinguishing Māori indigenous identity. Through active participation

in kappa haka, they are expanding language use in a range of contexts and are also positive role models for the younger generation, particularly those within both kura kaupapa Māori and kōhanga reo (Māori immersion early childhood education centres). Other benefits include whakawhanaungatanga (the act of building personal relationships), personal and professional development in Māori performing arts, heightened awareness and knowledge of local history, greater understanding of tikanga Māori and participation in te ao Māori (the Māori world). Other benefits may also be realized. The significance of kapahaka to Aotearoa/New Zealand society generally is explained by Karetu: "the Māori performing arts are as important to the cultural mosaic of the country as are the New Zealand Ballet Company, the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra, the live theatre, the museums, the art galleries and all the other manifestations of art and culture which, together, are so essential to our lives" (1998, p. 2).

One of the major highlights for Te Whānau o Te Kura included qualification for Te Matatini National Kapahaka Festival 2007, following participation in the Rangitāne Regional Kapahaka Festival in 2006. Since the national competition, the group has been asked to perform at public and private functions in Palmerston North and is gaining much local and national exposure. Kapahaka for Te Whānau o Te Kura is serious business, with a great deal of effort and commitment to learning new compositions and choreographed manoeuvres. It is also a great deal of fun and promotes affirmative cultural and inter-generational activity. Te Whānau o Te Kura was based in the host region for Te Matatini 2007 and took a leading role in welcoming all visiting kapahaka to Palmerston North. The group was honoured to represent Rangitāne at the festival, at which Te Whānau o Te Kura voiced the histories and future aspirations of Rangitāne. Performing at Te Matatini afforded Te Whānau o Te Kura the opportunity to display and demonstrate the knowledge and skills that team members had acquired and the learning that had taken place since the group's inception.

The Waiata

Each of the three waiata belonging to Te Whānau o Te Kura that are discussed in this paper draws upon Rangitāne oral tradition and history: to reflect the ideals that are pertinent not only to Rangitāne ki Manawatū but also those that live under the protective mantle of this iwi. These waiata discuss peaceable themes derived from historical events which occurred within the Manawatū area and are of social and cultural significance to local iwi as well as Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū and Te Whānau o Te Kura.

Waiata I: *Ko te Rangimārietanga* (waiata-ā-ringa)

This waiata-ā-ringa (action song) acknowledges Te Manawaroa, the symbolic gesture of peace between Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa, as well as the efforts of people such as Hoani Meihana Te Rangiōtū. The song pays tribute to the ongoing relationships established between Rangitāne and neighbouring iwi, including Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa, Te Ātiawa, Muaūpoko, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Hauiti. It recognizes the five key hapū of Rangitāne ki Manawatū—Ngāti Rangitepaia, Ngāti Te Rangiaranaki, Ngāti Te Kapuārangi, Ngāti Mairehau and Ngāti Hineaute—and the genealogical ties with the Aotea people, namely, the descendants of Tūranga-i-mua, the eldest son of Turi (Matheson, n.d.).

The dwellings that existed along the Manawatū River, and how peace was instilled into the people of Puketōtara and remains with those at Te Rangimārie Marae, Rangiōtū, are also discussed. The proposal for the meeting-house, Te Rangimārie, was derived from Hoani Meihana Te Rangiōtū's association with the Christian faith and serves as "a reminder that the building was intended for use as a place of worship as well as a place of entertainment, discussion and accommodation" (Matheson, 1983, p. 18). The building was erected to commemorate the accord reached between Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa through the Te Manawaroa agreement. This whare rūnanga (meeting house) is a tangible reminder of "Te Maungārongo o ngā Iwi o Manawatū me Rangitīkei" (The Peace Secured between the People of Manawatū and Rangitīkei) and is also known by this extended name (Durie, 1990b).

This waiata-ā-ringa was written by Manu Kāwana and Sean Ogden for Te Whānau o Te Kura and was first performed at the Rangitāne Regional Kapahaka Festival 2006, where it was placed second in the waiata-ā-ringa section. It was also performed by Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū at the National Primary Schools' Kapahaka Competitions in Auckland, 2007, where it received second place in the original composition category.

