Enhancing Mātauranga Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge

Me Mihi ka Tika

Ko te kaupapa matua o tēnei pukapuka, ko te tūhono mai i ngā kāinga kōrero o te ao mātauranga Māori o te hinengaro tata, hinengaro tawhiti, ka whakakākahu atu ai i ngā mātauranga o te iwi taketake o te ao whānui. E anga whakamua ai ngā papa kāinga kōrero mātauranga Māori me te mātauranga o ngā iwi taketake, ka tika kia hao atu aua kāinga kōrero ki runga i tēnei manu rangatira o te ao rere tawhiti, o te ao rere pāmamao, te toroa. Ko te toroa e aniu atu rā hai kawe i te kupu kōrero o te hinengaro mātauranga Māori me ngā reo whakaū o ngā tāngata taketake o ngā tai e whā o Ranginui e tū atu nei, o Papatūānuku e takoto iho nei. Ko te ātaahua ia, ka noho tahi mai te toroa me Te Waka Mātauranga hai ariā matua, hai hēteri momotu i ngā kāinga kōrero ki ngā tai timu, tai pari o ngā tai e whā o te ao whānui. He mea whakatipu tātau e tō tātau Kaiwhakaora, kia whānui noa atu ngā kokonga kāinga o te mātauranga, engari nā runga i te whānui noa atu o aua kokonga kāinga ka mōhio ake tātau ki a tātau ake. He mea nui tēnei.

Ko te whakangungu rākau, ko te pourewa taketake ko te whakaaro nui, ko te māramatanga o ō tātau piringa ka pai kē atu. Ka huaina i te ao, i te pō ka tipu, ka tipu te pātaka kōrero. Ko tēnei pātaka kōrero kia pihi ake ki ngā whakatipuranga mā rātau ake ēnei rārangi pātaka kōrero o tēnei pukapuka. Ko te whakaaro ka whai hua, ko te whakatinana ka whai whakaputanga, ko te hinengaro ka muramura, ka kitakita, ka tipu te hua wānanga.

Ko te pukapuka nei i whakaawāteatia mai e te poari o Te Mana Tohu Mātauranga me Ngā Kaitūhono. Ko ōna parirau tūhono ki te ao whānui nā ngā tāngata whenua taketake o te ao i kawe ki tua atu o pae tata, o pae tawhiti. Ko ngā purapura whetū o tēnei puka e whai ai te hua o te wānanga, he mea tiki atu i ngā akoranga taonga tuku iho ā-rohe, ā-takiwā, ā-ao whānui. Kei whea atu te mea ātaahua i tēnei, i te noho tahi mai o te whakaaro nui o aua ao.

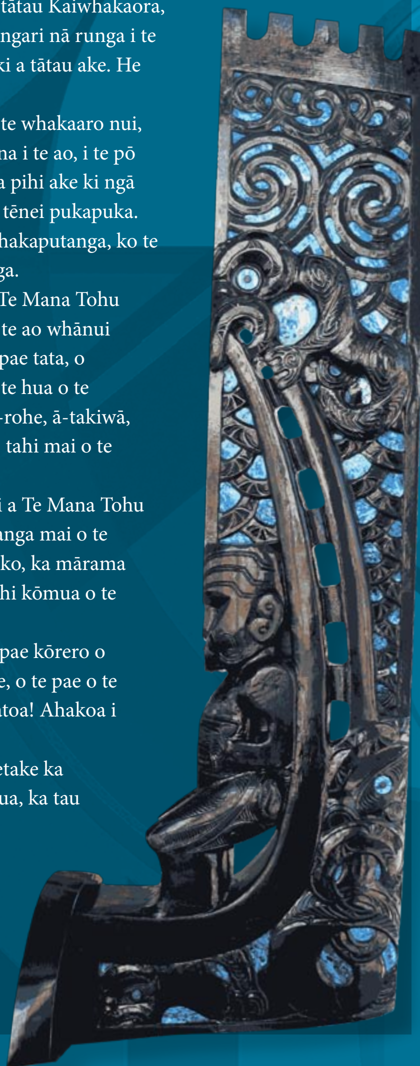
Ko ngā tātai kōrero, ngā tātai mātauranga, koia te mihi a Te Mana Tohu Mātauranga me Ngā Kaitūhono ki a koutou katoa. Te urutanga mai o te wehi, o te ihi, o te mōnehunehu o ā koutou kōrero o ia upoko, ka mārama te kanohi, ka tutuki ngā whakaaro ki uta. Ka mura mai te ahi kōmua o te mātauranga Māori, te ahi kōroto o ngā iwi taketake.

Ka tika kia whakamihi tātau ki te hunga kua hīkoi i te pae kōrero o maumahara, o te pae kōrero whakawhiti ki tua o pae marae, o te pae o te tangi apakura, te reo tangi whakahuahua. E moe koutou katoa! Ahakoa i roto i te tangi, i te pōuri, ka hokia e te mahara.

He ara whakatipu tō te mātauranga Māori o te iwi taketake ka karangatia e te manu rangatira nei, e te toroa, kia whiti ki tua, ka tau ki runga i Te Waka Mātauranga.

Hoake tātau ki uta!

Ahorangi Taiārahia Black
Te koko ki Ōhiwa



Enhancing Mātauranga Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge

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Enhancing Mātauranga Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge

The Significance of the Toroa

As well as being the key representation in the New Zealand Qualifications Authority's (NZQA) Mātauranga Māori Quality Assurance Mark, the Toroa (Albatross) motif links this publication to its predecessor, *Conversations on Mātauranga Māori.*

For Māori, the albatross represents magnificence, authority, and expression. It makes reference to aho ariki (prestigious lineage) and has a symbolic place in the sources of Māori knowledge—cosmological, philosophical, and methodological understandings. Wearing albatross feathers and bone pendants confers special qualities on the wearer, usually a person of rank. A garland of albatross feathers sometimes adorned the prow of waka taua (war canoes) and albatrosses are known to have been depicted in ancient cave drawings and whare tīpuna (meeting houses).

The albatross is one of the largest flying seabirds and is known for its dynamic soaring ability to cover great distances. The soaring toroa on the cover of this publication represents the movement of mātauranga Māori around the globe. This builds the connection and sharing of multi-layered engagement with indigenous voices.

The image of the toroa soaring across the globe also depicts the whakataukī (proverb) adopted by NZQA:

Te manu ka kai i te miro, nōna te ngahere.
Te manu ka kai i te mātauranga, nōna te ao.
The bird that partakes of the miro berry,
reigns in the forest.
The bird that partakes of knowledge,
accesses the world.

Introduction

Te whai au te tira haere

That I should join in this journey

This poetic imagery is taken from verse two, line nine of the waiata mokemoke (song of lament) *Engari te titi e tangi haere ana* (Fortunate the tītī, as it cries in its flight), composed by the prolific Tūhoe composer of the 19th century, Mihi-ki-te-kapua (Black, 2000). *Te whai au te tira haere* is founded on two dimensions—connection and journey. The first dimension, connection, has an inevitable element in drawing together an interaction to accumulate an exchange of ideas and circumstances which has a predictive future aspiration. No future can be achieved without connecting with the parameters of interaction.

The second dimension, journey, has an element of looking ahead to define a way forward. As the journey takes shape, a sense of meaning and resilience is required to steer a steady course ahead. The notion of connection and journey is captured in a five part framework, *Te Waka Mātauranga* (see **Figure 1**) to depict the knowledge development process.

Te Waka Mātauranga Framework

This sequential system of knowledge management provides a knowledge development process whereby each interdisciplinary theme and perspective runs into another. Each of these themes has become more apparent in the last two to three decades, during which time these knowledge platforms have received adequate and close attention in both academic and research platforms.

There is also the added viewpoint that mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and indigenous knowledge management is about supporting the learner and providing the visual interaction, dynamism of each concept, and philosophical perspectives to advance the nature and the quality of our knowledge systems. The interaction between the knowledge platforms presents an experience to the broader transformations of experience, knowledge and scholarship to emphasise the reciprocal relation between each platform. It is this notion that creates a learning tool of distinctive methodologies to facilitate the academic journey for Māori

and indigenous knowledge, to build a knowledgeable society to add to building a knowledgeable economy.

The purpose, therefore, of this framework is to empower connection and journey to support and allow the learner to quickly see an end point that will galvanise a sense of purpose, determination and capacity for mātauranga Māori and indigenous knowledge transitions.

Figure 1: **Te Waka Mātauranga Framework**

Moving Ahead

As we move further ahead into this millennium this publication, *Enhancing Mātauranga Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge*, and the framework, *Te Waka Mātauranga*, will enable Māori and indigenous learners to connect and follow the celebrated journey of our distinctive knowledge systems.

Te Waka Mātauranga framework provides pathways to distinctive knowledge creations and affiliations that will strengthen our horizons so that our distinctive knowledge sources can give future generations a greater degree of certainty.

The intellectual connectivity of Māori and indigenous scholars in this publication is the celebration of uniqueness which gives a greater measure of resilience. Uniqueness has more than one characteristic in this publication—it includes reo (language) and distinctive knowledge systems of narratives that will provide a powerful tool for discovering, exploring and evaluating the process of our knowledge systems' relevance. With the coming together of Māori and indigenous scholars to join in this journey, *Te whai au i te tira haere* creates an immensely diverse and rich learning experience. A climate of unique knowledge celebrated alongside the uniqueness of other knowledge sources. The uniqueness, inculcated in this journey, is not confined to a single perspective, but connected to multiple distinctive Māori and indigenous ways of seeing knowledge to capture the intellectual exchange of unparalleled significance of shared meaning.

Conversations on Mātauranga Māori

Enhancing *Mātauranga Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge* follows on from a publication established by Ngā Kaitūhono[1] and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority entitled *Conversations on Mātauranga Māori*, launched in July 2012 at Te Papa Tongarewa museum in Wellington.

Conversations on Mātauranga Māori coincided with the launch of the foundational document *Te Rautaki a Te Mana Tohu Mātauranga o Aotearoa* 2012—2017[2] in which

1 Ngā Kaitūhono works with the NZQA Board and the Strategic Management Team to ensure that NZQA's approach to Māori knowledge is compatible with Māori values and consistent with Māori expectations.
2 *Te Rautaki Māori a Te Mana Tohu Mātauranga o Aotearoa* 2012—2017. The Māori Strategic Plan for the New Zealand Qualification 2012—2017.

'creative thinker' discussions were held between Ngā Kaituhono, the NZQA Māori Economic Development Forum,[3] Whakaruruhau,[4] and NZQA. A feature of these discussions was the wish to continue to scope and support educational and academic outcomes for Māori learners achieving and enjoying education success as Māori under three platforms—connectivity, innovation, and the relevance of mātauranga Māori into the 21st century and beyond. What became of these exploratory discussions was the notion of working smarter to connect with global indigenous scholars.

This voyage of transitioning mātauranga Māori into the 21st century is further expanded and enriched by the inclusion of six global indigenous scholars into this publication.

This publication serves to:

- enhance mātauranga Māori and global indigenous academic entities within the auspices of Te Rautaki Māori a Te Mana Tohu Mātauranga 2012—2017
- bring to the forum a dedicated platform to advance higher learning and create new knowledge and research by Māori and indigenous scholars
- build an academic forum committed to interdisciplinary collaboration and research that will contribute to Māori and indigenous development and advancement
- strengthen Māori and indigenous academic networks and grow the collaborative potential of a global partnerships between Māori and indigenous scholars
- advance the notion that mātauranga Māori and indigenous research is a defining tool at the interface between social sciences, sciences, and indigenous knowledge regeneration.

3 NZQA Māori Economic Development Forum is an external Māori reference group, established by NZQA to identify potential qualifications pathways that will bring improved economic benefits to Māori.
4 Whakaruruhau assists NZQA to develop, maintain and promote Field Māori qualifications, unit standards, and associated assessment support materials. They also provide expert knowledge on specific Field Māori developments, and advice on maintaining the cultural integrity of unit standards and qualifications.

The New Digital Age and Te Waka Mātauranga Framework

Following on in this publication is the opportunity to revisit, revise, and sharpen mātauranga Māori and indigenous knowledge transitions as descriptors to build a knowledge society. Adapting *Te Waka Mātauranga* framework to the digitised age is something that confronts us. It is how we design this digitised framework that will empower mātauranga Māori and indigenous globalisation to give us engagement of our virtual knowledge wherever we are on the globe. This virtual digitised connection of mātauranga Māori and indigenous knowledge will be far-reaching. The path-breaking empowerment of this new digital age will require us to rethink the access, protection, and integrity of our concepts of intellectual knowledge communication and transformation. How we adapt to communicate in this digital age will, in fact, alter and support our 'intellectual cultural space'. The sharing of cultural intellectual nuances of tangata whenua (people of the land) is to promote and maintain citizenship rights. The challenge will be to develop and maintain our traditional practices and sanctions for the protection, preservation, and revitalisation of our intellectual cultural properties—to serve our successive generations.

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Te Koko ki Ōhiwa (The Surge at Ōhiwa)

Professor Taiarahia Black

He Kupu Whakataki

Ko te pūtake o tēnei upoko kōrero he tātari i te pātere o te hekenga kōrero ā-waha, ā-wairua, ā-hononga o te taiao *Te Koko ki Ōhiwa*. He mea tito tēnei pātere i ngā tau o te rima tekau e Te Kapo o te Rangi o te hapū o Ngāti Kōura o Tūhoe, o Ruātoki me Ngāti Ranginui o Tauranga Moana. Ko tēnei mea, te pātere, i takea mai i te āhua o te kōrero, he kupu whakarite i te momo tangi o te oro o te reo. Ko ia kupu, ko ia rārangi kōrero, ko te oro o te reo, ānō nei he puna wai e rere arorangi mai ana. Kei roto i te tātaritanga o tēnei pātere *Te Koko ki Ōhiwa* ka tipu mai ngā hononga ngātahi o te pūtaiao, te hītōria, ngā tikanga, me ngā momo mātauranga o te takutai moana o Ōhiwa e noho hāngai ana ki ngā iwi o Te Upokorehe, o Te Whakatōhea, o Ngāti Awa rātou ko Tūhoe. Kai roto i te pukapuka *Songs of a Kaumātua* (Orbell & McLean, 2002) te whānuitanga atu o tēnei pātere. Hāunga tērā, ko tēnei tuhinga kei tēnei upoko, he tātari noa i ngā rārangi 1—13 o tēnei pātere kia kitea ai te ātaahua, te hōhonu o te papa tipu mātauranga ā-iwi.

E noho ana anō i te koko ki Ōhiwa	*Residing with the surge at Ōhiwa*
Whakarongo rua aku taringa,	*My ears listen to two enduring sounds*
Ki te tai rā o Tuārae-o-Kanawa,	*To the surf of Tuārae-o-Kanawa*
E āki ana mai ki uta rā!	*Dashing towards the shore!*
Ki te whānau a Tairongo	*The family of Tairongo*
Kai Tauwhare rā	*At Tauwhare pā*
Ko te kōpua rā o te ururoa.	*A deep pool, bountiful of shark.*
Te kai i rari noa mai	*An abundance, profuse source of food*
Tē rawaketia e te ringaringa	*Unaffected, untouched by human hand*
Waiho i Ōhiwa te umu tahu noa	*Leave be at Ōhiwa where the oven always burns*
Tāria te wahapū e te tai pari	*Wait, the estuary is enclosed by the high tide*
Ka timu te tai, mahia te kai.	*The tide is ebbing, work at gathering the food.*
Ka pao te tōrea pango!	*The black oyster catcher will strike!*

Introduction

The focus for this chapter is the analysis and interpretation of the above traditional oral composition *Te Koko ki Ōhiwa (The Surge at Ōhiwa)* known as a pātere (chant). This pātere was composed during the 1950s by Te Kapo o te Rangi of the Ngāti Kōura hapū (subtribe) of the Tūhoe tribe of Ruātoki and Ngāti Ranginui of the Tauranga district. The term pātere is a descriptive, graphic term. Each word, phrase, and sound is performed like a cascading flow of water to emphasise meaning. In the analysis of this pātere *Te Koko ki Ōhiwa*, intellectual experience and insight emphasise the interconnectedness of the natural environment, historical sources, and the customary and intellectual

properties of the Ōhiwa harbour associated with the original iwi (tribes) who live in and around the Ōhiwa harbour—Te Upokorehe, Te Whakatōhea, Ngāti Awa, and Tūhoe. A full explanation of this pātere is extensive and can be read in the publication *Songs of a Kaumātua* (Orbell & McLean, 2002). However, the intention in this chapter is only the analysis of lines 1—13 as written above.

Mātauranga ā-Iwi and Knowledge Transmission

This historical literary art work in lines 1—13 of *Te Koko ki Ōhiwa* is an intellectual journey into the traditional and contemporary deliberation of knowledge transmission, creation and knowledge reclamation. The desired outcome of analysing this text is to establish a critical mātauranga ā-iwi focussed pedagogy that helps to understand the ways in which this form of knowledge composition supports literacy and knowledge acquisition. Knowledge and literacy connected to mātauranga ā-iwi provide us with the facility to understand, respond to, and use these forms of written and oral literature. They enable chronicled history to convey insights into mātauranga ā-iwi connected with a new audience and indigenous people of the world. Mātauranga ā-iwi and the global indigenous intellectual mind encourage us all to explore the unique genealogies of our narratives; the ways in which our traditional poets' ideals, philosophy, wisdom, judgement, and belief can influence successive generations of literary scholars and leaders.

Therefore the interpretation of *Te Koko ki Ōhiwa* is a case in point where the text is central to the response for the Māori learner to take the nuances of reo (language) integral to group identification and wellbeing to strengthen scholarship acquisition and competencies. This composition outlines a vision promoting intellectual commitment to whānau (family), hapū, and iwi epistemologies. Each line in this composition includes literature from four specialised genre: non-fiction, fiction, poetry, and oral performance. It also focuses on the sequence of events—oral stories being told and then re-told of historical engagement by the ancestors connected to the relevance of the natural environment. The recollections of this composition are annotated in the style of a written historical biography which presents oral traditions in literature as an art form through the medium of oral and written reo.

Intellectual capacity building in this form of literature generates three academic pathways for the Māori learner. First, it allows the learner to get an understanding and meaning of the context of this pātere. Second, it allows the learner to get a sense of pleasure in the discovery of new literary knowledge and experience. Third, it establishes new frontiers of critical thinking connected to the natural environment of the Ōhiwa harbour. In literary terms this composition is text-oriented where the learner can analyse a work of literature as a collective anthology related to the context of the world it represents.

The attention to words and context is the urge to know more about ourselves; an alternative lens illuminating a literary work to support the Māori learner and the public domains of learners to read carefully and critically these literary artist-orientated works. There are four other components to consider that emerge from within this composition, for the learner. First, the tone—the tone represents the authors' belief about his subject matter. Second, the theme—the theme allows the learner to understand the main ideas and the examples that develop the theme. Third, imagery—the imagery is presented as a combination of words carefully put in place to create a visual impact. Fourth, the diction—the diction is about choosing the words carefully, and paying particular attention to meaning, appropriateness, and relevance. It is in concentrating on the combination of these four components that the learner can reinforce their belief that mātauranga ā-iwi compositions are about genealogical narratives valuable to descendents.

In this chapter, matters of mātauranga ā-iwi in writing are explained and inspired by this composition. It is evaluative as well as biographical. Bringing to life this literary art piece makes it possible for this historical and contemporary knowledge to be present for knowledge reclamation.

The poet Te Kapo o te Rangi, in these carefully crafted words, presents this composition as a pātere, bringing to life a deep-seated relationship, connectivity to the natural environment, and links to the intellectual landscape of the Ōhiwa harbour. This composition by the poet develops a framework of knowledge management where related knowledge disciplines can be engaged. This composition, therefore, is about managing, re-telling and protecting the past intellectual knowledge of the natural

environment of the Ōhiwa harbour. It is also about stimulating critical acquisition of knowledge transmission that shapes mātauranga ā-iwi as an intellectual anthology. Lines 1—13 depict a number of concepts setting frames of reference and depicting the voice of the physical, historical, and natural environment.

This composition, when it is presented in a pātere form, builds an emotional cognitive vision to view the world of the Ōhiwa harbour in a poetic intellectual mode to bring new facts and new events.