Waiata II: *Te Marae o Hine* (poi)

This poi (song during which a soft tiny ball attached to a plaited cord is swung rhythmically) speaks of the conceptualization and establishment of Te Marae o Hine, the Square in Palmerston North. The square covers 17 acres of open space in the centre of Palmerston North, an area set aside by John Tiffin Steward in his plans for the city (Matheson, n.d.). Te Peeti Te Awe Awe, a rangatira (leader) of the Ngāti Hineaute hapū of Rangitāne, saw the area as a marae (gathering place) for all people (Durie, 1990a). Te Peeti Te Awe Awe convened a meeting of local Māori leaders to bestow a name on this new marae but none was forthcoming.

At a subsequent meeting in 1878, Mātene Te Whi Whi of Ngāti Raukawa proposed the name "Te Marae o Hine", translated as "the Courtyard of the Daughter of Peace", and all those present agreed unanimously to the name (Durie, 1990b). The name originates from the Waikato area and is associated with the marae of Te Rongorito, an ancestress of Mātene Te Whi Whi. Her marae was a sanctuary for all people and she was known as a famous peacemaker (Matheson, n.d.). The name was gifted by Te Peeti Te Awe Awe to Mayor George Snelson. It was hoped that the central park-like marae would be a place where peace would be sustained amongst various local iwi, between Māori and Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent), and amongst Pākehā people also.

The code of peace adopted by Rangitāne is thus expressed in Te Peeti Te Awe Awe's desire that Te Marae o Hine be a place of peace and is reaffirmed by this special name. A marble statue honouring Te Peeti Te Awe Awe stands in the Square (Matheson, 1983), and was unveiled in 1907 (Durie, 1990a). Inscribed on his statue are his monumental words encouraging unity amongst all people:

> Kua kaupapa i au te aroha: mā koutou e whakaoti.
> (I have laid the foundation of love for you to build on.)

The poi was first performed by Te Whānau o Te Kura at the Rangitāne Regional Kapahaka Festival 2006 and was placed second in that section. It was composed by Rāwiri Tinirau.

Waiata III: *Taku Poi Manu* (poi)

This waiata is discussed in some depth and the full transcript is included. In keeping with a thematic as well as a metaphoric approach, *Taku Poi Manu* illustrates the significance of the Te Manawaroa agreement between Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa. As a consequence it also draws attention to the leadership, diplomacy and humanitarianism of Hoani Meihana Te Rangiōtū, a highly esteemed and noble Rangitāne leader who intervened and brought about a state of peace to the land and concord between the tribes involved. In the mid-19th century there was disagreement between Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa over a boundary, and land referred to as Tūwhakatupua (Matheson, 1983). Te Peeti Te Awe Awe, who was an astute and fearless activist of Rangitāne, along with his relation Taitoko Te Rangihiwinui (Major Kemp), was determined to pursue this matter.

However, when both sides were on the brink of hostility, Te Rangiōtū literally stepped between them and intervened, together with Hēnare Te Herekau and Pineaha Mahauariki of Ngāti Raukawa. All three men were Anglican lay preachers (Matheson, 1978). Driven by his compassion for the people, coupled with his strong belief in the scriptures, Te Rangiōtū's resolve to keep the mana (prestige) and dignity of both tribes intact was steadfast. Although Te Awe Awe would later argue his case through the Native Land Court (Durie, 1990a), bloodshed at least was avoided (Matheson, 1978).

Later, the importance of the Tūwhakatupua event was reiterated when three patu pounamu were crafted and bestowed to the descendents of those involved in this agreement (Matheson, 1983). The patu named Tāne-nui-ā-rangi was retained by the Te Awe Awe family. Te Rohe o Tūwhakatupua was retained by the Durie family. Te Manawaroa was presented to King Tāwhiao at Awahuri at a gathering of Ngāti Kauwhata, Rangitāne, Ngāti Apa and Ngāti Raukawa; it also reconfirmed an earlier peace agreement between Rangitāne and Ngāti Raukawa (Durie, 1990b). Mead (2003) maintains that the aim of peace agreements such as these was to ensure that they were enduring and sustainable. Highly valued

heirlooms, such as patu pounamu, were exchanged as "a visible symbol of the peace agreement" (p. 170).