Analysis and Explanations of Lines 1—13

Line 1: *E noho ana anō i te koko ki Ōhiwa (Residing with the surge at Ōhiwa)*

The opening line, '*E noho ana anō …*', presents a sense of contemplative, inner-deliberative thoughts by the poet, centred on feelings of interaction, engagement with the natural surroundings of the Ōhiwa harbour. One very significant word that captures the poet's sense of contemplation in this line is the word koko meaning surge. The word koko is important for its expressive attribute and relevance to continuity associated to the tidal surge of the takutai (seabed) and wahapū (estuary) within the Ōhiwa harbour. The Ōhiwa environment inspires the poet, so he chooses the word koko giving expression to the enduring elements of tidal currents that bring life to the Ōhiwa estuary—shellfish, plankton, all species of plants, marine organisms, crustaceans, birds of the sea and shore, and a rich diversity of fish species. The word koko represents a living connected part of the whole Ōhiwa ecosystem, a caretaking, living, synergistic word that goes hand-in-hand indicating communication conferred by tīpuna (ancestors) of Te Upokorehe, Ngāti Awa, Te Whakatōhea, and Tūhoe. All of these elements are natural phenomena within the Ōhiwa harbour and are interactive agents connected to the character and expressive quality of this word, koko.

From within the Ōhiwa harbour this word, koko, depicts well the cascading tides in and around Ōhiwa and it presents a sense of toitūtanga (permanence). It also helps to depict the values of a Māori system of resource management and sustainability that is fundamental to the life of the harbour. The essence, the belief of this inherent ongoing life, is the mauri (life principle). The word koko dignifies the mauri and gives birth to a new way of thinking and knowledge creation. It integrates the whole

of the living ecosystem to which mātauranga ā-iwi are intimately and genealogically connected. In my view, the word koko provides for the recognition and protection of customary resource management values and practices. The extension of knowledge creation that comes from the word koko is in accordance with custom and having regard for cultural intellectual preferences. Furthermore, the word koko encompasses the preservation of Māori customary title to ensure reo nuances like koko that belong to the linguistic community of Te Upokorehe, Te Whakatōhea, Ngāti Awa, and Tūhoe, retain a connection to culture and the natural environment. Words such as koko are an important part of the basis for identifying mātauranga ā-iwi that holds customary title over an area defined through genealogical connections.

Line 2: *Whakarongo rua aku taringa (My ears listen to two enduring messages)*

Line two presents the words '*Whakarongo rua aku taringa*'. These are directly related to two long-lasting natural environmental phenomena—tai pari (high tide), and tai timu (low tide). These two intersecting elements, physical combinations of tidal movements—the rise and fall of sea levels in and around Ōhiwa—are caused by the combined effects of gravitational forces exerted by Hinemarama (Moon), Tamanuiterā (Sun), and the rotation of Papatūānuku (Earth mother). By referring to tidal movement, Hinemarama, Tamanuiterā and Papatūānuku, the poet feels a link to the concept of environmental connectivity associated with the natural resources. *Whakarongo rua* (listening to two enduring messages) is an observation, that the principal meaning of culture and language nuances are connected to the tidal movements within the estuary of the natural world of the Ōhiwa harbour. Within the two tidal movements of tai pari and tai timu is a synergistic and interdependent relationship between all living elements explained by the vividness of the metaphors expressed in line two.

Line 3: *Ki te tai rā o Tuārae-o-Kanawa (To the surf at Tuārae-o-Kanawa)*

The rich oral tradition of line three gives emphasis, connection and deep attachment of *Tuārae-o-Kanawa* as a coastal landmark as the surf comes pounding into the wahapū of Ōhiwa. Place names such as Tuārae-o-Kanawa emphasise the spiritual value of this name encapsulating a story of an event connected with tīpuna (ancestors). In a story re-told, it is proclaimed that there was a rock below the entrance

of Ōhiwa which becomes visible at low tide and as the waka Horouta sailed past, it collided with this rock, so the name Tukina rae-o-Kanawa[1] can also be attributed to this site. This version can be read in Ngata, 1980 (pp. 102—103). These shared oral narratives are very valuable to constantly thread and bind us to our intellectual and historical relationships with iwi and with the natural environment.

Line 4: *E ākī ana mai ki uta rā! (Dashing towards the shore!)*

Line four uses the expression of *āki* (dash) to reference the sound of waves against the surge of the tides in and out of the Ōhiwa harbour. These rolling, and at times agitated, waves on the shore line become part of the connection of immediacy and the location for connectivity. These waves bring a message of interconnectedness by the poet. Each wave, āki, brings a kaleidoscope of life's contemplation in that the poet reminds us these are not just āki (dashing waves), but they exude, and bring existence and presence to our thinking. Waves represent the unique dialogue of the community of the ocean. It is a new form of communication that we must observe better. The sounds of the waves have value and mana (sovereignty), and the natural environment of the Ōhiwa harbour retains its special impact through these waves that bring a sense of purpose of the natural integration of āki. Every wave brings a process regulated by the winds, currents, and tides and marine life. The passages that crashing waves have in themselves inform an environmental management process—a metaphorical process based upon the view of mana whenua (the original inhabitants of the land). Perhaps the poet is reminding us about the energies and patterns of the natural world that are about conservation connected to mana whenua. Āki as a metaphorical passage symbolising a prerequisite for distinctive knowledge transmission, is attributed to the foundations of reo critical pedagogy, thoughts and expression that ride high in the consciousness and unconsciousness of intellect, ideology, personality and Māori philosophy.

Line 5: *Ki te whānau a Tairongo (The collective whānau of Tairongo)*

In line five the term *whānau* means immediate whānau or extended whānau. It can also mean to give birth. In a traditional view, whānau is a group formed on the basis of descent and held together in bonds of whanaungatanga (kinship). So the term whānau

1 Personal communication with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi tohunga Te Mākarini Tēmara, November 2013.

is the basic social unit of Māori society today. Line five, '*Ki te whānau a Tairongo*', is a reference to the declaration of customary authority to recognise mana whenua (authority of the land). The creation of the authority of a title in the Māori world view is connected to whānau, hapū, and iwi, as well as mana whenua held together by whakapapa (genealogy). The importance of whakapapa should not be forgotten here as the iwi living in and around the Ōhiwa harbour, Te Upokorehe, Te Whakatōhea, Ngāti Awa, and Tūhoe, trace their ancestry back to the whenua (land). Whenua is a strong principle connected to ancestral soil, a sentiment that correlates with the intellectual and historical sources and the immediate value of land as a source of food and knowledge sustenance. Therefore, mana whenua is attributed to *Tairongo*, the earliest ancestor connected to the Ōhiwa harbour. Tairongo is the ancestor of the coastal people of Te Upokorehe of Roimata marae, who intermarried with Tūhoe (Binney, 2009, p. 18). In another version of Te Whakatōhea historical precincts, Tairongo arrived from Hawaiki in the Rangimātoru waka (canoe). Tairongo's exploration and settlement of Ōhiwa is commemorated by the name Te Moana o Tairongo (The Ocean of Tairongo). His descendents also took Tairongo as their hapū name (Walker, 2007, p. 38).

The ancestor, Tairongo, helps us to feel reconnected to Ōhiwa through his generosity. From within his communities he connected with the rhythm of nature; he harvested and shared the bountiful food resources of Ōhiwa.[2] The spiritual wellbeing of Tairongo as kaitiaki (steward) of harvesting food resources in the Ōhiwa harbour is captured in two whakataukī (proverbs) which show an atmosphere reflective of courtesy, respect and trust: *Te kete kai a Tairongo* (The food basket of Tairongo) and *Te umu tao noa a Tairongo* (The food oven of Tairongo). Practicing the virtues of Tairongo contained in these two whakataukī is the responsibility of members of the iwi as kaitiaki by sharing the food resources of Ōhiwa to re-affirm relationships with surrounding iwi. The exercise of generosity and hospitality is a key accompanying value to the principle of tau utuutu (reciprocity).

The notion of reciprocity—sharing the bountiful of food resources—represents the creation and maintaining of whānau, hapū, and iwi alliances. The internal and external exchange of food resources by Tairongo is connected to knowledge gained through interaction and collaboration. The need for meeting social obligation for

2 Personal communication with Boy Biddle and Pātariki Aramoana, Kutarere marae, Kutarere, January 1981.

the distribution of Ōhiwa food resources is of high importance in the wellbeing of the community connected to these whakataukī about their ancestor, Tairongo. Today, the whānau of Tairongo have a profound and deep knowledge in their areas of focus of the food resources from within the Ōhiwa harbour.

Line 6: *Kai Tauwhare rā (At Tauwhare pā)*

Line six is a reference to *Tauwhare* pā located on the dividing line between Te Whakatōhea and Ngāti Awa on a western summit over looking the Ōhiwa harbour. Directly in front of Tauwhare pā is Ohākana Island. Ngāti Awa asserted its rights by building and occupying Tauwhare pā which is a focal point for fortification, protection, and celebrating historical occasions and housing rangatira (chiefs) and food stores gathered from the Ōhiwa harbour.[3] Today, Tauwhare pā presents exquisite views of the Ōhiwa harbour estuary looking eastward along the coast line to Whangaparāoa-mai-tawhiti (Cape Runaway) in the distance. Tauwhare pā provides more than an exquisite view; it is a cultural site of intellectual and historical wāhi tapu (sacredness) which nurtures connection and gives meaning to the origins of existence in and around Ōhiwa. Tauwhare pā is a key determinant of identification with regard to whenua and kaitiakitanga, and contains critical elements related to the activities impacting on iwi and hapū assertion of mana, and the exercise of kaitiakitanga by the tangata whenua.

The narratives of Ngāti Awa are carved into Tauwhare pā landscape. These signs, landmarks of the tīpuna (ancestors) are embedded below the roots of the grass on the terraces of Tauwhare pā. In the Ngāti Awa oral history, the land of Tauwhare pā is a living wāhi tapu (sacred site) by virtue of its history that can never be erased—ngā kāinga, ngā tapuwae o ngā tīpuna (the home and footsteps of the ancestors). Effective protection of the cultural and intellectual rights of Tauwhare pā requires research to explain the significance of this particular landscape feature. Tauwhare pā is about shaping a vision for all of the wāhi tapu (scared places) and pā sites in and around the Ōhiwa harbour. A vision providing for targeted research of ā-iwi pā sites ultimately rests with Te Upokorehe, Te Whakatōhea, Ngāti Awa, and Tūhoe, to develop a collaborative research platform for these historical pā sites which could be supported

3 Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and Te Papa Atawhai (Conservation Department) historical information boards located on Tauwhare pā.

by government, community and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. An extensive account of the construction and purpose of the fortified villages of the Māori similar to the construction and purpose of Tauwhare pā can be read in Elsdon Best's (1975) *The Pā Māori.*

Line 7: *Ko te kōpua rā o te ururoa (A deep pool, bountiful of shark)*

In line seven, the poet describes a distinctive *kōpua* (deep pool) located below the Tauwhare pā site in the Ōhiwa harbour where sharks feed, fattening themselves before they breed (Orbell & McLean, 2002, p. 249). While it has been noted in ā-iwi narratives that sharks can be found in the harbour, in some cases reference to ururoa (shark) can be attributed to small dogfish that are plentiful and belong to the shark family sometimes called pīoke, mako, or mango (shark). These spotted dogfish live in estuaries and harbours like Ōhiwa, and they are distinguished from other sharks by their small size, tooth shape, colour, and length. They are abundant in shallow, coastal waters during spring and summer (Francis, 2012, p. 27). The poet is possibly using word *ururoa* (shark) as a metaphor to pay a complement to historical battles around the Ōhiwa harbour. Sharks were seen as fighters as expressed in this proverb for warriors: *Kia mate ururoa tātau, kei mate ā-tarakihi* (Let us die like white sharks, not tarakihi), (Orbell & Moon, 1985, p. 142). Today dogfish can be caught using a flounder and snapper net in the shallow water in the western channels of Ōhiwa estuary, just below the Tauwhare pā site and across from Ohākana Island.[4]

Line 8: *Te kai i rari noa mai (An abundance, profuse source of food)*

Line eight makes the point that the Ōhiwa harbour is a pātaka kai (store house of food). It also points out that it is also a breeding ground, nursery, and feeding ground for the fish species araara (trevally), tāmure (snapper), pātiki tōtara (yellow eyed flounder), pātiki rori (sole), aua (yellow-eyed mullet), kahawai, and haku (kingfish). The upper reaches of the harbour are important breeding ground for īnanga (whitebait), while the harbour mudflats have kuku (mussels), tuangi (cockles), pipi, and other shellfish.[5]

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4 The author of this chapter Taiarahia Black, on many occasions, set his flounder net in a channel below Tauwhare pā during tai timu leaving the net overnight for tai pari to occur.

5 Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa and Te Papa Atawhai (Conservation Department) historical information boards located on Tauwhare pā.

Understanding the interpretation of this profoundly poetic phrase, *Te kai i rari noa mai*, and qualifying the full extent of its meaning and insight is to understand its personal message that these special foods have a powerful presence of hospitality. This passage is used to extract evidence of ideals, culture, and an aura of feelings to progress descriptions of what special foods mean.

This form of information in the oral culture, transmitted by these poetic phrases, becomes part of the dynamics of the central text of verbalisation by Te Kapo o te Rangi. There is a sense of intergenerational transmission of this poetic line connected to *Ngā Mōteatea Volume II* (Ngata, 1961, p. 109). Indeed this line cited by the poet, Te Kapo, from the documented works of *Ngā Mōteatea* demonstrates that this form of orality is enduring and everlasting.

Te kai i rari noa mai is a beautiful poetic line with the reference to the abundance and the diversity of the food available and is the crucial link to the guardians of this natural environment that we value—the principal of toitūtanga (permanence) of life within the Ōhiwa harbour. The perspective of toitūtanga is captured in the twin tidal elements, tai pari and tai timu, which bring life sources into the Ōhiwa estuary, but the poet's reference should also be seen as a word of caution. The systems of management of the natural resource in the Ōhiwa harbour emphasise the non-destruction of the mauri. The sustainability of the many species—animal, plants, shell foods, and physical resources—connected to the oral historical entities, is a living whole to which life of the Ōhiwa estuary, with its tidal considerations, are genealogically connected. Integration becomes part of the intimate connectivity of this natural environment with its abundance of food resources.

Line 9: *Tē rawaketia e te ringaringa (Unaffected, untouched by human hand)*

Line nine reminds humans that the natural environment of Ōhiwa has developed its own system of environmental management based on centuries of a relationship enduring elements of tidal currents that bring life to the Ōhiwa estuary. This line by the poet represents an independent living part of the whole Ōhiwa harbour ecosystem, a caretaking living, synergistic, special contact conferred by tīpuna (ancestors). The movements, energies, and patterns of life within the Ōhiwa harbour's natural world

are about vigilance—that the sustainability of this natural environment must not be altered and its natural energies to be respected.

Line 10: *Waiho i Ōhiwa te umu tahu noa (Leave be at Ōhiwa where the oven always burns)*[6]

Line ten is an aesthetic connection to the natural environment of the Ōhiwa harbour; the oral traditions and landscape observation is expressed in the form of a whakataukī. In this whakataukī regarding Ōhiwa, there is a rich system of nomenclature classification, an arrangement, and organisation of designated resource features that brings detailed knowledge of the relevance of customary properties. Ōhiwa is the place where sea products are plentiful and crops are cultivated. The oven always burning is a sign of plenty at Ōhiwa. Historical literary resource integrated into the natural resources of Ōhiwa become part of the intellectual exchange for the transmission, retention, and the reclamation of knowledge, values, and practices.

Line 11: *Tāria te wahapū e te tai pari (Wait, the estuary is enclosed by the high tide)*[7]

Tāria (waiting) for tidal movements in the Ōhiwa harbour gives an insight into time, place, and location. Referencing the high tide in line eleven connects notions of customs (tikanga) and mātauranga ā-iwi such as kaitiakitanga (stewardship) that promote sustainable management of natural and physical resources within Ōhiwa. Careful observation of high tides is evoked by the poet to provide information about tidal movements to stimulate greater interests in the ecosystem of the Ōhiwa harbour. In doing so, the active protection of the relationship and customs of iwi and hapū are associated with the natural resources of Ōhiwa.

Line 12: *Ka timu te tai, mahia te kai (The tide is ebbing, work at gathering the food)*

Line twelve is a prescription to plan for the gathering of food in unison with *tai timu* (the ebbing tide). In other words, we need to be open to tai timu in order to be connected to harvesting food and, perhaps, it is time to plan for a vision for the future. From a philosophical perspective, tai timu can be interpreted as a time of vitality to

6 *Waiho i Ōhiwa te umu tahu noa.* (Mead & Grooves, 2001, p. 417).

7 Personal communication with Robert Biddle and Pāteriki Aramoana, Kutarere marae, January 1981.

reclaim control of one's destiny and shape a vision for the future; to think freshly and clearly about the crucial knowledge choices that confront us. Consider for a moment the increased information of the natural environment when one observes tai timu on the Ōhiwa estuary. The Ōhiwa estuary is exposed by tai timu, and viewed as a whole, is an open system that draws energy from the sun which flows into, and through, the elaborate patterns of energy that make up the exposed parts of the Ōhiwa estuary. These flows of energy caused by tai timu can be seen as taking the opportunity. This opportunity can mean taking an active role in the realignment of goals and processes incorporated into a vision for the future—the future of our heritage, environment, and the reclamation of our intellectual sources. In so far as line twelve predicts the natural phenomena of tai timu in the Ōhiwa harbour, it could make us realise that we must take opportunities to bring new approaches to a new set of understandings to establish mātauranga ā-iwi as an important platform of relationships between individuals and communities. It could also be telling us that now is the time to construct a customary knowledge society to build and support a knowledge economy before tai pari (high tide) returns. There is urgency to take the opportunity to construct a new vision of the past of cultural intellectual legacies to help create a new future.

Line 13: *Ka pao te tōrea pango (The black oyster catcher will strike)*

Line thirteen makes reference to the awareness and intelligence of the *tōrea pango* (Pied Oystercatcher), its ability to wait and strike when tai timu occurs. The tōrea pango is a rare and beautiful bird with a long coloured bill, found in and around the Ōhiwa estuary from beaches to inland rivers. On the Ōhiwa estuary, they probe into mud or wet sand to feed on marine life, mussels, oysters, and crabs. After heavy rain, I have observed tōrea pango invading the Ōhiwa estuary and the mouth of the Maraetōtara stream in search of marine worms, shellfish and crabs.

The key message from the poet in selecting this line is one of patience, staying power, and resilience, just as the tōrea pango waits for tai timu. Resilience is an expression of the effort needed to steer a steady course. In my view, the poet was captivated by the presence of tōrea pango and thought deeply about Māori connection to the environment by watching the tōrea pango steering a steady course in reading tai timu.

The tides bring change. Change, in so far as Māori are concerned, brings the opportunity to plan ahead and to be resilient. Resilience and endurance are hallmarks of the tōrea pango that Māori need to grasp to support their endeavour to normalise intellectual forums of language, culture, environment, and history which sits alongside the resilience of the tōrea pango to take opportunities when they arise.

The poetic line by Te Kapo o te Rangi is transformational, connected to restoration, to give shape to the collective identity of one of the main birds of the Ōhiwa estuary. In saying this, our way forward with mātauranga ā-iwi drives Māori to examine their own intellectual determinants that contribute to historical and contemporary Māori realities. Despite the complexities, any opportunity that comes with being Māori in a global society should be taken.

Oral and Written Traditions in Literature

In the last three to four decades, mātauranga ā-iwi has become an important, exciting opportunity in the context of the reclamation and recovery of insights connected to the combined conventions of oral and written traditions in literature. From within this field, what has emerged is an interdisciplinary field of reo—published and unpublished tribal literature—that promises to gain substantial significance for a growing number of hapū and iwi scholars and academic specialists during the next decade and beyond.

Within the Mataatua waka area, intellectual platforms of oral and written traditions similar to *Te Koko ki Ōhiwa* are extensive. In planning for the future, in 2014, I will write a discussion paper to establish a Reo Research Centre at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi that will create platforms of intellectual inquiry into oral and written traditions in literature. Such inquiry will seek to reinterpret many other literary works in the light of what has been learned about their origins in oral traditions and pondering the question, “How do we ‘read’ these works of literature which have roots firmly planted in the oral tradition?”

Conclusion

The main characteristic of the pātere *Te Koko ki Ōhiwa* by the poet Te Kapo o te Rangi, is about building an enduring relationship between the natural environment and historical narratives connected to our contemporary situation. It offers the opportunity to investigate oral and written histories connected to mana whenua transmitted by mātauranga ā-iwi. This relationship has endured over centuries, celebrated in customary and intellectual declaration by whānau, hapū, and iwi and community interaction. It is this relationship that gives rise to a system of ā-iwi knowledge, distinctive ā-iwi methodologies, and environmental ā-iwi ethic progression. This integrated relationship facilitates the progress of intellectual growth, creating multiple pathways of academic and scholarly studies in Mātaatua waka literature. *Te Koko ki Ōhiwa* is one such example of intellectual resources derived from the relationship with the Ōhiwa Harbour environment.