The poi also intimates the genealogical line from King Tāwhiao to Te Arikinui Te Ātairangikaahu; and how Te Arikinui (the paramount leader) was welcomed to the city of Palmerston North and Te Marae o Hine in 1972 and was the first Aotearoa/New Zealand citizen to be given the "Freedom of the City" during the city's centenary celebrations (*Te Ao Hou* Journalist, 1972). Te Arikinui returned to Palmerston North in 2005 for the *Te Matatini National Kapahaka Festival*. The song farewells Te Arikinui, and welcomes her son, King Tūheitia, to his leadership position within the Kīngitanga.

Hei! Hei ha!	Hei! Hei ha!
Ko te poi, kōkiri—kōkiri—hei ha hei!	This thrusting poi—hei ha hei!
Tītaka kau ana taku poi manu e,	Distressfully you fly about, my poi manu
Ka tatū iho ki Tūwhakatupua.	You then settle upon Tūwhakatupua.
Māia ai tō tū atu ki mua	Boldly you stand before
I ngā manu toheroa o Ngāti Raukawa.	The contending warriors of Ngāti Raukawa.
Whakahiwa ake ana te manu mātai	Rising to the occasion is the sentinel leader
A Te Peeti Te Awe Awe e.	Te Peeti Te Awe Awe.
Ka rere atu rā ki te hopu mātāngohi	He who flies quickly to make the first kill
I te poutū papa i te taha o ngā waituhi e	At the snaring post among the water troughs
Hei! Hei ha!	Hei! Hei ha!
Whakawai atu rā taku poi manu e,	Fluttering about, my poi manu
Hipokina iho i raro i ngā parirau	You are sheltered beneath the wings
O te manu houkura	Of the peacemaker
O Hoani Meihana Te Rangiōtū e!	Hoani Meihana Te Rangiōtū!
Whakahuatia ake ngā kupu karaipiture,	Proclaim for us the words of scripture,
Mairatia iho ngā kupu whakaaio,	Bequeath to us the words of peace,
Whatiwhati rā ngā tokotoko o te riri e.	Culminating with the breaking of the weapons of war.
E Rongo purutia kia ū, kia mau!	Let peace be upheld and widespread!
Hei! Hei ha!	Hei! Hei ha!
Ka kake whakarunga taku poi manu e,	My poi manu flies skyward,
Titiro whakararo, ka nihinihi whenua.	And whilst looking below, surveys the land
Ka hakahaka koa ki te rurunga	You then hover over the sheltered nook
O Te Rangimārie (mārie, mārie).	Of Te Rangimārie (peace, peace).
Mataara mai rā taku poi manu e,	Observe here, my poi manu,
Te waihanga o ngā patu pounamu e toru;	The creation of the three greenstone clubs;
Ngā tohu pūmau o te maungārongo	Eternal symbols of peace
O te waikanaetanga e.	And of tranquillity.
Whakauenuku nei a Tāne-nui-ā-rangi,	Tāne-nui-ā-rangi was retained,
Tukuna a Te Rohe o Tūwhakatupua,	Te Rohe o Tūwhakatupua was given,
Tapaea atu a Te Manawaroa ki a Tāwhiao.	And Te Manawaroa was presented to King Tāwhiao.
Toitū te kupu, te mana, te whenua e	May the word, the prestige and land be honoured and restored.
Hei! Hei ha!	Hei! Hei ha!
Hārewa mai i te pōwhiritanga	You, Te Ātairangikaahu, launched into flight
O āku manu whakatau e	At the invitation of my esteemed leaders
I te rautau o te tāone nei,	When this city celebrated its centenary,
I te ūnga mai o Matatini e.	And when Te Matatini arrived.
Oki atu rā e te manu whakarere hua;	May you rest now, the maternal influence

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Ka puta ki waho ko Tūheitia!	Who begat Tūheitia!
Whakatau mai rā e te manu ariki e (ariki e, ariki e)	Welcome here oh noble leader (noble leader, noble leader)
Auē e taku poi manu e	Alas my poi manu
Hei! Hei ha!	Hei! Hei ha!
Kua kapi atu—hi!	You have covered—hi!
Ngā tongi e	The visions of the people
Kōkiri, kōkiri, kōkiri, e poi e—Hi!	Thrust, thrust, thrust forward, oh poi—Hi!