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Mātauranga ā-Iwi as it Applies to Tūhoe
Te Mātauranga o Tūhoe

Professor Wiremu Doherty

He Kupu Whakataki

Kia mārama koe ki te āhua ki te taumata o te mātauranga o Tūhoe me tika te titiro ki te manawa nui o te hononga whenua ki te hononga tangata. Kai roto i tēnei hononga ka tipu te mauri, te reo o Tūhoe, me tōna hokinga ki te uru tomo papa kōrero o te whakapapa e mau kaha ai te ariā mātua mātauranga o Tūhoe. Ko tēnei mea ko te mātauranga, ka tīmata, ka mutu anō hoki me Tūhoe. Ko te takoto o te whenua, me ngā whakaaro ka tipu ake i te whenua e mau ai te rongo kōrero whakataratara a Tūhoe. Ko te mea nui hei whakaora i a Tūhoe ko tōna taiao e noho nei rātau. Ko te taiao te taumata e tipu ai te reo, ko te taiao hei whakatipu i ngā kokonga kāinga o te mātauranga e kitea ai, e tipu ai, e whakatinana ā-hinengaro ai. Ko ngā whakatinana me ngā umanga ka tipu mai ki roto i te titiro anō ki a koe anō me āu whakataunga ihu waka. Ina ko te ngahere, ko ngā maunga, ngā roto, ngā awa, ngā whakataukī e rangona ai ki roto i ngā rerenga kōrero, whakapuaki kōrero, i te pae kōrero mōu, mō tō Tūhoetanga. Koia tēnei tuhituhi, he whakaatu i tētahi peka o te taumata o te mātauranga o Tūhoe.

Introduction

Ka tahuri taku haere ki te whatiwhatihanga o te tawai,
e whāia nei ko Otairi.
Kei reira tīepa mai ki raro ngā karu
ki te kaihanga manawa o te rāwaho.

This chapter describes mātauranga ā-iwi as it applies to Tūhoe. It will show examples of mātauranga ā-iwi connecting the people of Tūhoe to their landscape of Te Urewera, and how the relationship with the environment and people build and map the knowledge base for Tūhoe, mātauranga Tūhoe.

To understand the shape and format of mātauranga Tūhoe, attention needs to be drawn to the importance of connecting the land and people together. Within a framework, the following key concepts will be explained: *mauri* (life force of an object); *te reo o Tūhoe* (the language of Tūhoe); and returning to the concept *whakapapa* (genealogy or development stages), which are the key concepts that describe and define mātauranga Tūhoe.

Mātauranga Tūhoe starts and ends with the tribe Tūhoe. The experiences that occur when the iwi interact with the land base help to shape and form Tūhoe epistemology. The greatest influence on the iwi is the environment they reside within. It is the environment that shapes and influences the language; it is through the environment that examples of knowledge are witnessed, experienced, explained, and conceptualised. Concepts and ideologies are explained using locally-known objects and ideas and spaces. For Tūhoe, this largely consists of the ngahere (forest), the maunga (mountains), the roto (lakes), and awa (rivers) of Te Urewera. Whakataukī (proverbial sayings) that are used in public speeches make these references. The following is a commonly used introductory statement:

Ko Tūhoe te iwi	*The tribe is Tūhoe*
Ko Ngāti Tāwhaki te hapū	*Ngāti Tāwhaki is the sub-tribe*
Ko Maungapōhatu te maunga	*Maungapōhatu is the mountain*
Ko Ōhinemataroa te awa	*Ōhinemataroa is the river*
Ko Te Whāia-te-motu te marae	*Te Whāia-te-motu is the marae*
Ko Ngāpūtahi te kāinga.	*Ngāpūtahi is the home.*

This introductory statement is an example of Tūhoe language linking and connecting to the landscape. The name Maungapōhatu describes the mountain's features—maunga (mountain), pōhatu ([of] rock)—illustrating how the environment shapes the use of language. The statement also illustrates the speaker's connection to the land base of Te Urewera. Through this the speaker is able to draw connections between themselves and the local environment: "Maungapōhatu is my mountain". Tracing the genealogical linkages back to Pōtiki, the speaker would be able to prove and describe their connection to the land as a descendant, inextricably connecting themselves to it.

Language and its Linkages to Mātauranga ā-Iwi

The connection between iwi and rohe (district or land base) is vital. Without the connection to the rohe, the tribe would not exist. Without the rohe, there would not be an epistemology unique to that tribe. Just as the iwi must have a land base, so too must mātauranga ā-iwi. To have no land base is to have no common basis for the iwi to establish a foundation and starting point. Within Tūhoe, the land base is Te Urewera which also forms a base for mātauranga Tūhoe. The esoteric knowledge for young Tūhoe is to ascertain the common flora and fauna located within Te Urewera, and to have knowledge of prominent mountains, rivers, streams, taniwha (guardians), and mōteatea (traditional songs).

Mōteatea are formal songs performed on the marae ātea, the formal space outside of wharenui (ancestral meeting house). The key to the use of mōteatea can be extrapolated from an analysis of the term mōteatea, mō (for), te (the), ātea (space in

front of wharenui). This illustrates how terms and concepts provide clues to their use and meaning. Within mōteatea are examples that reinforce and restate the linkages of the tribe to the land base, with continued reference to place names illustrating the influence of the environment on the language in the explanation of concepts and activities.

The mōteatea below was written by Mihi-ki-te-kapua. Her exact birth date is unknown, however, it appears to have been in the late 1700s and she is believed to have died around 1872—80. Mihi-ki-te-kapua was born at Te Tahora pā in Ruatāhuna, and is buried in Te Whāiti in the north-eastern section of Te Urewera:

Engari te tītī e tangi haere ana e	*Fortunate the tītī*[8] *as it cries in its flight*
Whai tokorua rawa rāua;	*It has the company of its mate;*
Tēnā ko au nei, e manu e	*As for me, my bird, I am like*
Kei te hua kiwi i mahue i te tawai;	*The egg abandoned by the kiwi at the tawai*[9] *roots;*
Ka toro te rākau kai runga, e	*They spread and embrace it;*
Ka hoki mai ki te pao	*When the mother returns for the hatching,*
Ka whai uri ki ahau.	*The progeny is such as I.*
Nōku koia ko te wareware rā	*It is my own forgetfulness*
Tē whai au i te tira haere	*I did not join in the journey*
Nō Te Hirau, whakangaro ana	*Of Te Hirau, now disappearing*
Ngā hiwi maunga ki Huiarau.	*Over the mountains at Huiarau.*
Kia ringia ki te roimata	*Remain to pour out my tears*
Ko te rere au ki Ngauemutu rā, e.	*Like the waters that fall at Ngauemutu.*[10]
Ko au anake rā i mahue nei, e	*I alone am left here, alas!*

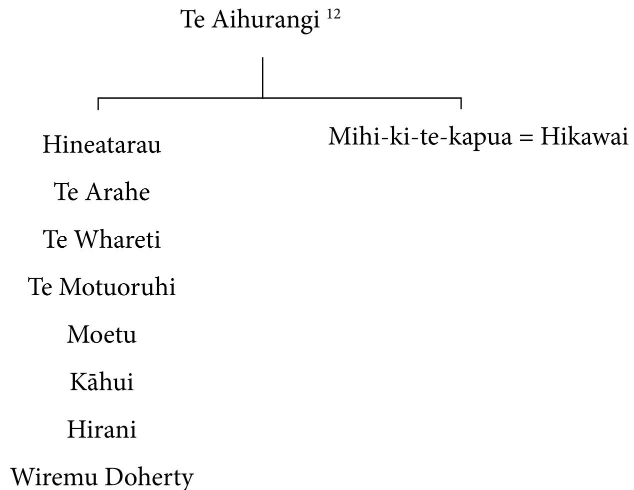
8 Tītī is the muttonbird, this bird used to nest in the cliffs that surround Lake Waikaremoana.

9 Tawai is the birch tree; when it grows the root structure creates a low ceiling over the ground creating a space where the kiwi lays it egg.

10 Ngauemutu is a waterfall.

Hai heteri kiritai ki te Mātuahu;	*Sentinel of the approaches to Te Mātuahu;*
Hai titiro noa atu ki waho rā, e	*To just look out,*
He waka hēra e rere atu rā.	*To glimpse a sail speeding away/a canoe there disappearing.*
Whakatika rawa ake ki runga rā, e	*Belated I raise to my feet*
Ka momotu ki tawhiti	*But it has severed to the distance*
Mā wai ia rā e whai atu?	*Who can overtake it?*

Whakapapa 1: Te Aihurangi—Wiremu Doherty[11]



As a widow, Mihi-ki-te-kapua lived at Te Mātuahu at Waikaremoana, a lake on the southern boundary of Te Urewera. While here, the widow became separated from her family, who now were situated in the Whakatāne river valley. Access to them

11 T. Tākuta, personal communication, August 1996.

12 See Whakapapa 3 (p. 37) for a full version of this whakapapa line.

was obstructed by the Huiarau range.[13] Within the mōteatea can be seen the use of language and description of nature to highlight activities, feelings, and emotions experienced by Tūhoe. The song is still performed in the manner portrayed by Mihi-ki-te-kapua when she created it.

The use of mōteatea and the skill in creating them are examples of mātauranga Tūhoe interacting with their environment. This union is remembered and taught through mōteatea, and whakataukī used in whaikōrero (formal speech), and karanga (the welcoming call) for visitors to enter the formal meeting space onto the marae complex in public gatherings of Tūhoe. The complex is made up of a wharenui (ancestral meeting house), an open outdoor area in front of wharenui called the marae ātea, and a wharekai (dining room).

When the iwi meets formally, or when welcoming visitors, a formal welcome is conducted on the marae using Tūhoe protocol termed pōwhiri. The visiting group enters slowly, making their way to designated seating in front of wharenui during the karanga. Females alone conduct this task. When the group is seated in front of the wharenui, the formal speech making occurs. This is solely the role of males, however each gender plays an equal role. Within the karanga and whaikōrero are continual references to the tribal boundaries of Tūhoe, the formal linkages that exist between different sections of the tribe, the linkages to the environment, and continual references to the ancestors that have passed on.

The pōwhiri process is where mātauranga Tūhoe is discussed and debated. It is here that knowledge will either be endorsed or discredited. It is within this environment that mātauranga Tūhoe will be contested and reaffirmed. To do this, the speaker must have an intimate knowledge of the concept they are putting out for public debate. There must be linkages to the visiting groups, they must be relevant to the tenure of the gathering, and the speaker must have an intimate knowledge of the concept from inception to the present. The speaker must reinforce their points with reference to appropriate mōteatea, and whakataukī. The connection of the iwi to the land base is critical to identity, it is Te Urewera—Te Rohe Pōtae o Tūhoe (the traditional boundary of Tūhoe)—that gives the platform for Tūhoe to establish itself as a viable grouping of people.

13 A 3015 ft ridgeline that runs east to west through the southern edge of Te Urewera.

The connections to the environment are fiercely contested amongst Tūhoe when a gathering occurs between the different sub-tribes of the tribe. This ensures that the held-to beliefs of Tūhoe are true and correct, whereby every person has the opportunity to contest, add to, or support the ranging ideologies of Tūhoe. It is vital this exchange continues as the repositories of Tūhoe knowledge and culture are located widely within the tribe. Each person carries with them a part of the Tūhoe body of knowledge. When put together with the other sections of the Tūhoe way of knowing, it creates the Tūhoe epistemology. The exchanges that occur on the marae and at formal gatherings ensure that the tribe accepts the Tūhoe epistemology. This becomes crucial when Tūhoe interacts with other Māori tribal groups, in that Tūhoe is able to describe its knowledge and culture with the one voice.

With all these things in mind we will now look at some key terminology.

Key Terminology

Whakapapa

Whakapapa maps the stages of development. It is derived from the term raupapa (to lay out). When applying this concept to mātauranga Tūhoe it will map the developments that have occurred between the people of Tūhoe and their land base, Te Urewera. There must be a connection to the land base of Tūhoe to locate and place the knowledge as a part of mātauranga Tūhoe. The connectedness expresses and explains the whakapapa connections. These whakapapa connections connect aspects to each other—the development of things from conception through to current times. Within mātauranga Tūhoe, everything has a whakapapa that physically connects itself to everything within Tūhoe. The whakapapa locates and explains the developmental stages of aspects from conception to realisation in both physical and spiritual aspects in that it highlights the sequential order of events.

Whakapapa 2: Te Kore—Te Ātea

Ko Te Kore	*Nothing, chaos*
Ko Te Pō	*Darkness of unknown*
Ko Te Rapunga	*Seeking*
Ko Te Whāia	*Thought*
Ko Te Kukune	*Growth*
Ko Te Pupuke	*Increase, swelling*
Ko Te Hihiri	*Desire, energy*
Ko Te Mahara	*Thought*
Ko Te Hinengaro	*Mind*
Ko Te Manako	*Longing, desire*
Ko Te Āhua	*Form*
Ko Te Atamai	*Knowing, readiness*
Ko Te Whiwhia	*Possession, acquisition*
Ko Te Rawea	*Satisfaction at possession*
Ko Te Hauora	*Welfare*
Ko Te Ātea	*Space*

(Melbourne, 1994)

This pātere (chant) explains the traditional stages of development that occur from an empty state of nothing through to the concept of thought and desire, highlighting the cognitive stages of development and growth. It is also through whakapapa that tribal connections to the land base are illustrated and expressed, as highlighted earlier in the introductory whakataukī linking the speaker to the local environment.

It is through the connections described in whakapapa to the environment that connections are made to the wider cosmos of Tūhoe through Ranginui (Sky Father),[14] and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother).[15] The creation of the world for Tūhoe stems from the union of Papatūānuku and Ranginui. Tūhoe knowledge and culture is created and influenced from the union of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who are ultimately the stem of the Universe (Te Ao Whānui). Then, down through the generations, via Tāne Mahuta (God of the Forests),[16] to a local rohe that is verified in waiata, mōteatea, and whakataukī, which are recited when the need presents itself to strengthen and reaffirm one's connection with the tribal land.

Listed below are the genealogical steps that link the author to the tribal boundary of Tūhoe Pōtiki, then further on to Ranginui and Papatūānuku, which then link to the wider cosmos of the universe.

Whakapapa 3: Ranginui and Papatūānuku—Wiremu Doherty[17]

Ranginui – Papatūānuku
Tānetewaiora
Te Uirāiwaho
Whaitiritiri-matakataka
Kohemaiterangi
Tāwhaki-o-te-rangi
Arawhitia-o-te-rangi
Wahieroa
Tapuaiterangi
Tapunui
Tapuroa
Taputiketike
Tapuwhakaihi
Whakaihirangi
Whakaihinuku
Hau
Nu-iho
Nu-ake
Manu
Wekanui
Toroa
Wairaka
Tamatea-ki-te-huatahi
Tūhoe Pōtiki
Murakareke
Murakehu
Te Anuanu
Te Arohana
Te Matau
Te Ahirangi
Hineatarau
Te Arahe
Te Whareti
Te Motuoruhi
Moetū
Kāhui
Hirani
Wiremu (Me)

14 Ranginui—Māori belief is that the sky is father of all things, and is called Ranginui.
15 Papatūānuku—Māori belief is that Papatūānuku is the mother of all things and is how land is viewed.
16 Tāne Mahuta is one of the 70 children born to Ranginui and Papatūānuku. He has many roles which will be explored later in this chapter. He is God of Forests—Creator of the Forests.
17 T. Tākuta, personal communication, October 1994.

The above whakapapa not only shows the genealogical connections of the author to the Tūhoe cosmos, but shows the stages of development from the creation of time down through to the present. There is an ethical dilemma in writing and recording whakapapa embedded in the ethos of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Tūhoe. To know the entire whakapapa is to know someone intimately. Embedded in whakapapa are the traits which form and create the present. Simply put, if it were not for the ancestors we would not be present today. By knowing one's whakapapa and traits of key people with this genealogy, an intimate insight is provided into the core being of the person. In addition to this fact caution must be exercised when referring to the names recorded and documented as they have physically passed from this world into the next world. Extreme caution must be taken when referring to the ancestors to ensure they are given the proper and due respect, to ensure the spiritual world remains in harmony. It is for these reasons the art of whakapapa is held esoterically by a selected few of the iwi. Many people within the iwi will have an intimate knowledge of their whakapapa, with a select few able to connect the differing hapū and families to express the entire genealogy of the tribe.

Ethical dilemmas that surround whakapapa are protected by having strict conditions established around their learning to ensure that those who do excel in this art are able to maintain the cultural safety components that must be adhered to. Understanding the construction of knowledge, as has been expressed, required a particular kind of leadership. The presenter must able to make the appropriate whakapapa connections, connecting the idea and the knowledge being conveyed to the land base of Tūhoe. In doing so, there is an ownership of the knowledge, linking you through whakapapa to the concept and creating a deeper and wider understanding. If this connection was not able to be made by the speaker, the aspects referred to would not have the same impact as if they had been linked to the land base of Te Urewera. As a result, the naming of children and people was no light thing. A great deal of thought went into the naming of individuals to locate them within their whakapapa, their hapū, and their iwi and, of course, the name had to be one that the individual could comfortably grow into, that would manifest their tuakiri.[18] For example, within my own immediate whānau my older 'sister', Hinerau, was named for our links to Waikaremoana where one of our ancestors, Hinerau, was rescued from a chasm she

18 Tuakiri—personality or set of unique skills particular to an individual.

had fallen into, by a local rangatira. A small waterfall below the current Department of Conservation Visitor Centre is named Te Tangi-o-Hinerau to commemorate this event. She, in turn, named her eldest child Hinewai, not only to symbolise her Tūhoe whakapapa (Hinewai was the younger sister of Hinepūkohurangi) but to also maintain the Waikaremoana connection to another ancestor of that name who lived there. This ancestor took on another life form and is supposed to manifest as a huge white eel within the lake. Another small waterfall located above the south side of Hopurahine stream is called Te Takapau o Hinewai after this ancestor. My mother's knowledge of the land and her whakapapa lines enabled her to come up with the right name for her child. In turn, the knowledge Hinerau acquired through the stories she learned from her whānau and her numerous treks through Te Urewera rohe enabled her to select the right name for her child.

My own daughter is named after Mum's great-aunt, Te Hirea. Te Hirea, along with her husband Te Kotahitanga, fought alongside Te Kooti at the battle of Ngātapa pā[19] in Gisborne. When the colonial troops laid siege to the pā, Te Kooti and his fellow inhabitants, having no escape from death via starvation or death by musket ball, decided to step off the sheer bluffs that blocked a rear attack on Ngātapa. In the dead of night Te Hirea and Te Kotahitanga, holding their young baby, embraced in silence. Then, holding hands stepped off the bluff in sheer darkness crashing to the valley floor far below. During the fall Te Hirea loses grip of her husband's free hand, and crashes to the valley in darkness. She cannot call out in pain or in search of her husband and child, as this would alert the colonial troops camped at the only exit pathway from the pā. After searching in silence she concedes her husband and child did not survive the fall, and in mourning slowly returns to Ōhaua, taking some months to complete the week long journey. When she eventually arrives back to her settlement of Ōhaua she is greeted by her husband and child. They are alive. When Te Kotahitanga crashed to the valley floor that dreadful night, he too searched in silence in the night. Thinking his wife was killed during the fall he steeled himself to live for the sake of their child and made his way back to Ōhaua to raise their child. My decisions to name my daughter after this ancestor is to ensure my great-great-great-aunt's actions are known by this generation. I wanted to ensure her actions and experiences she experienced of the Te Urewera land base were made available to my daughter's generations.

19 Ngātapa pā battle took place in 1869, 2000 feet above sea level located behind the current settlement of Gisborne.

Within mātauranga Tūhoe, we have the tribe presiding over a particular land mass that shapes and influences its epistemology with a major focus on identity. This needs to be illustrated showing the creation and development of all things that link back to the land base, and ultimately to the individual who is a part of the sub-tribe and tribe. This connection, illustrated through whakapapa, expresses the genealogical and developmental stages that exist in all things.