This poi was performed by Te Whānau o Te Kura at the *Te Matatini National Kapahaka Festival* in Palmerston North, 2007. It was composed and choreographed by Rāwiri Tinirau and received first prize for poi originality and composition. The award for this section is dedicated to the memory of Ngāhīraka Busby.

Educative Importance of Waiata

Waiata acknowledge and celebrate te reo Māori, Māori values and a Māori worldview. Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū have long held the opinion that the compositions of haka (traditional, expressive dance), poi, waiata-ā-ringa and other forms of waiata provide a literary, cultural and educational resource. Such resources serve to enhance Māori identity which, as noted in a retrospective study of successful Māori students, is a major contributor to Māori educational success (Robertson, 2004). Waiata used at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū contribute to a local curriculum which serves to be beneficial in many ways. Perhaps, most significantly, it promotes the knowledge and values that the whānau deem as important and desirable to transmit from one generation to the next. Indeed, in some respects this knowledge and the values promoted are also new learning for the adults within the whānau; yet they, nonetheless, constitute the preferred Māori educational outcomes of the whānau—by Māori, for Māori. The kura-based curriculum development and implementation require research, dialogue and decision making which empower the teacher(s) and learners. In such a process the autonomy of the whānau is extended because of their input into determining what their children will learn and how that new learning will be transmitted. Moreover, the Kura becomes responsive to the students' learning needs, whānau values and aspirations, and to the environment in which we live.

The notion that waiata "provide more cognitively demanding language and therefore develops academic proficiency" (May & Hill, 2003, p. 32) is one supported by Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū and Te Whānau o Te Kura because waiata verbalize concepts (simple, complex or both), provide narratives (historical, contemporary, contentious or not) and exemplify language that is rich and stimulating in metaphor and allusion. Waiata is an important tool that can be utilized in language acquisition and, as commonly accepted, language development is essential to intellectual, social and cultural growth. Similarly, the self-efficacy of the learner is greatly bolstered when he or she develops the ability and confidence to communicate competently. Therefore, resources such as waiata promote and enhance learning. Beyond their use as a resource, waiata are valued by the whānau for several reasons, including the fact that kapahaka is an enjoyable activity which consolidates all participants. Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū and Te Whānau o Te Kura have observed that there is strong community support for whānau involvement in kapahaka. This further enhances the relationship between the generations within our learning community because they genuinely work and interact collaboratively and co-operatively to teach and learn waiata.

Links Between Waiata and Contemporary Issues

Composing waiata compels the whānau to do research in the area of their kaupapa and, in turn, the waiata communicate the iwi and whānau position. Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū and Te Whānau o Te Kura begin the process of composing waiata by initially considering the topics of merit and high interest for the tauira and whānau. The waiata topic emerges from a theme, event or viewpoint and, in the case of the three waiata illustrated in this paper, those events within local history that led to the establishment of peaceable relationships. Seeking advice and direction from kaumātua (elders

proficient in marae etiquette) and other whānau as to the authenticity and verification of information is not only an important stage of the process and aligned to preserving cultural mores but also serves as a mechanism to clarify what is important to the whānau.

Although the compositions undertake several iterations, interspersed with further hui (gatherings; meetings) to monitor quality and progress, the final product is one which represents a shared viewpoint promulgated within the whānau and to the wider community. As noted by Kāretu, "in these compositions we have a chronicle of the comments on the world of the Māori at the time of the composition—its needs, its concerns, its solutions and its predictions" (1998, p. 2). The links between waiata and contemporary issues are as relevant now as for previous generations of Māori.