Mauri

The term whakapapa describes the sequential order of events. The component that links these events is mauri. Mauri is the component that creates the linkage that is described in whakapapa. Every single object within Tūhoe has a mauri. The clue to the meaning and understanding of the term mauri becomes clear when analysing the word: mā (by); uri (relation). By extrapolating the meaning we are able to see the relationships that occur between objects. Mauri describes the relationship that occurs between every object and aspect in mātauranga Tūhoe. If a connection is not made through whakapapa, it is more than likely an imported idea from another epistemology. It is through the linkages expressed in whakapapa and mauri that knowledge is located and identified within the Tūhoe landscape and ultimately to the people of Tūhoe. It is through mauri that whakapapa is realised—the stages of physical development and cognitive development placing the individual physically and cognitively on a continuum in relation to the knowledge culture and discourse of Tūhoe. It is through mauri and whakapapa that connections to tribal lands and boundaries become visible, as mātauranga Tūhoe is inextricably connected back to the tribal lands. It is through this connection that identity is made to Tūhoe. Using the principles of whakapapa to highlight the sequential order of events provides a particular connection to the landscape, people, and to the wider Tūhoe epistemology. The links expressed by mauri linking the stages of development described in whakapapa produce a Tūhoe holistic view. People, knowledge, and the landscape must be linked, and mauri and whakapapa map this development.

Rohe

While whakapapa locates the individual as a member of the tribe, particular attention needs to be maintained to ensure a continued physical connection to the

district and people. Their continued appearance and presence in the rohe is both to maintain currency on public discourse that takes place on the marae, and to ensure there is knowledge of their peers and other members of their tribe. In this way, Tūhoe people are able to continue to draw the whakapapa links that illustrate and maintain a tribal connectivity. This is apparent in the previous example I used within my own whānau, regarding the naming of my older sister, Hinerau, and the subsequent name given by her to her eldest child. Their names identify their Tūhoe heritage, as well as the continued physical connection to the district and the local hapū. Names within our whānau are chosen to reinforce our connections to other hapū within Tūhoe, and the particular areas of Te Urewera that they occupied. In this way, successive generations will have whānau history to help tie them to each other and to the land.

As I do not reside within my tribal boundary, I must acknowledge those who have made the commitment to remain within Tūhoe to maintain the iwi presence within and occupation of tribal lands. If they were not there, the lands become open for occupation by other tribes, thus extinguishing my right, my ability, to call myself Tūhoe, thereby extinguishing my tūrangawaewae (place of standing, or comfort zone). Land is a vital component to Tūhoe. It was the source of wars between tribes, arranged marriages between couples, alliances, and treaties all in order to maintain, or gain access to, land. The occupation of land within Tūhoe, abstractly described as te ahi kā (the burning fires), describes the fires lit in the numerous Tūhoe settlements. The term describes the pre-European Tūhoe movement from settlement to settlement within the rohe of Tūhoe governed by the weather or the availability of seasonal foods. The fire would be started in the settlement and when the tribe was ready to depart an ember from the fire was taken and placed onto a dried fungus that grows in the black (tawai) or white (tōwai) beech trees. This dried fungus, called te pukutawai, has a consistency similar to that of polystyrene. An ember would be placed onto the fungus slowly smouldering away before burying it. Burying the pukutawai would suffocate the smouldering fungus until the tribe returned the following season to unearth and re-expose it to the air where it would resume smouldering. From the smouldering fungus that was initially set alight by the previous year's fire, the ember would re-ignite the fire for the new season, thus keeping the fire burning that was initially started in the settlement generations before.

Pukutawai

Pukutawai, prior to drying

Pukutawai, died ready for use

The continual burning of the fires in the settlements was one of the formal markings by the tribe to display their occupation over the rohe. Derived from the continual burning of the fire comes the term te ahi kā, that is used to express one's continual connection to the land base. In order to maintain the continual burning of the fire, a person is required to be present. If a person does not reside within the boundary and does not keep a presence amongst the tribe, the ahi kā is then termed mātao (cold). For a person to have their ahi kā termed mātao would mean that to engage and interact with the tribe they would have to serve a period very similar to that of an apprenticeship, regardless of the position held before the period of absence. The clear message is the interaction of the tribe to the land base is a unique relationship that is both physical and spiritual.

For mātauranga Tūhoe to exist there has to be a connection to Te Urewera. A physical and spiritual link to lands in Tūhoe creates and forms the base of mātauranga Tūhoe. Every component has a whakapapa inextricably linked through mauri to each other. Some examples of this can be seen in the deliberate naming of elements to reinforce these connections. By analysing the naming of the forest and trees examples of whakapapa and mauri can be seen.

The name for forest is ngahere—ngā (the), here (connections)—the connections. By analysing the names of the following trees we can further strengthen and illustrate

this link. There is the kauri[20]—ka (particle), uri (relations)—which produces the statement 'to be related'. The pirita supplejack vine describes 'pulling together', illustrating how it grows and spreads itself across trees, tying and connecting them together, hence pirita[21]—making connections as illustrated in whakapapa and mauri.

Captured in the naming of ngahere, and the trees located therein is a reaffirmation of the connection to the environment. Each is a description of the role that each maintains as it completes its function and purpose as described and expressed through mātauranga Tūhoe. In addition to the analysis drawn in the naming of the trees, mātauranga Tūhoe, through whakapapa, places trees as ancestors. The trees whakapapa to Tāne, child of Ranginui and Papatūānuku.

Tāne created the flora and fauna found within the ngahere. After he had completed the ngahere, he created Hineahuone[22] and their union produced Hinetītama, the first female born. Within mātauranga Tūhoe, Hineahuone was the first female created. She was shaped and formed out of earth by Tāne, as is indicated by her name—Hine (female), ahu (derived from), one (earth). All whakapapa in mātauranga Tūhoe connects back to Tāne, connecting the descendants of Tūhoe directly to Tāne. This establishes the link between the trees and people. Through whakapapa and mauri we have the physical connection to the trees that grow within our environment.

Ko te Reo o Tūhoe: The Tūhoe Dialect

Mātauranga Tūhoe is also fixed to its environment and land base and realised through the Tūhoe dialect (te reo o Tūhoe). It is through language that interpretations and philosophies attached to the land base are clarified. It is through the language that the linkages and connections are explained. It is through terminology that signposts are given, outlining the deeper meaning, as in the terms previously noted, such as whakapapa and mauri. With an intimate knowledge of Tūhoe language, understanding of mātauranga Tūhoe becomes clearer. The language of Tūhoe is essential to gain an insight and deeper understanding of the hermeneutics of mātauranga Tūhoe. Only with an intimate spoken knowledge of the language will mātauranga Tūhoe become clearer.

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20 Agathis australis, giant conifer (Dawson & Lucas, 2005, 52).

21 Incorrectly named in Dawson and Lucas (2005, 169) as Kareao (this is name of berry) Ripogonum scandens.

22 Hineahuone was the first woman created. She was shaped and formed by Tāne, and later gave birth to their first child, Hinetītama.

Connections are made in speech linking ideologies from conception to contemporary times with an unlocking of the clues incorporated in the language and terminology. This helps to develop key elements linking knowledge to the socio-political landscape and development beyond notions of mātauranga to notions of wisdom. Incorporated in the meaning of the word wisdom is experiential and applied knowledge in the appropriate context and other things expanding the epistemological basis of the language.

The language outlines models and constructs that collectively constitute mātauranga Tūhoe. The key aspect of mātauranga Tūhoe is the language of Tūhoe—it is through the language that an intimate understanding of what it is to be Tūhoe becomes clear. An analogy here is that language is the key to the door that allows you to enter a Tūhoe world. Without the key—language—you are only able to peek and peer through the window. The language allows you to shift your position to view from within rather than from a distant or foreign position. This notion is captured and reflected in the filters used in mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Tūhoe, and is required in order to gain a more authentic understanding of what it is to be Tūhoe.

Formation of Tūhoetanga

Tūhoetanga is all that is Tūhoe—it is the language, it is the people, it is the culture. Everything that Tūhoe people do, can arguably be described as Tūhoetanga. Each tribal body of Māori has their own cultural aspects that are unique to them. While there may be similarities in the process of the culture, it is the people and the environment that make it unique. As described earlier in this chapter, for Tūhoe it is the land base largely consistent of Te Urewera that forms and shapes Tūhoetanga.

The relationship that Tūhoe people experience with their environment of Te Urewera shapes Tūhoetanga. This relationship with the environment has a strong influence on the language, whereby simile and metaphor include reference and comparisons with the environment, as highlighted in the description of Tūhoe as "Ngā tamariki o te kohu" (Children of the mist).

This statement is commonly used to refer to Tūhoe, where Tūhoe history states that a section of its genealogy is from a union of mist and an ancestor Maunga, who had a child together beginning one of the older genealogical lines found in Tūhoe history.

Hence, the reference to Tūhoe people as "Children of the mist". However, an uncanny relationship still exists whereby it is very common to find areas of Te Urewera heavily shrouded in mists while neighbouring valleys enjoy blue skies.

Conclusion

The foundation perspective of this chapter is the opportunity to combine mātauranga Māori with mātauranga ā-iwi and to discuss what it means to be Tūhoe in the 21st century and beyond. This chapter discusses the intimate relationship between the iwi and the landscape. Tūhoetanga is inextricably linked to the boundary of Tūhoe and the people of Tūhoe. As the needs of Tūhoe change, so too does the relationship with the landscape. That it changes is irrelevant—what is critical is that the linkage with people and landscape is maintained.

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Ko Te Pā Harakeke te Mauri o Ngā Nūhaka

Liz Hunkin

He Kupu Whakataki

Kei roto i tēnei wāhanga ka whakaaturia mai ētahi o ngā kōrero nō roto i te papatipu whenua o Nūhaka hei tohu i te reo o te mātauranga o tēnei kāinga. E ai ki ngā kōrero e takoto ana i konei, ka heke tātau mai i te waka tapu o Tākitimu. Kei roto i ngā kōrero hekenga ā-waka, he hononga ka tipu i te mātauranga ki ngā whakatipuranga o Nūhaka. He kōrero mō te pā harakeke, te mauri o te kaupapa whakaora i te hinengaro kia kitea ai te muramura mai o te mātauranga. Mai i ēnei hekenga kōrero, "Ko te pā harakeke te mauri o Ngā Nūhaka" ka tipu he taumata hononga wairua me te hinengaro hei whakatinana i te kōkiri whakamua o te taumata ātaahua o te mātauranga. He kōrero mō tō mātau kāinga tēnei, he kōrero mō ngā haerenga o Tākitimu waka.

Te Mauri o te Pā Harakeke

"Ko te Pā Harakeke te Mauri o Ngā Nūhaka"

Koinei tētahi kōrero kei a mātau. I muri i te taenga mai o te waka Tākitimu ki Te Māhia, ka peka mai te waka ki te ngutu o tō mātau awa. I heke a Ruawharo i reira, ka tanungia tētahi pā harakeke, ā, ka tapaina ko Ngā Nūhaka, te ingoa o tētahi o āna wāhine i whakarerea e ia i Hawaiki. I roto i ngā whakapapa kei roto i te pukapuka *Tākitimu* (Mitchell, 1972, wh. vii) ka kitea i tapaina hoki tētahi o āna mokopuna tuarua ki taua ingoa. Mai i tāna wahine, i a Hine-wairākaia, i whānau mai ngā tama tokotoru. E ai ki ngā kōrero, i tanungia e Ruawharo āna tama. Ko Matiu tētahi, i tanungia ki Waikōkopu, i Ōpoutama. Ko Mākaro tētahi, i tanungia ki Aropāoanui, he āhua tata atu tēnā wāhi, ki Ahuriri. Ā, ko Moko-tū-ā-raro tērā atu i tanungia ki tētahi wāhi e tata ana ki te awa o Ngaruroro, i Heretaunga. He toka katoa ēnei tama, nō reira he toka ngā tāne, engari he pā harakeke te tohu o te wahine.

I kuhu mai te whakaaro, he aha te take i pēneingia āna tama? I a au e tamariki ana i rongo ahau i ngā pākeke e pātaitai ana, e wānanga ana i te kaupapa nei. I tuhia anō e Mihi-ki-te-kapua i roto i tana waiata *Tiketike rawa mai* (Ngata, 1959, wh. 60). Anei taua whiti:

Ka hei rawa ai, e hika, e,
Ko Ruawharo te ritenga i te tipua,
E maka noa rā i ana pōtiki, e,
Tū noa i te one ko Matiu, ko Mākara[23]*,*
Ko Moko-tū-ā-raro ki tawhaiti, e,
Ki Ngaruroro rā, me ko Rangatira, i.

Nō reira, kua rongo kē rātau o konei mō aua mahi a Ruawharo. Engari, kia hoki atu ahau ki te pā harakeke nei, te tohu o te wahine. E tika ana ko te pā harakeke te tohu mō te wahine nā te mea, ki a mātau, ko te pā harakeke te tohu o te whānau. Tēnā, i

23 E ai ki a Ngata (1959) ko Mākara kē te ingoa.

puta mai te whānau i hea? I te wahine. Ko tētahi atu whakaaro, i ahu mai ngā mahi a te whare pora i ngā wāhine pērā i a Hine-te-iwaiwa mā. Ki tāku nei mōhio, kua matatau rawa atu ētahi tāne ki ēnei mahi i nāianei.

Ka whakaaro ahau, he aha te tohutohu mai a ngā mātua tīpuna? Ahakoa he toka, he pā harakeke rānei, koirā ngā mauri i tanungia e te tipuna rā hai pupuri i te mana whenua, ā, hai kukume mai i ngā ika hai whāngai i āna uri whakatipu. E mōhio ana ahau nā te *mauri* e ora ana ngā mea katoa. I te wā e tamariki ana tētahi o ōku pāpā, i haere a ia ki te wāhi i reira rā te pā harakeke, nā te mea i wera, i pupuhi ōna tapuae pēnei ana he kārawarawa. Ka kite atu toku kuia, tere tonu tana mōhio i hea tērā o ōku pāpā e haututū ana. Nā te tohunga rā anō i ora mai a ia. Kāore e kore, i te pērā anō ngā toka rā, e ora ana tō rātau mauri. Ākuni he kōrero anō tērā.

Ka tīmata mai i te pā harakeke, kātahi ka tirohia e ahau te kōrero a tētahi o ngā pākeke o te kāinga nei e pā ana ki te *whāriki*, kātahi ka whakakapingia aku kōrero e taua whakataukī, *Te kupenga a Te Huki.* I ahu mai te *whāriki* me te *kupenga* mai i te pā harakeke.

Te Kāwai Whāriki o Rākaipaaka

Ko ētahi o ā mātau tamāhine kua tino whai pūkenga i roto i ngā mahi raranga. Ko tētahi he toa ki te raranga kete, ko tētahi kua tino mōhio ki te raranga whāriki, ā, ko tētahi e mātau ana ki te mahi kākahu. Ahakoa kāore e mōhio ana ki te reo Māori, kua kite atu ahau i tō rātau ngākau nui ki ngā tikanga Māori. Koinei te kaha o te mātauranga Māori—ki te whakaoho, ki te oreore i ō rātau ngākau ki ngā āhuatanga Māori. Nā te whāwhā atu i te harakeke a ō rātau kuia i huri mai ai rātau ki tō rātau ao Māori.

E ai ki te kōrero a tētahi o ngā pākeke o te kāinga nei, ko ngā tamariki a Rākaipaaka ‘Te kāwai whāriki o Rākaipaaka’.[24] He mokopuna a Rākaipaaka nā Kahungunu.

24 He kōrero tuku iho nā Pāora Whaanga, tētahi pākeke o Nūhaka e mōhio ana ki ō mātau whakapapa.

E raranga nei
Whatu wairua, whatu mauriora,
Ki te ao mārama.

Nā Derek Lardelli ēnei rārangi mai i tana rotarota *He Moana Whiritoi* (Evans & Ngarimu, 2005, wh. 100). Ahakoa i tuhi kē a ia i tēnei rotarota mā ngā kairaranga, e hāngai tonu ana ēnei rārangi ki taku kaupapa. Kei te kōrero a ia mō te *whatu wairua,* ā, ki ahau, koirā ngā tīpuna kua ngaro atu ki te pō; ko te *whatu mauriora ki te ao mārama*, ko tātau e ora ana i tēnei wā. Mehemea ka hoki ki te kōrero a te pākeke a Pāora Whaanga, e hāngai tonu ana te rotarota nei ki tōna whakaaro. Kei te kōrero ia mō rātau kua mate o tō mātau hapū, o Rākaipaaka, me mātau ngā kanohi ora o nāianei.

Kia hoki atu ki te *kāwai whāriki.* I a au e titiro ana ki te kupu *kāwai,* ka kite atu ahau ko te whakapapa tērā, ngā kāwai hoki o te kete me te kī mai a tētahi o ō mātou pākeke, a Wiremu, he kāwai anō i roto i te mahi raranga. Ki tāku nei mōhio, e whakaaro kē ana a ia mō te whakapapa. Ko tēnei pākeke ō mātau tētahi o ngā tohunga mōhio ki ngā whakapapa o konei. E hia kē ngā wā i wānangahia mātau i tōna taha kia mōhio ai mātau ko wai mātau. Kua tuhia kē e ētahi atu ngā kōrero mō te whakapapa. Ko tāku noa iho, he tautoko i ā rātau kōrero. Kia mōhio tātau ki ō tātau pānga atu ki tēnā whānau, ki tērā hapū, kātahi tātau ka mōhio ki tēnei mea te whanaungatanga.

Tēnā, ka hoki atu ki te *whāriki*. I tērā tau, i pīrangi ō mātau kōkā kia rarangahia tētahi whāriki mō tō mātau wharenui. Tokowhitu pea mātau i haere atu ki Te Muriwai ki tētahi whānau i reira ki te tapahi i ngā harakeke. I tīmata mātau ki te karakia. Mehemea he mate wahine tā tētahi kua kore a ia e tapahi i ngā harakeke. I whai mātau katoa i ngā tikanga i whakarerea mai mō aua mahi. Ko tētahi atu, kāore mātau i moe i te taha o ō mātau hoa tāne kia mutu rā anō te mahi. Ko tā ētahi he tapahi, ko tā ētahi he tītore, ko tā ētahi atu he hārō, kātahi ka kōhuangia. A muri atu i tērā, ka herea, ka whakairingia kia maroke. He āhua tata ki te kotahi wiki mātau e mahi ana, ā, nā tērā i mōhio ai ahau he tino mahi te whakarite harakeke mō te whāriki. He wahine raranga whāriki tōku kuia. I a mātau e tamariki ana, mehemea e raranga ana a ia i tana whāriki, kāore mātau e whakaaengia kia tata atu ki āna mahi. Rūrū noa iho a ia i ētahi o āna kāwai maroke, kua mōhio mātau me noho mātau i taua wāhi.

Ka whakaaro atu ahau ki āku mokopuna o nāianei, e kore rātau e tau. Ākuni nō tātau tonu te hē. Kua mōhio ahau i nāianei he aha e pērā ai tōku kuia. He roa te mahi whakarite i ngā harakeke hai mahi whāriki, nā tērā, kāore a ia e pīrangi kia takahia e mātau āna harakeke kei tīhorengia e mātau. Ka moumou ngā kāwai rā. Mai i ēnei mahi, i kite ahau he mahi nui te whakarite harakeke mō te mahi whāriki. He mahi nui anō te kohikohi, te rapu, te whakawhāiti i ngā whakapapa. I whai atu mātau i ngā tikanga e pā ana ki te mahi harakeke, kei reira anō hoki ngā tikanga mehemea i te mahi whakapapa koe. He tino tapu kē aua mahi i ngā rā o mua.

Ko te *aho* o te harakeke e tuitui ana i roto i te whāriki, ko te *aho* o ngā tīpuna e tuitui ana i ngā uri i roto i te whakapapa. E tino mihi ana ahau ki tēnei o ō mātau pākeke. Hai whakaoti ake i tēnei wāhanga, anei ētahi kupu mai i te rotarota a Tepene Mamaku, *"He muka here tangata"* (i kitea atu i Evans & Ngarimu 2005, wh. 20).

Te Kupenga a Te Huki

Kia tiro atu ki tēnei o ā mātau whakataukī, hai tuitui i aku kōrero, nā te mea e kōrero ana tēnei mō te kupenga hao tāngata, hao whakapapa, engari mā tērā anō hoki ka taea te tuitui ngā whakaaro nei ki te aho o te harakeke.

He tipuna tino rongonui a Te Huki. Mehemea ka titiro tātau ki tōna whakapapa, i heke mai ia i taua kāwai whāriki o Rākaipaaka. Ko tētahi mea mīharo rawa atu, i moea e ia āna wāhine rangatira kia hono ai ngā hapū mai i Pōrangahau i te tonga tae noa ki Whangarā i te raki. I poua e ia āna mokopuna, a Ngārangiupoko ki Poroporo, e tata ana ki Pōrangahau, ā, a Ngāwhakatātare ki Whangarā. Mai i āna mokopuna, ka puta ētahi o ngā tino rangatira o aua takiwā. I waenganui i tana kupenga i poua tāna tama a Puruaute hai poutō mō tana kupenga.

I a rātau e tā kupenga ana, ka aro hāngai atu rātau ki ngā tapu me ngā tikanga hai kawe mā rātau. I kīia he tā kupenga nā te mea, i te mahi tapona kē rātau kāore i te raranga, kāore i te whatu. Ka puta mai hoki te whakataukī rā, *Ko te tui whakapahuhu a Kahukura,* e kōrero ana mō te kore mahi tapona tika a Kahukura.

He Kupu Whakamutunga

Nā, he aha hoki te hononga o ēnei kōrero ki te kaupapa o te mātauranga Māori? I tīmata aku kōrero mai i te mauri o te pā harakeke nā te mea, ki ahau, e pā ana ngā whakataukī ki te pā harakeke. Tuarua, i tīmata mai tō mātau papa kāinga mai i te tapatanga a te tohunga nei, a Ruawharo, ki te ingoa o tōna wahine a Ngā Nūhaka. Kātahi ka huri aku kōrero ki te kāwai whāriki o Rākaipaaka, nā te mea koinei tō mātau whakapapa, ā, ko mātau ēnā, ko mātau ngā uri o Rākaipaaka. Kei te whai tonu ngā kōrero i te mahi a te harakeke, i roto i te whāriki. Ka kapo atu ahau i te whakataukī whakamutunga, *Te Kupenga a Te Huki* kia kitea te whāroa me te whānui o te whakapapa o konei. I heke mai i tō mātau tipuna, i a Te Huki, kia whakamahia te kupenga hai whakaatu te huhua o ngā tāngata i haongia e taua kupenga. Ka mutu, i puta mai te kupenga i te pā harakeke.

Ka tīmata ngā whānau ki te ako i ēnei kōrero, ka kitea te koa, te hikohiko o ō rātau ngākau. Kua kore e ārikarika ngā mātauranga Māori kei roto i ēnei kōrero. I tuhia ēnei kōrero i roto i te reo Māori anake, engari kua kite ahau kei reira tonu te wairua o ngā kōrero, ahakoa kei roto kē i te reo o tauiwi. Ko taua wairua te take e pīrangi ai rātau ki te ako. Ko tētahi atu, he kōrero e hāngai ana ki a rātau.

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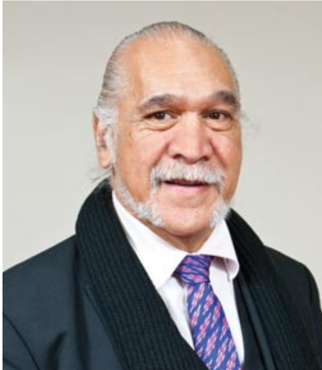
Ko ngā Karakia
The Incantations



Hōne Sadler

Ko ngā Karakia

Ko ngā karakia e aru ake ana he karakia tahito e pā kau ana ki ngā waka o Ngāpuhi, ki ngā mataara me ēnā momo karakia. Ka hakapuakina mai ki te mataara o Ngāpuhi kia mataara nei a Ngāpuhi ki ngā āhuatanga kei mua i te iwi i tēnei wā tonu. Koia te mea tuatahi, ko tētahi o ngā karakia hakarite ki te riri me te nguha, e rapu ana i te oranga e mātautau ana i ngā tohu ka pēhea te mutunga o te whawhai, o te pakanga. Tuarua iho, ko te karakia a Ruanui mō Māmari, e taki ana i te haerenga mai o Ruanui mai i ngā moutere o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa ki ēnei motu. A muri ake, ko te karakia hohou rongo o Nukutawhiti i te rironga māminga mai o ngā kōiwi tapu o Wahieroa i Hawai'i. Ko te karakia a Whakatau mō te waka o Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi kei muri mai. Ka aru muri mai ko te karakia mō te waka o Mataatua, ā, ko te karakia hakamutunga ko te hakaara o Nukutawhiti hei arataki i tōna waka i runga i a Ngaru-nui, Ngaru-roa, Ngaru-paewhenua, kia tau ki ngā wai marino o Hokianga.

The Incantations

The incantations that follow are ancient mantras of Ngāpuhi which relate to waka, rallying cries, and the like. The opening incantation is The War Cry of Ngāpuhi, exhorting Ngāpuhi to be alert and to be aware of the present issues confronting the iwi. This incantation was specific to enemy engagement in battle, seeking positive outcomes and reading the signs for good omens for the conclusion of fighting and the battle. The second incantation is one that Ruanui used for the waka Māmari, charting his journey from the isles of the Pacific to these islands. Nukutawhiti's incantation for peace follows, used after he had acquired the sacred remains of Wahieroa from Hawai'i through deceit. The incantation of Whakatau (Pōtiki) for his waka Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi follows. Following that is the incantation for Mataatua waka, and the final incantation is the rallying cry of Nukutawhiti guiding his waka Ngātokimatawhaorua over the Hokianga Bar into the calm refuge of the Hokianga harbour.

Te Mataara o Ngāpuhi

Kia tākina ake rā te tautara ki Motu Kōkako hakatahia rā te tikitiki o Tūtemahurangi, he manu kawe i ngā kī ki roto o Pou-e-rua. Mai kohu e tatao ki runga o Rākaumangamanga kei tāhuna, kia tapu te riri e … whai mai rā ki a au. Tēnā rā pea koe e pā ki te papatunga i te kōrero o Wharena kia houhia te rongo, e kore e mau te rongo. Ka hakarauika a Ngāpuhi, ka tū taiharuru te moana i hoea e Ngāpuhi ki raro ki Putawiri ka mate i reira, ko Te Wehenga ka ora i reira. Ko te au kumea roa i ngā tai e tōna i waho o mōrunga, i runga o mōrunga, he au here toroa e, whai mai rā ki a au.

The Rallying Cry of Ngāpuhi

Avenge the battle fought upon the peak at 'Hole in the Rock' Island and set aside the importance of the diadem of Tūtemahurangi, the messenger bird sent to Pou-e-rua. From the mists that hang over Rākaumangamanga on the coast, to make ready for battle, come follow me. Perhaps you have tried to settle peacefully with Wharena but peace has not been secured. Ngāpuhi then assembles, and the tides of the sea roar as Ngāpuhi heads north to Putawiri of ill omen, but Te Wehenga of good fortune is there. The strong current that drags the tides from beyond and over the horizon, from the current that secures the albatross, so come follow me.

Te Karakia o Māmari Waka

Kia papā te whatitiri, uira kapakapa ki runga o Taihoro-Nukurangi. Hikihiki tū ana ki te papa nei o Tāne i tūtakina ai ki te pōuriuri, ki te pōtangotango. Kia tākiri tū, kia tākiri rangi. Ko Tāne i wāhia mai a Taihoro-Nukurangi ki te whare tapu o Te-Ika-a-Māui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga ki Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa e takoto mai rā. Kia whātuia ki te uru o Tangaroa i whātuia e Nuku-taimāroro. He kura tapu Ariki ko Taimumuhu, ko Mānini-kura, ko Takahia-te-rangi, ko Te Rore-hakapiko, ko Tohinui-ā-rangi, ko Te Poutokomanawaora, ko Tuki Te Nganahau, ko Te Hau-o-te-rangi. He pou whenua, he kura tangata. Tuputupurangi ki te pae o Rēhua, Tuputupuwhenua ki te pū o Te Ika-a-Māui e tū nei. Ka tukua nei taku tapuwae, tapuwae-nuku, tapuwae-rangi. Ka hura tangata-ā-uta me tiaki ki tangata-ā-tai, ka hura tangata-ā-tai me tiaki ki tangata-ā-uta. Kei pērā hoki rā me te korepe-nui te korepe-roa i te wāhi awa, te tōtō awa, te hakamoe awa, ko Tū, ko Rongo, ko Tama-a-te-awa. Hakamaua e tama ki te rangi tāwhangawhanga he putanga ariki ki te āta tauira mai e.

He motu ariki uta, he motu ariki tai. Tēnā te uhiroa. Papaki tū ana ngā tai ki Te Papa-rape-nui-a-Tāne, he hīkoinga ariki ki te tapu ruanuku o Tāne-nui-a-Rangi. Ka hakamākuru ake ahau i runga ki a Hikurangi, ki taku rua-papa-pounamu, i wāhia mai ai te kura tapu tangata i taku tinana nei. Ka hakahiti rua te wai o aku kamo ki Te Ao-o-te-rangi, ki runga ki a Tohirangi, ki te wā kāinga e tū nei ahau, e Tū e! Ko te papa o te rangi e tū nei, pōkai runga, pōkai raro. Wāwāhia te tāuhi-rangi, patupatua te tāuhi-rangi. Hakamoea a Taihoro-Nukurangi. Tītoko ngā pewa o Rēhua-i-te-rangi. Ka mārewa Atutahi, ka rere Tautoru, ka hakamau ake ahau ki a Pātari Kaihau. Ka korowhiti te

The Incantation for Māmari Waka

The thunder roars and the lightning flashes over Taihoro-Nukurangi. Welling up upon the the base of Tāne that meets with the intense darkness and the groping darkness. Draw up, draw up to the heavens. It was Tāne who separated Taihoro-Nukurangi from the sacred house of The Fish-of-Māui-tied-in-the-topknot-of-Taranga and The Great-ocean-of-Kiwa laying therewith. Stitched up with the hair of Tangaroa that was stitched up by Nuku-taimāroro. The following are lords of the highest order: Taimumuhu, Mānini-kura, Takahia-te-rangi, Te Rore-hakapiko, Tohinui-ā-rangi, Te Poutokomanawaora, Tuki Te Nganahau and Te Hau-o-te-rangi. Stalwart markers of the land as well as chiefly personages. Tuputupurangi at the perch of Antares with Tuputupuwhenua at the perch of The Fish-of-Māui. I set forth my foot prints upon the land and upon the heavens. People ashore are excited as they wait expectantly for those upon the sea; similarly those at sea are expectant as they wait to meet those on shore. It may be similar to the great-splitting, the long splitting, the separating of the river, the pull of the river, the placating of the river which is of Tū and Rongo and the Son-of-the-river. Grasp hold oh son to the birthing canal from whence all lords emerge.

There is a lord ashore and also at sea. There is the long moko chisel. The tides break upon The Great-tattooed-buttocks-of-Tāne, the pathway of the lords to the sacred sage of Tāne-nui-ā-rangi. I ascend upon Hikurangi, to my treasured chasm where the sacred sage annointed my body. Two streams of water well up from my eyes to Te Ao-o-te-rangi, to Tohirangi, homeward to where I stand, oh Tū! The perch of the heavens that stand hither assemble from above, assemble from below and split the sprinkled heavens, beat the sprinkled heavens. Lay

marama, he paewhenua, ka whiti ahau e, ko Aotea, ko Aotea, ko Aotea. Ka turuturu-ā-uta, ka turuturu-ā-tai. Whano, whano, ka haramai te toki o haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē!

Taihoro-Nukurangi to sleep. Spread the eyebrows of Antares-in-the-heavens. I will hold fast to the Magellanic Cloud of the Milky Way. As the moon rises upon the horizon, I have arrived to Aotea, Aotea, indeed Aotea. When it trickles ashore, it will trickle at sea. Proceed, proceed, we are all united in one accord!

Te Karakia Hohou Rongo o Nukutawhiti

He rūrū anō te rūrū, he kāeaea anō te kāeaea. Tēnā ko ahau, ko Māui-tikitiki-o-te-rangi, takawai whiti, takawai tai. He tū whai pō, he tū whai ao. He tapu tawake i whānakenake ki te papa o Wahieroa. Ka tangi te kura i te ata o Waikau. He ata amohanga, he ata ki te paerangi kia hui e te kura pō i tīwhaona ki te paparei o te iho rangi e iri iho nei. Kī e, ka ao, ka ao, ka ao te rā.

The Proclamation of Peace: Incantation of Nukutawhiti

Lolling the head aimlessly is one thing and to not look one in the eye is another. Here I am, Māui-tikitiki-o-te-rangi, moisture from humidity, and moisture from the sea. I am steadfast at night as well as in the day. A sacred growth that has developed from the lands of Wahieroa. The treasured calls out at the dawning of Waikau. A heavy dawning, a dawning beyond the horizon to meet the treasured night darkened by the spread of the heavens that hang there yonder. And then there is light, there is light, there is the dawning.

Te Karakia mō Māhuhu Ki Te Rangi Waka

He riri, he riri, he toa he toa. Papatu ai, i raru ai te kakau o te hoe. Pā toa ki a koe, Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi. E rere ki tua o Hawaiki, he moana, he moana, he mānutanga waka. Ka makawea rā te ngakinga o te patunga o Tūhakararo. Nau mai e Waha, tāua ki tāku, ehara i a ahau ngā hakahara mau o Rongokea, e horoa rā ake. Auē te riri! Auē te nguha! Hiria te tuatini he piki kōtuku henua. E taku henua, e hakatau ana te toa ki tā Mauae. Hiti rawa, haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē!

The Incantation for Māhuhu Ki Te Rangi

From battle a brave comes forth. Through dissention the unison of the paddle is troubled. You are the brave, o Māhuhu-ki-te-rangi. You have travelled from beyond Hawaiki, over the ocean from the launching place of the waka. The killing of Tūhakararo has been avenged. Come with me dear Waha, I do not possess the dangers wrought by Rongokea spread out yonder. How terrible the battle and the dissent! Weave together your diverse talents for your treasured lands. Oh my lands, welcoming the brave according to Mauae. Proceed, proceed, we are all united in one accord!

Te Karakia o Mataatua

Ka tū ki runga, ka tū ki raro, ka tū ki hea, ki hea, ka tū kia hakaputaina ki te heiao, kia puta ki te ao mārama, ka tihewa mauriora. Tihewa uriuri, tihewa nakonako. Ka tau, ka tau hā ko te rangi e tū iho nei. Ka tau, ka tau hā, ko te papa e hora ake nei. Ka tau, ka tau hā ko te matuku mai i Rarotonga. Koia i rukuhia manawa pou roto, koia i rukuhia manawa pou waho. Koia i rukuhia kia hakatina, kia tina, te more i Hawaiki. E pupū anō hoki, e wawao anō hoki ki a Tāwera tū ki te rangi. Ka eke, ka eke panuku, ka eke, ka eke paneke. Hano, hano, hano mai te toki o haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē!

The Incantation of Mataatua

I stand aloft and then below and I stand as I enter forth from the dim light into full enlightenment, and then I sneeze the breath of life. Sneeze the deep breath, sneeze the adorning breath. The heavens above have been reconciled and the outstretched land is rooted, and the journey set forth from Rarotonga is completed. Indeed the depth of the inner soul has been heartened; hence the outer soul also has been touched. So that the depth of wisdom from far off Hawaiki is cleaved to. It wells up, to distract attention as it suspends aloft in the heavens. The land moves forth to be overwhelmed by the deep. Proceed, proceed, we are all in united in one accord!

Te Mataara o Nukutawhiti

E kau ki te tai e, e kau ki te tai e, e kau rā e Tāne. Wāhia atu rā te ngaru hukahuka o Marereao. Pikitia atu te aurere kura o Taotaorangi. Tapatapa rūrū ana te kakau o te hoe. E auheke ana, e taratutū ana i te puhi whatukura, i te puhi māreikura o tōku waka. Ka titiro iho ahau ki te pae-o-uta, ki te pae-o-waho. Piki tū rangi te kakau o te hoe, kumea te uru tapu o tōku waka ki runga ki te kiriwaiwai o Papatūānuku e takoto mai nei, ki runga ki te urutapu nui o Tāne e tū nei. Hatihati rua ana te hoe nā Poupoto, tau ake ki te hoe nā Kura, he ariki hatumanawa. Ko tō manawa, e Kura, ki tōku manawa ka irihia. Ka irihia ki Wai-ō-Nuku ka irihia, ka irihia ki Wai-ō-Rangi ka irihia, ka hiti au i te heiao ki te ao mārama. Kia tupu kerekere, kia tupu wanawana ka haramai te toki i a haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē!

The Rallying Call of Nukutawhiti

Be awash upon the tides, be awash upon the tides, oh Tāne. Divide the foaming tides of Marereao. Ascend the sacred current of Taotaorangi. The handle of the paddle is not held steady, it is descending into the savage surf welling up on the male plume and the female plume of my vessel. I cast my gaze upon the horizon ashore as well as the horizon out to sea. The handle of the paddle is now raised, to draw the sacred head of my vessel upon the shore of Papatūānuku laying yonder and also upon the sacred head of Tāne here standing. The paddle of Poupoto is breaking in two, as well as that of Kura, they are lords of aristocracy. Let your heart oh Kura be bound and suspended with mine. Let it be bound and suspended on the terrestrial waters, to be bound and suspended over the celestial waters. I will then traverse from the dim light into the world of enlightenment. Let the intense darkness bring forth wonder and awe. Proceed, proceed, we are all united in one accord!

Shaping Mātauranga Māori Opportunities Through Kapa Haka

Donna Mariana Grant

He Kupu Whakataki

Ko te mōteatea poi kei raro iho nei i whakaaritia e taku whānau ki ngā whakataetae o te kapa haka o Ngā Uri o Te Whanoa i Te Matatini o Te Rā i te tau 2011. Ko ngā herenga pae whakaaro o ngā kupu o tēnei poi, ko tōna whakatinanatanga, ko te pātuki o te poi, ko ōna katoa he mea whakanui, he mihi aroha ki te puna āritarita a Atareta Maxwell, kua moe nei ki te pō. He poi tēnei e whakaatu ana i ngā whakaaro o tōna whānau mō tōna ngangahau, tōna ātaahua, tōna kawe i a ia anō i runga i te atamira, i roto hoki āna mahi katoa i a ia e ora tonu ana. Nā runga i tēnei taumata kōrero ā-whānau—ko te ātaahua o ngā hekenga kōrero, ko te au o ngā haka—ka kaha ake taku hiahia ki ngā mahi kapa haka. I whāngaia au ki ēnei hekenga kōrero e ōku mātua kēkē, e Trevor me Atareta Maxwell. Ka tipu ki roto i ahau te kōingo ki te whakakotahi i te tinana, i te kupu, i te whakaaro. Ka ngaua au e te aroha, ā, ka mau te mātauranga o te ao kapa haka ki ahau. Haere ake nei ngā tau, ko te ao kapa haka, ki tāku titiro, ka tipu hei waka kawe i te mātauranga o tāua, o te Māori. Koia tēnei taku upoko kōrero.

Introduction

Te ātahu a te poi	*The allure of the poi*
He mana aweko tuku iho	*A magical power of vital times*
He whakawai, he māminga	*Enchanting, enticing*
He hopu i te mata	*Attention grabbing*
He hopu i te tangata	*Seizing the audience*
Te ātahu a te poi	*The spell of the poi*
E hia kē kua hinga	*Many have succumbed*
He amaru, he rerehua,	*To its grace and beauty*
He tākiri whatumanawa	*Its ability to stir emotions*
Kia ringi ai ā-roimata	*To release a river of tears*
Nā Atareta i whakaata mai	*Atareta epitomised*
Te kotahi o te tini	*Rare qualities*
Te wenerau a te mano	*Admiration of the multitudes*
Mōrearea ana te noho ki muri nei.	*A loss still keenly felt by those that remain.*[25]

This poi[26] was performed by my kapa haka whānau (Māori performing arts group), *Ngā Uri o Te Whanoa*, at Te Matatini in 2011. Intricacies of this item are designed to link poetic words and choreography with complex poi beats, patterns, and movements that recognise, celebrate, and acknowledge our matriarch, the late Atareta Maxwell. The poi is about her Māori maiden qualities of grace and beauty in performance and in life, and it was composed and performed by her whānau (extended family) within the setting of the national competition arena. It is from this meaningful whānau-specific orientation of Māori performing arts engagement that I will convey my personal story. It is a process

25 Morrison, Scotty. (2010). *Atareta*. Poi composition performed at Te Matatini o Te Rā 2011.

26 A poi dance involves songs performed, during which the poi (a lightweight ball on a cord) is swung in rhythmical movements, usually by women, to accompany the singing.

that traverses, recognises, and acknowledges the importance of facing challenges that have informed and enriched my personal reclamation of self through whānau leadership.