Transmission of Knowledge and Understanding Across Generations

Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū and Te Whānau o Te Kura observe that kapahaka is inclusive. Regardless of age, gender or ability, this activity can be shared and enjoyed by all participants. Likewise, kapahaka promotes co-operative learning and collective responsibility due to "learners and teachers being at the centre of the educative process" (Hemara, 2000, p. 5). Involvement strengthens the whānau knowledge base and identity. As noted by Biddulph, Biddulph & Biddulph (2003, p. v): "Social networks provide crucial support for parents as they endeavour to increase the family's cultural capital in order to raise their children's achievement." The experience of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū and Te Whānau o Te Kura is that kapahaka demonstrates that learning and teaching are indeed reciprocal.

Another positive element of Te Whānau o Te Kura is that it provides an authentic forum whereby the whānau can demonstrate expertise, knowledge and application of new learning. Those whānau involved opt into an activity that is not only academically and culturally beneficial but also enjoyable. The sense of community is heightened as a consequence of this shared experience and pride in belonging and contributing positively to the collective, not to mention being prepared to demonstrate that they are leading learners for our tamariki.

Concluding Comments

The waiata that Te Whānau o Te Kura sings are taonga (something highly prized) that will survive time and people; these will be a legacy for future generations and, as with traditional waiata, they will offer insight and assistance to those who learn and hear them. It is the journey that is the most significant aspect of the waiata, the journey of a whānau hoping to reclaim and revitalize their cultural knowledge, values and understanding of all that is highly treasured. Like the remarkable expeditions of Toi-te-huatahi and Whātonga and the conciliatory activities of Hoani Meihana Te Rangiōtū and Te Peeti Te Awe Awe, it is a journey that celebrates Māori endurance and perseverance and reinforces a shared and positive cultural experience. These waiata signpost strategies for resolving conflict, appreciating peace making and valuing collective strength and endeavour.

It is the journey of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū and those students and whānau whānui who have flourished as a result of its educational and culturally affirming practices, with Te Whānau o Te Kura being an extension of this kaupapa where whānau are able to participate in kapahaka and realize the spiritual, cultural, educational and physical benefits associated with it. The waiata written for Te Whānau o Te Kura and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū are based on events and people who have local social and cultural significance and include tatau pounamu (sustainable peace agreements) between Rangitāne and others. Relevant and important personal attributes and themes are located within these waiata, which provide an educational resource for the Kura community and are transmitted from one generation to the next within this context. Kapahaka also assists with the acquisition and development of Māori language, its use and fluency. Kapahaka encourages unity, collaboration, and personal and professional capacity building amongst participants.

The topics explored and expressed within these waiata continue to hold relevance because they are of immense local significance. Much research, discussion and consultation occurs amongst composers, tutors, performers, local iwi, kaumātua and whānau, culminating in a shared viewpoint for Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manawatū and Te Whānau o Te Kura. This paper has identified that within the local

context a prerequisite for future leadership and development includes understanding the narratives and significance of the traditional relationships and alliances between Rangitāne and other iwi, some of which have been discussed here. Composing, teaching and learning waiata, such as those illustrated, allow for this process to occur and for these prerequisite aspects to be transmitted to and embodied by future generations.

Glossary

haka	traditional, expressive dance
hapū	sub-tribal kin group
hui	gathering; meeting
iwi	tribe
kapahaka	Māori performing arts group
kaumātua	elder, proficient in marae etiquette
kaupapa	theme
kaupeka	branch; section
kōhanga Reo	Māori immersion, early childhood education centres
korowai	cloak
kura	school
kura kaupapa Māori	Māori-centred immersion schools
marae	gathering place
pā	fortified village
patu pounamu	greenstone club
pouako	teacher
pouāwhina	teacher aide
poutaki-reo	language advisor
poutaki-tikanga	cultural advisor
rangatira	leader
tamariki	children
taonga	something highly prized
tauira	student
tatau pounamu	sustainable peace agreements
te ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Arikinui	paramount leader; Te Arikinui Te Ātairangikaahu (late leader of Te Kingitanga, the Māori King movement)
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga Māori	Māori customs, protocols and practices
waiata	song
waiata-ā-ringa	action song
waiata poi	song during which a soft tiny ball attached to a plaited cord is swung rhythmically
whakapapa	genealogical connections
whakawhanaungatanga	the act of building personal relationships
whānau	family
whānau whānui	extended family; wider school community
whare rūnanga	meeting-house

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