My formative years often saw my immediate throng of first cousins, numbering one through to seventeen, gathering every Sunday afternoon for kapa haka practice. Uncle Trevor Horowaewae Maxwell and his late wife, Atareta (Din), would instruct us in the disciplines of haka (cultural posture dance), poi, waiata-ā-ringa (action song), mau rākau (weaponry), and guitar playing. This kapa haka engagement allowed us to grow our kinship ties and performing arts intellectual abilities. It was fun, and Uncle Trevor and Aunty Din used their expertise and experience during these times to provide the guidance and mentorship that continue to frame our lives to the present. These times were not shared outside of the whānau environment because our educational environments some 40+ years ago did not recognise kapa haka in those formative settings.

Recognition of the Importance of Kapa Haka

It was an absolutely amazing revelation upon entering teachers training college, to find that kapa haka was important to others—it was relevant and it was celebrated by the staff, students, and community. It was a time of personal self-awakening that was coloured with Monday night kapa haka practices under the tutelage of fellow teachers college student, Joe Harawira. Added to this, every weekend was spent in attending every form of sporting or cultural event where the 50-strong kapa haka group, *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*, could celebrate these occasions with an impressive compilation of kapa haka items followed by many hours of group sing-a-long entertainment. I found that I had a voice, and within this nurturing time at teachers college other development flowed. Our whānau kapa haka saw the power of the collective combining to intensify an awareness of self-confidence. It wasn't a 'big bang' flash of awakening but a layering of incremental experiences, nurtured through varied occasions, encountered as a member of *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* whilst living in Hamilton.

The *Ngāti Rangiwewehi* cultural group also provided transition from the Morrison whānau incubator and *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*. However, it was an environment

that had two constants—its principal leaders, Uncle Trevor and Aunty Din. What an exciting insight into the performing arts these two provided and nurtured for so many of us. They provided us with opportunities in the form of national competitions, overseas cultural experiences, mentorship, an association of kindred spirit within a collective, and a shared passion for kapa haka. The environment was imbued with high expectations based on the considerable talents of those in charge.

More importantly, however, the kapa followed a planned process of incremental skills development building that led to fulfilling requirements for regional and national competition performance brackets. This voluntary forum allowed performers to engage in a structured doctrine that expected everyone to master the discipline of kapa haka. Deficit skill development needs were not addressed at kapa haka sessions as you were expected to go away in your own time to practise the poi, waiata-ā-ringa actions, mōteatea (traditional chant) phrasing, and the like. Practice made for perfection, and that was the mantra often espoused by Aunty Din. There was an understanding that everyone started the journey at different stages along the road, with members hopping onto the conveyor belt that carried all to the intended goal of presenting 25 minutes of competitive stage performance.

This stage of life was also the time when I met my husband, Anaru, within the competitive world offered by *Ngāti Rangiwewehi*. Our respective backgrounds were worlds apart, and yet our common passion for kapa haka forged common ground and growth for us both.

As I fast-forward some 30 years plus, much ground has been traversed, with us amassing amazing experiences of world-wide travel as Māori cultural ambassadors through the medium of Māori performing arts. The cultural interface of kapa haka performance provides an evocative engagement with people in other lands as an authentic means of communication and relationship-building to engender closer ties. Such occasions included national representations at the World Trade Expo in Seville, Spain; New Zealand Tourism in Tokyo, Japan; the South Pacific Festival in Tahiti; and more recently in Honiara, Solomon Islands.

Career choice for me was determined upon entry to Hamilton Teachers Training College and, can I say, that it was a very safe world of teaching experience in Rotorua,

Palmerston North, Marton, and Gisborne. All primary and intermediate teaching curriculum levels were touched on during that time and many 'magic moments' were amassed, working with rangatahi that helped me to develop my abilities as a classroom teacher. In each school, I became the resident kapa haka tutor and performance expectations instilled in me from my past were replicated with tauira (students) I worked with, and were demonstrated by them with behaviours coloured by commitment and passion as they practised and performed. Tauira in the kapa haka environment developed a deep sense of belonging and it was a setting imbued with purpose. They embarked on story-telling adventures about ancestral legacies learned through the cultural performing arts items, and each tauira interacted positively with the others as they aimed to achieve the goals that were set.

We all have strengths, and even though they are often hard to spot in some, it has always been a personal quest and responsibility of mine to discover and recognise that often 'hidden gem' within tauira. The benefits gained through constantly implementing this exercise, provided many 'magic moments' of kaiako (teacher)—tauira connectivity that come from a strengths-based approach to teaching. Someone is always better than you at something, and this has assisted me in my own personal growth in developing respectful relationships. Building respectful relationships in practice is a platform that I personally acknowledge and respect, recognising that each of us has our own unique ways of interacting within the different spheres of life we inhabit.

Tertiary Delivery

The transition from the safe world of state school teaching into tertiary education delivery began in Gisborne with Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui-a-Kiwa. It was an exciting time that provided the ideal opportunity to combine a love of teaching with a personal passion of kapa haka within an environment of knowledge regeneration and transmission for talented artisans domiciled within the tribal boundaries of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, Ngāi Tāmanuhiri and Rongowhakaata. It was also a time that gave me the opportunity to develop a Māori performing arts curriculum and qualifications alongside other kapa haka artisans for the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA).

This experience, enjoyed through the stewardship of Sharon Maynard with Te Rūnanga o Tūranganui-a-Kiwa, set up the move to establish a whānau-run Private

Training Establishment (PTE) in Rotorua in 2002, under the name of Manaakitanga Aotearoa Charitable Trust (Manaakitanga). It was a journey fraught with much adversity, but tempered with absolute drive and commitment to nurture learners through the vehicle of kapa haka qualifications achievement at certificate, diploma, and degree levels.

NCEA and Kapa Haka

There is a time for every season, and those years in Gisborne and the development of Manaakitanga provided an insight into the recognition of opportunities for the skills base of mātauranga Māori inherent in kapa haka competition. The time had arrived to validate those many hours of kapa haka practices with tauira, and carry out additional research to develop unit standard components. These standards were to become part of the newly introduced National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) qualification. The first participants were the 27 schools competing in the 2002 National Secondary Schools Kapa Haka Competition. Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi took away the champion kapa haka team title, and 1025 performers also received individual recognition and access to kapa haka unit standard credits contributing to NCEA achievement.

NZQA and Kapa Haka

As we fast forward into 2013, momentum has grown through the decade to produce the latest figures from NZQA's Māori Qualification Services that indicate regional kapa haka competition involvement of 88 kura (schools) nationwide.

Large numbers of tauira throughout Aotearoa successfully engage with the National Qualifications Framework through the secondary school kapa haka curriculum. The same can also be said for tertiary level attainment as seen in the development of certificate, diploma, and degree level courses through providers such as Te Wānanga o Aotearoa; PTEs like Manaakitanga and Tūranga Ararau; and degree delivery through Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (Awanuiārangi).

It is amazing what can happen at hui (meetings), where any discussion can spark an initiative. Such is the case with the *Ngā Mana Whakairo a Toi,* the

Bachelor of Māori Performing Arts degree currently offered at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. It began as a conversation with a senior manager of Awanuiārangi whilst I attended my son's Bachelor of Sport and Leisure Studies graduation at the University of Waikato. That discussion, in 2008, has provided Māori performing arts groups the opportunity to pursue a qualification that has been developed with a tertiary institution. Mātauranga-ā-rōpū (group cultural knowledge) capability is recognised within each unique community setting and the institution provides the vehicle for kapa haka performers to traverse a 3-year degree relationship-building journey. This qualification contains a formula that sees educational outputs in 2013 of over 800 learners engaged in kapa haka degree facilitation programmes.

Conclusion

Personal responsibilities throughout my formative experience have been supported with constant attention to, and involvement with, curriculum development, delivery, assessment, moderation, promotion, and recognition. Each step taken was met with barriers to entry that also required hui at both the governing board level and facilitator level to ensure the authenticity of voices heard in decision making. Students are none the wiser about how long it has taken to gain access to, and recognition of, a Māori performing arts qualification. What is important is that students need diversity of education engagement. Kapa haka is my passion and my legacy, and through a set of life experiences the seed of the current, and possibly future, curriculum and qualification. It has taken a long time and, thankfully, it is now a stepping stone for tauira whereby they may be able to find that their cultural intellectual kapa haka performances can be part of a legacy that they have contributed to.

Much has been learned, and the continuum is never-ending in terms of future-proofing an education world imbued with kapa haka passion. The countries visited, the shows performed, the impassioned pleas, the numerous hui, and the investment of time and mind has shaped many personal mātauranga Māori opportunities and qualities. This is what many of us do, and often, it is without little thought for the time and effort required for such a commitment. My passion for kapa haka is integral to the world I live in, and I work with people equally passionate about their own spheres of drive that evoke and ignite their personal passion. Development is, of course,

measured and we become agents for change aiming for a better future that recognises and envelops a diversity of intellectual fields, and one in which Te Ao Māori (a Māori World View) is normalised. I can only tell you what the world looks like when both passion and recognition combine, and synergies grow as a result. Not everyone needs a qualification to endorse who they are, but isn't it nice to know that the choice is there? Not everyone experiences the joys and admiration of strutting excellence on the competitive stage performance. For some it is an abhorrent idea, but again, isn't it nice to know that the choice is available for those that want to engage?

Reclamation of self through whānau leadership started, for me, with the Morrison incubator. It gave me insights into life experiences leading to kapa haka community mātauranga Māori which led to the Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi degree programme. It represents an amazing odyssey of relationship-building, productivity, recognition, and validation. The level of nationwide kapa haka participation and engagement aligns with a personal quest to contribute to a new 'normal' world of mātauranga Māori acquisition.

The aim to gain the admiration of the multitudes is a lofty quest, however, to be an agent for change who facilitates others of influence in the area, is a role I seek to play. The allure of the poi has a distinctive voice which builds connectivity to our mātauranga. Kapa haka is the waka (vehicle) to take us into the future, to build capacity for our forums of knowledge, reclamation, and revitalisation.

References

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Project Mātauranga
Our Science On-Screen

Dr O. Ripeka Mercier, Megan Douglas, Darcel Rickard, Orlando Stewart, Scotty Morrison, Daniel Apiata

Dr O. Ripeka Mercier

He Kupu Whakataki

Ko *Kaupapa Mātauranga* he mea whakarite kia 13 ngā whakaaturanga ki runga pouaka whakaata Māori e whakaara ana i ngā auahatanga Māori me te hononga ki te pūtaiao. Ko aua whakaaturanga hāwhe hāora nei te roa e tohutohu mai ana me pēhea nei te mahi tahi mai o te mātauranga Māori me te taha pūtaiao. Ki roto i tēnei upoko ka whakaaturia me pēhea te tautoko a tēnei hōtaka, a *Kaupapa Mātauranga*, i ngā wawata o Te Mana Tohu Mātauranga kia whakatipuria tēnei momo mātauranga ki roto i ngā mahi pūtaiao. Ka whakaaturia e mātau ngā kōrero tūhono whakahaere kia kitea ka pēhea te hononga o ngā kaupapa Māori kua tirohia ki te taha pūtaiao. Ka āta tirohia ēnei kia kitea ngā piki me ngā heke mō te whakatū i ēnei momo hōtaka kaupapa mātauranga, ā, me pēhea hoki te noho kotahi a ēnei taumata mātauranga ki roto i te reo Māori. I te mutunga, ka kōrerotia te āhuatanga o ēnei momo hōtaka ki ngā tauira kia hira ai te whakaaro mō te mātauranga Māori.

Abstract

Project Mātauranga (Scottie Productions, 2012—2013) is a 13 part television series that celebrates Māori innovation in the science sector. Each half-hour programme showcases how mātauranga Māori is working alongside Western science. In this chapter we describe how the programmes support the New Zealand Qualifications Authority's (NZQA) aspirations to advance the use of mātauranga Māori. We do this by describing: elements of the show's production; the choice of projects to showcase the interface between science and mātauranga Māori; the challenges in bringing these stories to the screen; the ways that the screen deconstructs stereotypes about Māori and science; and decision-making related to exploring Western scientific concepts in te reo Māori (Māori language). We then discuss how *Project Mātauranga* has been used in tertiary education contexts, using its impact on students to speculate on how the show has been received and its effectiveness in heightening awareness of mātauranga Māori.

Introduction

> *Project Mātauranga* is a celebration of traditional Māori knowledge and is focused around its application within a modern context. The marriage of Māori knowledge and Western science is the crux of the programme. This embracing of mātauranga offers an opportunity for the world of science to expand its vision. (Scottie Productions Ltd, 2012, p. 30)

Part of the *Project Mātauranga* brief above, is to expand the horizons of science by showcasing mātauranga Māori working within the science sector. Scientific thinking has always been a feature of Māori knowledge and Māori were quick to take up the new technologies (such as modes of transport and communication) that became available through the period of contact with European settlers (for instance, see Petrie 2006). However, widespread fascination with Western technology and innovation did not persist, with many arguing that colonisation was in part responsible: "… during the technological explosion that gave rise to electricity, communication, and motorised transport, Māori were slowly but steadily being marginalised from their own lands, traditions …" (Harris & Mercier, 2006, p. 144). Also, some, such as Walker (1998,

p. 15), argue that pollution and destruction of kai (food) gathering sites from the detritus of industry have made science, in the eyes of many Māori, an "agent of colonialism", leaving many wanting nothing to do with it.

But with the projected future browning of the Aotearoa/New Zealand demographic, the world of science can ill afford a narrow vision that marginalises Māori and Pasifika people. In turn, Māori cannot thrive without science, and new challenges in asset remediation and land management due to Treaty settlements are requiring us to be more literate in many areas, including business, research, and development. Unfortunately, Māori participation in science education remains low. For instance, Māori participation rates in the National Qualifications Framework for Year 11—13 school science courses run at about 10% less, and attainment rates at about 20% less, than their non-Māori counterparts, fluctuations between 2007 and 2011 not withstanding.

Educators have worked for several decades to get more Māori youth interested in science using successful role models as motivation: "Another way to switch Māori children on to science is to point to the considerable achievements of Māori scientists, and research which foots it on the world stage" (Walker cited in Cumming, 2009). This approach has led to many outreach and mentoring schemes, such as *Te Rōpū Āwhina Pūtaiao* at Victoria University of Wellington, and the *Tuākana* mentoring scheme at University of Auckland. As well as role modelling, these schemes attract and retain Māori and Pasifika students by the cohort effect. Students who form a study community have greater accountability to each other which increases their chances of success.

Others see Western science itself as being culturally alien to Māori and indigenous people, and thus seek to indigenise the discipline by the use of indigenous language, concepts, and applications of cultural significance, or local, real world relevance. Research points to the power of classroom diversity, and affirming students' background cultures, in encouraging student academic achievement. Bridging the gap between world views has seen a discourse around the interface between mātauranga Māori and Western science emerge. An influential and ongoing catch-cry published in the original *Vision Mātauranga* portfolio document states the government's intention

to invest resources to "unlock the innovative potential of Māori knowledge" (MoRST, 2007).

Project Mātauranga enters the dialogue around increasing Māori participation in science, by presenting case studies of Māori scientists working with Māori communities for common goals—thus both role modelling and exploring the Māori knowledge and science interface.

> The series investigates the exponential growth of Māori world views and methodologies within the scientific community and looks at the practical application of this unique intellectual resource … In each episode we investigate a new project that illustrates the valuable (and growing) contribution that Māori knowledge and Māori methodologies are making; celebrating the people and ideas that are giving our country an edge in the world of science. (Scottie Productions Ltd, 2011)

Project Mātauranga thus seeks to do several things, but primarily to show how mātauranga Māori is being used in scientific contexts. In this chapter, we will discuss these in detail, beginning with an exploration of the conditions that motivated the production of the show. We then examine the show itself with an eye to how the diversity of mātauranga is revealed, and how it is advanced. We discuss the te reo component of the show. We then consider evidence of the impact of the show, arguing throughout that *Project Mātauranga* raises awareness of mātauranga Māori and pūtaiao (science).

Production

In 2011, Māori Television Service (MTS) called for proposals for a science show. Based on this, in July, Scottie Productions submitted a two page proposal for a show called *Pūtaiao Māori* which led to an invitation for a full proposal. The proposal for *Project Mātauranga* was submitted in August and they received a broadcast commitment in the same month. Scottie Productions submitted a funding proposal to Te Māngai Pāho (the Māori broadcasting funding agency) in September, alongside at least two other production companies vying for support for science shows, and funding was approved in October 2011. Orlando Stewart came on as a director, Darcel

Rickard of NIWA was employed as a researcher, Dan Apiata agreed to be director of photography, and filming began in late 2011.

To MTS and Te Māngai Pāho, one of the attractive qualities of the *Project Mātauranga* proposal that set it apart from other proposed science shows, was how it modelled a science experiment:

> Each episode takes us through the process employed on each project. Elements shot in the field are interspersed with our presenter [Ocean Mercier] introducing each new stage of the process. Her role will be to guide the viewer through the problem that each project is attempting to address, the development of the hypothesis, and the methodology used to reach a conclusion—while also contextualising the scenario and its impact on a global scale. (Scottie Productions Ltd, 2012, p. 20)

In reality, this format was difficult to achieve. Darcel reveals that "… from my experience working in the Māori science space, I knew that a lot of projects that employ or incorporate mātauranga Māori don't fit into this Western framework of an experiment" (Darcel Rickard, personal communication, 2013). The production team had an abundance of potential topics to cover, but budgetary constraints meant that conveying their crew to locations was done by motor vehicle. A trip to Wellington was aborted, as not enough episodes could be made ready in time for production. This meant that all of Season One's episodes were produced in the North Island, with six in the Auckland region, two in the Bay of Plenty, two near Rotorua, one in the Urewera, one in the far North, and one near Taupō.

As the researcher, Darcel's brief was to find and organise projects to profile. It was an unspoken rule that the cases would be driven by, or feature, Māori and preferably kaupapa Māori, although keeping an open mind allowed us (in Season Two especially) to explore how Western science can be incorporated into mātauranga Māori. As she describes below:

> The project doesn't have to be current but it does have to have a clear result and follow a basic science format of: the problem/situation, the hypothesis/aim, the method, the results, outcome for Māori. If it had a mātauranga Māori aspect that would also be really great.

> You need to bear in mind that the story has to have enough content to make a half hour episode. All of the episodes that we have shot to date have an environmental aspect to the story, meaning that there is a lot of stuff to shoot, including field work.
>
> Talking heads doesn't really make good TV, so there needs to be some depth to the story, and some sort of action. Basically we allocate three days of filming per episode, so the story has to have enough content to shoot. (Darcel Rickard, personal communication, 30 April 2012)

Darcel's description outlines some of the challenges in choosing 'good stories' that fit the format of an experiment, the brief to focus on mātauranga Māori, the narrative arc to define a 'clear result' and the aesthetic of the show as 'action' as opposed to 'talking heads'. There are many Māori involved in science research, but the show was not about profiling them and their work, it was about mātauranga Māori as a 'unique intellectual resource' that often resides within communities which are working alongside scientists. Many potential episodes were not nurtured past infancy for Season One.

Other challenges to production included the crew negotiating different visions for stories. For instance, some tension emerged between crew over a particular community-driven project. The director had been given the opinions of scientists and spent so much time with them that little was left for interviews with the community. As a result of this directorial decision, the editors favoured the inclusion of non-community interviews because the footage obtained was better and more complete. To redress the imbalance, pickups were filmed of a community person being interviewed on her own about the project. But this was a solution that she was not entirely happy with, as she felt it overemphasised her contribution to the project. For a Season Two episode, the local Māori felt whakamā (ashamed) about being interviewed. The 'face' of the episode ended up being a Pākehā fellow close to their community. This reveals some of the difficulties of honouring the 'mātauranga Māori' in *Project Mātauranga*. Some inadvertently show a bias for 'modern' scientific knowledge over Māori knowledge, and those biases have cumulative effects. It also shows that:

> … a key limiting factor in the communication of mātauranga Māori is the quality of the talent. In many cases, it just turned out that the scientists were the best communicators on camera (probably because they have experience in public speaking, giving lectures etc.), and because time is such a limiting factor on shoots, and you have to go back to the office with some sort of story, you have to often focus on the person that is communicating best and will give you a story on camera. Māori are often whakamā and find it hard to verbalise or talk up their mahi (work), because to them it's just instinctive and they just want to get on with it. (Darcel Rickard, personal communication, 2013)

What the Show Shows

It is relevant now to look at some of the episodes and gauge how successful they were in challenging the norms of science and revealing and redefining mātauranga Māori.

Project Mātauranga has presented a compelling look into how Māori are influencing science, and has done so in a way that is cinematic, fresh, engaging, and

even takes the viewer under water. It captures our voices, accents, and dialects, and our unique styles and ways. The imagery captured has challenged several norms and we discuss these one by one.

Māori Scientists are Smart

Contrary to mainstream belief, Māori succeed in all spheres, including the intellectual. Not only are we scholars, but we can go one better than that and redefine what scholarship might look like. *Project Mātauranga* takes for granted our way of expressing things, our language, our communities, our culture, our traditional knowledge, and our right to take advantage of any benefits our Treaty partner has to offer. Throughout the series, we hear from articulate, learned (although not necessarily schooled), clever, grounded, Māori scientists and tohunga (Māori experts). The show celebrates and takes for granted that Māori can be experts in all fields.

Māori Science is Outside of the Lab

One misconception about science is that it is staid, boring, and that it only involves inside laboratory work. While the presenter speaks from the lab, much of the science—whether it is counting creature populations, assessing water quality, or shredding harakeke (flax)—is outdoors, and thus connects people to environments. This is evident in *Utakura Tuna*: Episode 2 where Kiri Ann Rihari explains in scientific language how to assess periphyton density on a rock, and then she names the invertebrates she finds in river samples.

Māori Scientists are Young

Many of those involved in *Project Mātauranga* were relatively young, for instance, the Tūhoe youth who are replanting podocarp saplings. While diversity, rather than youth, is more desirable—as Erica Williams points out in *Utakura Tuna*: Episode 2 (regarding eel populations) "… you gotta always have your big ones and you gotta always have your small ones …"—younger people are perhaps better able to speak to, and inspire, a younger generation. The younger population also sets themselves apart from a Pākehā science community, which is perhaps an older, more introverted group.

Māori Science is Connected

One thing *Project Mātauranga* highlighted was the community and education efforts that were part and parcel of the science community. In *Moutohorā Island Kuia Oi*: Episode 4, Ngāti Awa kaumātua and rangatahi worked together to rejuvenate the population of the kuia or oi (grey-faced petrel), and in doing so exchanged cultural practices and traditions, while strengthening their kaitiaki (guardianship) links to Moutohorā Island. Also, as if to prove a point, in *Wastewater Raglan*: Episode 11, the onus was on the hapū (sub-tribe) to show the Waikato District Council how a wetland solution could eliminate the Council's need to dumping wastewater into the Raglan harbour. Māori were thus called upon to educate not just their own, but also other institutions.

Māori Science Realises Benefits for Local Communities and Environments

> Kua whai wāhi ngā tāngata o te hapori nei [ki] te whakawhanaunga i a rātou anō ki te whenua, mā roto mai i te pūtaiao ā-ringa. It's been an opportunity for locals to engage with the whenua through hands-on science. (*Utakura Tuna*: Episode 2)

In *Ōkahu Bay Mauri Model*: Episode 8, a monitoring tool developed by a Māori scientist was used by residents to assess their local water quality. Amazingly, the same scientist, Kepa Morgan, is also involved in building energy-efficient homes using harakeke (flax) reinforced uku (clay)bricks. This science is of direct relevance to issues Māori face. In *Utakura Tuna*: Episode 2 we are told about the UCHI—a local adaptation by Utakura of the Cultural Health Index (CHI) concept. In the same episode Helen Moewaka Barnes points out that:

> … when you're living with the land, when that land is so tied up with you, you don't have a choice about healing that land. And so we, as researchers, or social scientists, or whatever, we don't have that choice either, so we have to make that commitment as well … In healing land you heal people, and in healing people you heal land. (*Utakura Tuna*: Episode 2)

Not Just 'Brown Bodies in a White Coat'

Ocean Mercier received some positive feedback in her role as presenter, such as comments like 'I thought you did well for a non-professional'. But others' comments revealed that they struggled with aspects—for example the white coat, the lipstick and the gumboots, and other props, particularly a clipboard. There were comments such as, "… we already know she's smart, there's no need to dong us over the head with it". For these and other reasons Ocean considers herself the most distracting and dissonant thing about the show. On one hand, the 'white coat' is a well-worn trope of science. But on the other hand Māori, and particularly female Māori, have not been seen featured wearing the coat, and thus, it is important and revolutionary to sport it. This is particularly so given the argument McKinley (2005) makes that there is an impossibility for others to reconcile the female, 'brown body' with the 'white coat' of science. We leave it to others, however, to perform these sorts of critiques from a more objective standpoint.

Te Reo Māori

Project Mātauranga is aimed at a 'receptive audience', which Te Māngai Pāho stipulates equates to a te reo content of 30%. This means that 6 minutes 30 seconds of a 26-minute episode of *Project Mātauranga* should be in te reo. This was achieved through voice overs, graphics, and some presenter pieces to camera. Additionally, some episodes featured te reo Māori speakers and waiata, increasing the content to an estimated average of about 40%. Once the footage was edited together, presenter voice over and 'pieces to camera' narration scripts were prepared in English by Orlando and Darcel, then translated into te reo by Scotty.

Scotty Morrison reflects on the main language objectives he used in the development, production, and monitoring of te reo pūtaiao (scientific language) in *Project Mātauranga*: Season One, in this excerpt of his proposal to Te Māngai Pāho:

> Provide a platform where learners and speakers of the language are exposed to scientific terminology and knowledge in an interesting and creative way, for example, new or very technical scientific terms are emphasised, reinforced and highlighted by using eye-catching graphics and translations. The language

> lives because it is able to adapt to any context, in this case, a highly scientific programme focusing on kaupapa Māori, which uses a combination of old and new terminology to articulate modern ideas and thoughts.
>
> Provide a resource which will not only entertain and engage our people, but expose them to Te Reo Māori and its adaptability.
>
> Provide a platform for proverbial sayings to be promoted and used in a different context, i.e. scientific, demonstrating the continued relevance of the message contained in those sayings in today's settings. (Scottie Productions Ltd, 2012, pp. 22—23)

Ocean recorded all voice overs in te reo Māori. The writers planned for the pieces to camera to be in English. Although this was Ocean's first time as a presenter, during a training session, Stacey Daniels—an experienced Māori television presenter—encouraged her to perform some pieces to camera in te reo. Together they selected appropriate passages hei kīnaki (as embellishment) for the English. Thus, for each piece to camera segment that was recorded, both te reo and English were used.[27] We have had positive anecdotal feedback from a Te Māngai Pāho board member about the code-switching that "it sounds natural". The rest of this section discusses our decision-making behind the Māori-English mix.

Ocean (and Stacey, for five episodes) chose which pieces to camera would be in te reo in a holistic way, weighing how it sounded and felt, and balanced the English. On reflection and a closer analysis of the switching, it is evident that our decisions were not arbitrary, but in fact guided by certain identifiable principles. These ten guidelines are detailed below.

1. We aimed to strike a **balance** in the way we presented the content:

   a) Some statements had to be repeated, for instance, the 'recap' after the commercial break. Some of these recaps were voiced in te reo and some in English. Not only does this alleviate some of the fatigue from aural repetition associated with the reminders, but viewers hear the English and te reo Māori reinforcing each other;

27 One exception to this was *Pureora Forest, Ginseng:* Episode 1, which was chosen as season premiere. The production company decided it was important for continued viewership to ease watchers into te reo pūtaiao, and so all pieces to camera in that episode are in English.

b) Important and recurring scientific concepts were deliberately voiced in both languages in order to give attentive viewers the opportunity to hear about them in the context of both te reo and English. Some of these concepts, for example, invertebrates or tuaiwi kore (*Utakura Tuna*: Episode 2) and dioxin or hau taoke (*Bioremediation*: Episode 7), are not widely understood in English or Māori, so in these cases using both languages reinforced the concepts.

2. Statements primarily about **mātauranga or tikanga** were voiced in te reo Māori, and statements about Western science and particularly environmental impacts of industrialisation, were voiced in English. It was important that degradation of environment, society and culture due to scientific impacts was voiced in a language that everyone could understand. An example of this occurs in *Contaminants in Kai*: Episode 6:

> Mai rā anō ngā iwi o Rotorua e kohi ana, e kai ana hoki i ngā kai nō roto mai i ngā roto moana. However, industrial activity around the lakes like farming and timber mills have, over time, contaminated waterways and some kai now presents a risk to the people who eat it. (Douglas, 2012)

Inscribing the issue with the English language reinforces the contention that the problem has a more recent cause associated with colonialism. Furthermore, in the example above, the change of language into English linguistically echoes the interruption of traditional kai gathering by industrial activity.

3. Statements with **positive and aspirational associations**, for example declarations using hiahia (desire), tūmanako (aspiration) and whakapono (trust) were recorded with te reo, usually at least once in any given programme.

4. If kōrero (discussion) was about **combining knowledge systems**, we more often than not used te reo to convey it. However, this was a recurring concept across the whole season, and so we tried to use as many variations in both languages of the repeating phrases regarding the connection of modern day science and mātauranga Māori.

5. If **kīwaha** (idioms) and **whakataukī** (proverbs) were used to translate concepts, we tended to use these passages rather than the English, for example, *Mā uta, ki tai* (*Utakura Tuna*: Episode 2).

6. If **Māori concepts and tikanga** were used as translations from the English, we often used te reo, for example: 'Engari, i ētahi wā, me hoki te taonga ki tōna ūkaipō', (*3D Scanning:* Episode 10); and 'Ko te uri o Tāne te Hokahoka' (*Animal Navigation:* Episode 12). This has the effect of brokering Māori understanding of ideas presented by te ao pūtaiao (the scientific world).

7. Where Scotty had prepared particularly **elegant translations** or aesthetically pleasing constructions, we used his translation, for example, "Ko tā Aotearoa ki te Ao, he whenua paru kore, para kore … " (*Kopeopeo Canal Bioremediation:* Episode 7). The following excerpt from the proposal illustrates the crew's commitment to exploiting the breadth, depth, and beauty of te reo:

   > *Project Mātauranga* gives learners and speakers of the Māori language the opportunity to extend their language skills by exposing them to a fusion of traditional language (including its subtle embellishments, its reflective idioms, and the prevalence of metaphor and proverb) and contemporary language. It provides another avenue for language revitalisation. (Scottie Productions Ltd, 2012, p. 23)

8. We chose **shorter passages** to be voiced in te reo.

9. We chose **fairly easy** reo dialogue, with shorter sentences, fewer new terms, and avoided 'tongue-twisters'.

10. Ocean used 'run-on' and **'switching' mid-sentence** to break up long passages in English and te reo, and for variety.

Guidelines 1—4 reveal aspects of our decision-making around content, and around which language was most appropriate for the content being discussed. Guidelines 5—7 reflect our desire to showcase the beauty of te reo Māori. Guidelines 8—10 above were informed by Ocean's ability as a second language speaker of te reo.

In effect, our exploration of which pieces to camera were in English and which in Māori exemplified the kaupapa of the show, which explored the synergies between world views. In doing so we demonstrated that drawing upon two traditions resulted in something richer than an entity of mono-cultural origin.

Beyond the Show—Impact

Viewer statistics for the first five episodes of *Project Mātauranga* were erratic, with the ratings estimates varying between 700 and 14,700. The trend was for a large viewing audience on its premiere, declining steadily to a low for Episode 4, before leaping to 6,700 for Episode 5.

The show went to air while Ocean was teaching MAOR124 Māori Science at Victoria University of Wellington, a kaupapa to which the show has direct relevance. Because of this, she encouraged students to watch the series and discussed episodes in class to illustrate points she was making. In one assignment, students chose three case studies of work going on at the so-called interface between mātauranga Māori and science, and wrote a short essay for each, plotting the projects' places of origin using Google Earth and embedding their essay as a Placemark Description.[28] Despite having plenty of case studies from lectures and the course reader, many students chose episodes from *Project Mātauranga* as the basis for their work. In a survey of the resultant Google Earth map consisting of work done by 21 students, 77% included at least one case out of their three from the show, illustrating its impact on their ability to engage with the show and visualise case studies. Of those 16 students, 7 (32%) only used case studies from the show. While it is tempting to say that those students put less effort into their work by exploring only one resource, there is a unique intellectual challenge in transforming the information from a 26-minute audio-visual presentation into a short essay.

What is also revealing is the spread of episodes chosen by students to explore. *The Pureora Forest, Ginseng*: Episode 1 and *Te Arawa Lakes, Tau Koura*: Episode 3 were each written about by six students. *Rotoiti Whare Uku for Papakāinga*: Episode 5 and *Utakura Tuna*: Episode 2 each had five students write about them. Three

28 See Mercier et.al. (2013) and http://www.atlas.Māori.nz for more information on the Te Kawa a Māui Atlas project, which introduces students to digital mapping with Google Earth in several Māori Studies courses.

student submissions were received for each of *Moutohorā Island Kuia Oi*: Episode 4, *Te Arawa Contaminants in Kai*: Episode 6, *Kopeopeo Canal Bioremediation*: Episode 7, and *Ōkahu Bay Mauri Model*: Episode 8. One late submitter wrote about Te Urewera forest restoration, which aired as Episode 10, well after the assessment submission deadline. While episodes 1, 2, 3 and 5 collectively drew 22 short essays out of 37, we can't conclusively say that students 'enjoyed' or 'engaged' more with these episodes, as they aired earlier than the others, and each of the others attracted at least three submissions. What this suggests though, is that each episode had different appeal to different students. No case study or episode was irrelevant, or too difficult, for the assignment in question. Although this is only a tiny sample of the viewing population and of the target audience, this result may suggest that all of the first eight episodes have broad appeal.

In addition to using the show as a teaching aid for her Victoria University course, Ocean was told by a lecturer at a South Island university that he has been screening episodes of *Project Mātauranga* in his mātauranga Māori course lectures.

Project Mātauranga has moved beyond the small screen, for example, *Raglan Wastewater*: Episode 11 was screened in the Reel Earth Film Festival, 21 June 2013. In response to overseas interest, Megan Douglas is exploring international distribution networks. The recent recording of English language voice overs allows the possibility of re-editing and re-mastering Season One, and burning in subtitles, so that the show can be made ready for international viewing platforms, starting with other indigenous broadcasters.

Concluding Remarks

> The common thread is that every project we feature is benefitting from utilising a Māori knowledge base. The application of this unique intellectual resource for economic, environmental or intellectual gain will be a central theme to the series. We'll pinpoint projects and ideas that are giving our country an edge in the world of scientific research across a number of disciplines. (Scottie Productions Ltd, 2012, p. 14)

Mātauranga Māori is increasingly being used in research settings as the featured case studies show, and the school curriculum should reflect this by teaching mātauranga Māori concepts and exploring and celebrating the innovations we are producing as a country. As the show argues, it is one of the things that makes New Zealand science unique, and negotiations at the interface between science and mātauranga Māori are a necessity, rather than an option. The instances of mātauranga Māori and science working together are numerous. The second season aired in August 2013, *Project Mātauranga* and featuring 26 case studies, with another season's worth of stories researched and ready to be produced, and potential for other seasons. People are embarking on new projects inspired by the possibilities that they see. *Project Mātauranga* has opened up access to an awareness of this work and its benefits, potentially inspiring young Māori to take up science for themselves and their communities.

As Mead (2012) has said, mātauranga Māori is not just traditional knowledge, nor a static and unchanging thing—it is dynamic and includes the uptake of scientific tools. This leaves an exciting legacy for science education in Aotearoa New Zealand. Can mātauranga Māori provide a vehicle for people into science? Through this can

we repeal the fallacy that science is not something that's done by us and reverse the tide of "indirect exclusion" (Walker, 1998, p. 18) of Māori from science? By advancing and strengthening mātauranga Māori, can we give our country an edge in the world's knowledge? From the evidence presented by *Project Mātauranga*, maybe we can. Furthermore, perhaps we can also look forward to proclaiming that Māori have always been scientists, and we continue to be scientists.

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Mātauranga ā-Iwi
He Haerenga Mōrearea

Exploring The Indigenous Knowledge Behind New Zealand's Active and Hazardous Volcanic Landscapes.

Dr Jonathan Procter and Hona Black

Dr Jonathan Procter

He Kupu Whakataki

Ko tā tēnei upoko kōrero he whakaatu i te noho tahi o te te papa tipu whenua ki ngā maunga kōrero nei o Ruapehu, o Ngāuruhoe, me Tongariro. E mōhiotia ana e ngā iwi e noho pātata rā me ngā koro mātua kāhui maunga nei, he reo anō ō rātau. Nō te tau 1995 ka karanga, ka pahū te reo kōrero o Ruapehu maunga ki te motu. Ohorere pai te motu, mārama te puta o te kōrero, "He aha hoki tēnei āhuatanga?" Nō tērā tau, te tau 2012, ka puta ko te reo karanga (pahū) o Tongariro. Kātahi ka korikori tika te hunga titiro tata, titiro tawhiti ki ēnei momo pahūtanga. Ko te whāinga o tēnei upoko he whakakao mai i ngā herenga kōrero o Te Ao Māori ki raro i te maru o mātauranga Māori. Kātahi ka whakanoho tahi me te hunga pūtaiao e kitea ai he huarahi e aro tikatia ai te mātauranga ā-iwi o te mana whenua. Nā reira, mā te mana whenua hai rangahau, hai whakaara i āna kōrero ki te taha i te hunga pūtaiao. Ka waiho mā te māramatanga me te mātauranga ā-iwi e tohu i te huarahi e mana ai ngā tikanga ā-iwi me te mana whakairo hinengaro pūtaiao. Koia te kaupapa o tēnei tuhinga, he

whakatuwhera i te noho tahi mai o ngā kōrero mana whenua me ngā herenga ki te taha pūtaiao.

Introduction

In 1887, Te Heuheu Tūkino IV of Tūwharetoa gifted Ruapehu, Tongariro, and Ngāuruhoe to the Crown as a National Park for the use of both Māori and European. This was the first time indigenous people had made such a gift to a newly emerging nation. In 1993, the park, again in a world-first, became recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Landscape. UNESCO, in 1962, provided one of the first definitions of a cultural landscape in a recommendation for "… the preservation and, where possible, the restoration of the aspect of natural, rural, and urban landscapes and sites, whether natural or man-made, which have a cultural or aesthetic interest or form natural surroundings". Despite Māori and New Zealand leading the way on cultural landscape recognition and protection, we adopt a Western science (management) approach to identifying what makes those landscapes important. Different aspects of those environments are subdivided or categorised without recognising that the interconnections, or that the collective significant values are what make our landscapes iconic. This 'disconnect' between the holistic values and significance of a landscape in a Māori view and from a Western management viewpoint is similarly represented in resource management issues with no recognition of a cultural landscape in related legislation (for example, the Resource Management Act, 1991). Instead the RMA (1991) tends to refer to other sections that again categorise Māori values into separate components, such as wāhi tapu (sacred places), taonga (treasures), wai (waterways), etc.

New Zealand and New Zealand scientists, at times, recognise mātauranga (cultural knowledge) and te reo (Māori language), as evidenced by the use of names, such as pounamu (greenstone), kōkōwai (red ochre), and paru (mud, soil) to name a few, in both European and scientific literature to describe a uniquely New Zealand lithology, clay, or soil. These terms, however, have been accepted on scientific grounds in the sense that they describe a specific, identifiable rock or lithology and much of the whakapapa (geneology), lore, or cultural significance behind that term is lost. Within te reo Māori there are numerous examples in Aotearoa (for example, Ngā-rā-o-Kupe,

Te Waka o Ngārangikataka, Te Mata-o-Rongokako, Te Taura o Te Ika) that merge all aspects of the culture with the whole landscape. Specific features of the landscape and an understanding of the creation of that landscape, combine to create a holistic sense of a place of being. However, in today's modern world or scientific world these "names" have been dissected and are to be understood in historical terms, geological boundaries, and mythological associations. While there is a resemblance of a lexicon of similar geomorphic features or place names within te reo, we very rarely recognise the associated multiple definitions or meanings. Even Māori, when recounting the history or meanings behind the terms or places, very rarely elevate the important epistemological framework that has been used to describe the landscape to the same levels of prominence as we place on geologic, geographic, and geomorphic classifications.

Aotearoa is located geologically and geographically in an extremely precarious situation between two interacting plate boundaries and at latitudes conducive to extreme weather events that make us vulnerable to a wide spectrum of natural hazards. Our communities, even in just the last year, have been subjected to major earthquakes, tsunami warnings, and also ongoing volcanic activity. While there is evidence of communities coming together through existing and/or traditional frameworks to successfully respond to natural hazard events to make their people safer, for example, the Te Maari eruption at Tongariro in 2012, the emergency management community has not fully taken the opportunity to explore and recognise local knowledge of those hazards and risks, which have developed due to a longstanding relationship with the land. Ideally, this should be an integral part of creating more robust coping strategies and recovery practices. Creating a way for iwi (tribes) to participate in the decision-making processes related to the management of these events could make our communities more aware of the risks from natural hazards and more resilient to natural hazards and events. We should explore the mātauranga that has been passed down to us that recorded events and changes in our landscape.

Records exist describing the responses of Māori to volcanic eruptions and seismic instability in Aotearoa/New Zealand that bring forth a Māori perspective on responding to natural events and change that provide insights into environmental awareness and management. These provide a sharp focus on the narratives of the

interplay between Māori mythology, legends, and oral traditions as a living art form and an abundant source of knowledge about Māori tribal history and culture. These narratives are a rich source of mātauranga Māori that provide Māori with a solid foundation from which they have gained an understanding of volcanic activity and they have integrated it into their cultural beliefs and practices for centuries. In exploring Māori insights into volcanic activity, Māori cosmology, myths and legends, whakapapa, oral traditions, and principles such as utu (revenge), tapu (restriction), and noa (unrestricted; free of tapu), we are able to explore the basis on which these understandings have been integrated by Māori into their cultural frameworks. In doing so, we argue that there are lessons to be learned from the past. The renewal of traditional Māori volcanic knowledge in Aotearoa can help guide future decision makers in understanding and responding to volcanic activity in a way that is culturally relevant to Māori and that does not impinge on the intimate relationship Māori have with volcanoes.

What is Mātauranga Māori?

Mātauranga Māori can be defined as 'Māori knowledge', and is a term that places importance on Māori histories, knowledge, and language, and refers to Māori ways of thinking, doing, and acting (Smith G. H., 1990). It is a multi-faceted and complex concept that is connected to exponential sources of language, culture, land, customary and intellectual knowledge sources.

Furthermore, mātauranga Māori bridges both traditional and contemporary Māori knowledge and philosophies through which Māori history and knowledge are uncompromisingly told. Mātauranga Māori is essentially about Māori defining their own priorities, and then weaving a course to realise collective aspirations. Therefore, the platform of mātauranga Māori advocates for a system of Māori knowledge that recognises cultural identity and cultural affirmation as important foundations that are connected to Māori world views. Mātauranga Māori is a continually expanding commentary of Māori people's infinitely varied lives to promote a connection to striving for higher customary and intellectual ownership and understanding in terms of land based methodologies. Māori practices, culture, and beliefs are associated and contextualised within Aotearoa, as echoed in Psalm 85: "Tipu ake te pono i te whenua,

i titiro iho te tika i te Rangi. *Truth springs out of the earth, and righteousness looks down from heaven*" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1988). This psalm locates the birthplace of mātauranga Māori as originating from Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother). Mātauranga Māori, therefore, is used to define Māori identity connected to land, which in turn connects to Māori knowledge sources.

Mātauranga Māori and Volcanic Landscapes

Volcanic activity, viewed through the lens of mātauranga Māori, offers a rich source of mythology and oral tradition. Within these cultural stories and beliefs lie clues as to how Māori have understood, related and reacted to volcanic activity. Māori cosmology and mythology have integrated volcanoes within their whakapapa and this embodies a relationship based on kin and lineage. Mātauranga Māori, with regard to volcanic events, reveals cultural frameworks that have been developed and utilised by Māori to understand landscapes, evolution, and responses to volcanic activity in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Māori cultural beliefs are grounded within their wider environment and connect people directly to their kāwai tīpuna (revered ancestors), who may be responsible for some volcanic activity. This relationship viewed through the lens of mātauranga Māori is based on the understanding that the connection between people and their environment has intangible and tangible dimensions, to the past and the future as well as spiritual and physical dimensions (Durie, 2010). Mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi, therefore, represent the "… totality of experiences of generations of Māori in New Zealand" (King, Goff, & Skipper, 2007, p. 60) and provide a solid cultural platform that emphasises a holistic approach to understanding te taiao Māori (Māori environment). In particular, the relationship of Māori to volcanoes and their wider environment is explained through whakapapa. The very conception of Māori cosmology, and by extension, their understanding of volcanic activity, is traced back to the beginning of time and the separation of Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatūānuku and their youngest child Rūaumoko (Smith P., 1915) who was gifted with the ahi tipua (sacred fire) to keep his mother warm. According to Māori mythology, once Rangi and Papa were separated, their children fought, and Whiro, who disagreed with the separation, was defeated and descended to Rarohenga where Rūaumoko and

Hine-nui-te-pō dwell. Here is it believed by some Māori that Whiro and Rūaumoko came to an agreement that they should avenge the ill treatment and separation of their parents. Whiro proposed that they operate above, within te Ao-tūroa (the world of light), and make war upon Tāne and the other brothers. Rūaumoko replied to Whiro's proposition by saying:

> Ye are from above, carry on your warfare from above. I am from below, and here I will engender my warfare … I will make use of Puna-te-ware (volcanic forces, earthquakes, eruptions, hot-springs) for in it are contained the ahi kōmau (volcanic fires). (Stokes, 2000, pp. 17—18)

This is believed by some Māori to be the origin of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions.

Māori are connected to Rūaumoko and volcanic activity through lineage (Cashman & Cronin, 2008). It is through this lineage that Māori refer to themselves as tangata whenua (people of the land) and deem themselves to be direct descendants of Ranginui and Papatūānuku. Mātauranga Māori and understanding of volcanic activity are, therefore, grounded within a genealogical belief that they are an integral part of nature, neither above nor below it (Walker, 2004). Volcanic activity for Māori, therefore, is a meaningful, sacred, and a symbolic occurrence as it shows a profound connection between Māori and their kāwai tīpuna (ancestral lines of descent) as evident in the following whakataukī: *Titiro kau ana ki ngā pari pōhatu, e whakaatu atu nei i ngā tīpuna.* (As I look across towards the cliff, within them carved are our ancestors) (Grace, 2003, p. 72).

The belief by Māori of being connected to kāwai tīpuna is a symbolic one, and embodies their holistic understanding of their environment. For example, symbolic occurrences of volcanoes are believed by some Māori to be a sign from the kāwai tīpuna, and in particular Rūaumoko. When flame erupted from Ngāuruhoe, the Māori living below it believed it to be a sign and command from the Atua to "go forth and make war upon the sea dwellers" (Cowan, 1925, pp. 16—17). Similarly, distant tribes saw the eruption of Ngāuruhoe as a sign to start strengthening their palisades in anticipation of an attack from the tribes surrounding the Taupō-nui-a-Tia area (Cowan, 1925). Volcanic activity and its connection to Māori was, therefore, integrated within their cultural frameworks and norms, reinforcing the relevance of mātauranga Māori to the interaction between Māori and volcanoes.

Māori Volcanic Oral Tradition

Māori legends about volcanoes are another source of mātauranga Māori that help Māori to understand and explain the conception of mountains and volcanic activity. This can be seen in the story of Pīhanga and the quarrel between Tongariro, Taranaki, Ruapehu, and Ngāuruhoe. The volcanic quarrel over Pīhanga's beauty and love, in which Tongariro was triumphant, resulted is the expulsion of Taranaki from the central plateau to the West Coast of the North Island (Mutu, 2010). Volcanic eruptions were, therefore, explained through Māori legends as symbolic and godly acts of love and anger, emotions with which Māori were well acquainted. As believed by some local Māori, when smoke is seen from Tongariro, it is a sign of love for Pīhanga, and some Māori also believe it to be sign of his anger towards Taranaki (Ministry of Education, 2002). Māori legends such as these were orally transmitted across generations through the use of mōteatea (sung compositions) such as waiata aroha (love songs).

Māori have used mōteatea for centuries as an art form to orally transmit emotions, stories, prophecies, and genealogy, and understanding them is critical if we are to maintain mātauranga Māori in Aotearoa. Mōteatea offer uniquely Māori ways of rediscovering volcanic knowledge and they are a form of mātauranga Māori that is "… embedded in our political discourses … a living art form in poetry, music, story telling …" (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2006, p. 19).

Māori volcanic legends also help Māori understand the shape of the land, as well as explain the conception and birth of mountains in Aotearoa/New Zealand. For example, Pūtauaki and other mountains were once known to occupy the central plateau; however, they were frightened at the anger shown by Tongariro in the volcanic battle over Pīhanga. According to Māori legends, Pūtauaki and his two wives fled the central plateau along with their children Whakaari (White Island) and Moutohorā (Whale Island), and were caught at dawn by the rays of the sun and remain where they are today (Ministry of Education, 2002). Other tribes attribute the birth of Whakaari to the deity of Māori mythology, Māui. Māui, who took the element of fire from the goddess Mahuika, was tormented by the pain of fire and dived under the water

to relieve this pain. As some Māori believe, Whakaari arose from the place where Māui took this fire (Parham, 1973). Tūhoe on the other hand believe that Whakaari originated as a peak of the Huiarau ranges. Jealousy resulted in both Whakaari and Moutohorā rushing towards the ocean, with Whakaari outstripping Moutohorā and occupying the superior position, where it stands today (Parham, 1973).

Despite these differences, these legends and oral traditions offer customary and intellectual properties of knowledge that are relevant to Māori understandings of volcanic activity in a way that is culturally distinctive, significant, and relevant to them.

Similarly, in legends about the central plateau, volcanic activity is again explained in the legend of Kawa, Kakepuku, and Puketaratara as a result of a quarrel between mountains over love. The quarrel between Kakepuku and Puketaratara over Kawa saw rocks hurled in the air, with thunder and lightning filling the sky (Ministry of Education, 2002).

Iwi from Taranaki also have a different story as to the stories about the volcanic battle over Pīhanga. According to some Taranaki iwi, Taranaki was once a man and Ruapehu, a woman, was his wife. It was this love between Taranaki and Ruapehu that was a source of anger for Tongariro. One day Taranaki was out hunting and in his absence Tongariro made love to Ruapehu. When Taranaki returned he found the pair occupied, and in his anger used his mana mākutu (spiritual powers) to fix them in their place forever as mountains. As he turned towards the West coast, his enchantments were so powerful that he himself could not escape from them, and he himself was transformed into a mountain, where he stands today (Cowan, 1927).

The arrival of volcanic activity in Aotearoa/New Zealand is also attributed to the work of Ngātoro-i-rangi, the chief tohunga (high priest) of Te Arawa waka (canoe). The volcanic region stretching from Whakaari to the central plateau is believed by some Māori to be the result of Ngātoro-i-rangi being sent fire by his sisters in the North. His sisters were considered to be fire demons personified who were able to send him this volcanic and thermal heat through the central volcanic region.

Legends and oral traditions have been used by Māori to contextualise volcanic activity as events that are culturally relevant to them, connecting both time and space

through whakapapa. In doing so, Māori legends offer knowledge of volcanoes that, through the lens of mātauranga Māori, rationalise environmental disasters such as the formation of volcanoes, and instead see them as meaningful events.

Mātauranga ā-Iwi

While Māori core values and principles are located within mātauranga Māori, the application of these values and principles are filtered through mātauranga ā-iwi. Each iwi (tribe) has its own specific sense and use of these core values and principles that link them with their particular environment. This tribal application cannot be applied to another tribe, as they will have their *own* application that links them to *their* environment and iwi.

Mātauranga ā-iwi is described as tribal knowledge specific to certain iwi, and provides a sharper focus to examine the application of the mātauranga Māori principles and values in a specific environmental context. According to Doherty (2012, p. 26), mātauranga Māori is premised on mātauranga ā-iwi where "… deeper explanations, meanings and sign posts can be found …" and where Māori environmental knowledge can be examined in context. In particular, this reduces the possibility of a hegemonic approach that applies certain iwi-centered knowledge to wider 'Māori' environmental knowledge. Simply applying a lens that is used in generic knowledge to view mātauranga ā-iwi will not work because each of these two strands has a distinctive set of values and principles that are used when interpreting the knowledge that is found in their respective strands.

Although much of Māori cosmology is fairly consistent across tribal boundaries, there are some differences. In relation to Māori volcanic knowledge, mātauranga ā-iwi provides intimate knowledge of volcanoes that are specific to respective tribal boundaries. This is an important point, as Māori have developed varying ways in which they have understood the conception and occurrences, and they have developed different responses to volcanoes in different regions. Mātauranga Māori often de-contextualises knowledge by amalgamating different iwi-based knowledge to produce a generic framework within which to understand our environment.

Mātauranga Māori and Western Science

In presenting an analysis of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi, specifically based around volcanoes and volcanic hazards, we have described a framework of knowledge that is interwoven between many aspects of the culture and the land. This epistemological framework is complex, yet logically structured, and with regard to geomorphology, provides both a means of recording past events and information that can be applied for future interaction. Further examples of kaitiaki (guardians) from the Ruapehu area, such as Te Ririo, Tākaka and Taunapiki, provide examples of how actions (such as ignoring environmental hazards) can result in peril or even death. These provide the fundamental building blocks for the management of hazards within the extremely active volcanic areas of Ruapehu and Tongariro.

In the scientific process of understanding how volcanic hazards operate geologists use, amongst other things, ash layers, lahar deposits, and lava flows to determine the past activity and, using statistical methods, develop hazard maps, risk maps, and exclusion zones based on the recurrence of past events. Is it then feasible to communicate hazard and risk in today's world to iwi and Māori living in these areas within a knowledge framework that is spatially and temporally consistent with past understandings? Simply, is there a means to desegregate these methods to create an understanding of risk unique to our volcanic areas?

Similarly, Māori have recognised volcanic regions as rich areas of natural resources and today we exploit these areas for geothermal energy, hydropower, and mining of rock. However, when the relatively scientifically unexplored areas of the healing properties of volcanic waters (which are valued around the world by other cultures) are examined in terms of mātauranga Māori and Western science or management, a complete 'disconnect' is evident. The extreme case of the Whangaehu River highlights where mātauranga ā-iwi has come into conflict with Western science, whereby the river is seen as 'dead' due to its high acidity, is environmentally disregarded, and not recognised for its whakapapa, wairua, hauora, and significance to the iwi both for the role it plays in volcanism and in providing for the health of the people. This disconnect between the iwi values and western-based environmental management is something that could be bridged with a better understanding of both the underlying science of

the environmental conditions (and its volcanic setting) and the mātauranga ā-iwi, yet this will not occur until methods consistent with both philosophical and pedagogical frameworks are developed.

Key questions need to be posed such as: "Is mātauranga Māori fundamentally part of a living culture in the sense that it is meant to continue to grow and adapt to the 21st century, or is it a taonga that should remain in the traditions and constructs of the past pre-European colonisation days?" Beyond that, "Is it appropriate to merge indigenous and western science-based knowledge?" If so, "Can they be merged, integrated, or unified to develop applications for New Zealand's unique environment and hazardscape?" Ultimately, there needs to be a willingness from researchers within each knowledge framework to collaborate with open minds to develop new methods that are valid to all.

The final comment is that, irrespective of a discussion on the place of exploring, adapting or amalgamating mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi, there is a general lack of te reo (Māori language) surrounding science, in particular geology, geography, and geomorphology. If anything, the mātauranga ā-iwi of our geological processes and active landscapes should be explored just to provide a lexicon or distinctive terminology to describe our internationally, UNESCO recognised, unique, and culturally important landscapes. Exposing our (Māori) children to this knowledge may encourage participation in science and encourage a new generation who will participate with ease in applying Western science and mātauranga Māori. This marrying of science and mātauranga Māori is necessary to develop the solutions needed to answer those important questions above, and to develop new solutions to make our communities more resilient and able to cope with future natural hazards.

Conclusion

This is the first attempt to bring together the relevance of historical sources that can be connected to planning for the future kaitiakitanga (guardianship) of geology, geomorphology, and specifically volcanic activity, for the sustainability of mātauranga Māori connected to mātauranga ā-iwi. In this document we have attempted to show the manner in which mātauranga Māori has provided a solid foundation used by

Māori to understand the conception of volcanic activity, as well as the relationship they have with kāwai tīpuna through whakapapa. Through the lenses of Māori cosmology, mythology, legends, oral traditions, and whakapapa, Māori are able to combine their experiences and knowledge to appreciate the sacredness of volcanic mountains, their whakapapa to kāwai tīpuna, and their interaction with the physical world. Volcanic knowledge is culturally relevant to Māori and has helped guide them in maintaining connection, balance, and equilibrium with their surrounding environment. By using this knowledge they will endeavour to ensure future generations will enjoy the positive aspects of Rūaumoko, as well as be cautious of the dangerous aspects involved. Mātauranga Māori, therefore, provides us with lessons as to how communities, iwi, hapū (kinship groups), and government can approach volcanic management in a way that is culturally relevant to Māori. This can pave the way for a future consistent with cultural beliefs, and integrates tribal intellectual knowledge of kaitiakitanga within the day-to-day operations of volcanic management to create a more resilient society.

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Māori Culture Counts: A Case Study of the Waikato Chiefs

Mā pango, mā whero, ka oti te mahi
By black and by red, the work is done

Jeremy Hapeta and
Dr Farah Palmer

He Kupu Whakataki

Ko te whakakotahi mai o te whakaaro, ko te whakahuihui mai i te taha tikanga hononga ki ngā wawata, ka whakaora mai i te taha hinengaro, taha wairua, taha whānau. Ka tipu te hiahia ki te tākaro, ā, he kaha hoki te wairua ā-tīma o ngā Chiefs ki runga i te papatākaro whutupāoro. E kitea ana i roto i tēnei tuhinga mehemea e mārama ana ngā kaihautū, ngā kaiwhakahaere hoki ki te whakarite i te taha whakatōpū tikanga ā-whānau, ka tipu kaha te hiahia kia oti pai te mahi o te rōpū. Whāia ko tētahi kaupapa hoki ko te whai atu a ngā kaihautū i ngā hekenga whakaaro nō roto ake o Waikato Tainui, me te kato mai i ērā kōrero tuku iho hei whakakaha ake i te hiahia o te kaitākaro. Koia te tipu o te hiahia kia whakaputahia te taha mātauranga Māori me te hononga ki te mātauranga ā-iwi. Nā te whakamahi i ēnei mea e rua, te mātauranga Māori me te mātauranga ā-iwi, ka tipu kaha te tīma o ngā Chiefs.

Introduction

The introductory whakataukī above can be translated literally as, "By black and by red, the work is done". Brougham and Reed (2009) provide further meaning by explaining that red is symbolic of chieftainship, so when chiefs and slaves (or leaders and followers) unite, the work is achieved. Wayne Smith, ex-All Blacks coach and one of the coaches involved in the New Zealand Super XV rugby franchise situated in the Waikato region known as the Chiefs, provides another interpretation that may reflect the culture and vision of the Chiefs since 2012:

> To us this [whakataukī] would also translate as 'With you and with me we get the job done'. This relates to the really strong connections we have created with the community that are not only good for our people, but make the players more resilient. We play for our people and our region which we've travelled over, including a coast to coast voyage replicating Tainui's original settlement. (Wayne Smith, personal communication, 2013)

Interestingly, the fortunes of this franchise have changed since 2012, when, for the first time in 17 years of Super XV rugby (a tournament played between 15 franchises from South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia) history, the Chiefs won the tournament. They then repeated their 2012 success with back-to-back wins in 2013.

Previously, the Chiefs had only twice made the play-off series, and advanced only once into the final, in which they lost heavily 61—17 in 2009. In fact, during the first 16 years of the tournament, the Chiefs had finished in the bottom half of the competition more often (62.5%) than not. Needless to say, prior to the 2012 season the franchise did not make winning much of a habit.

The almost overnight turnaround by one of the competition's least successful teams begs the questions, "What, precisely, has led to their turnaround in performance and the improving results from this franchise?"; and "What was so fundamentally different about the 2012 and 2013 Chiefs' environment compared to previous campaigns?" From an outsider's perspective, obvious changes that have occurred since 2012 have been a change of coaching staff and a subsequent change in team culture that appears to embrace things Māori in the way the team prepares for games, strategises prior to and during games, and celebrates after games. Situating their Chiefs' team culture within the local landscape and tūrangawaewae (place of standing/belonging), and priding themselves on Chiefs' mana (respect for their franchise and brand) is symbolic of the approach taken in 2012 and 2013.

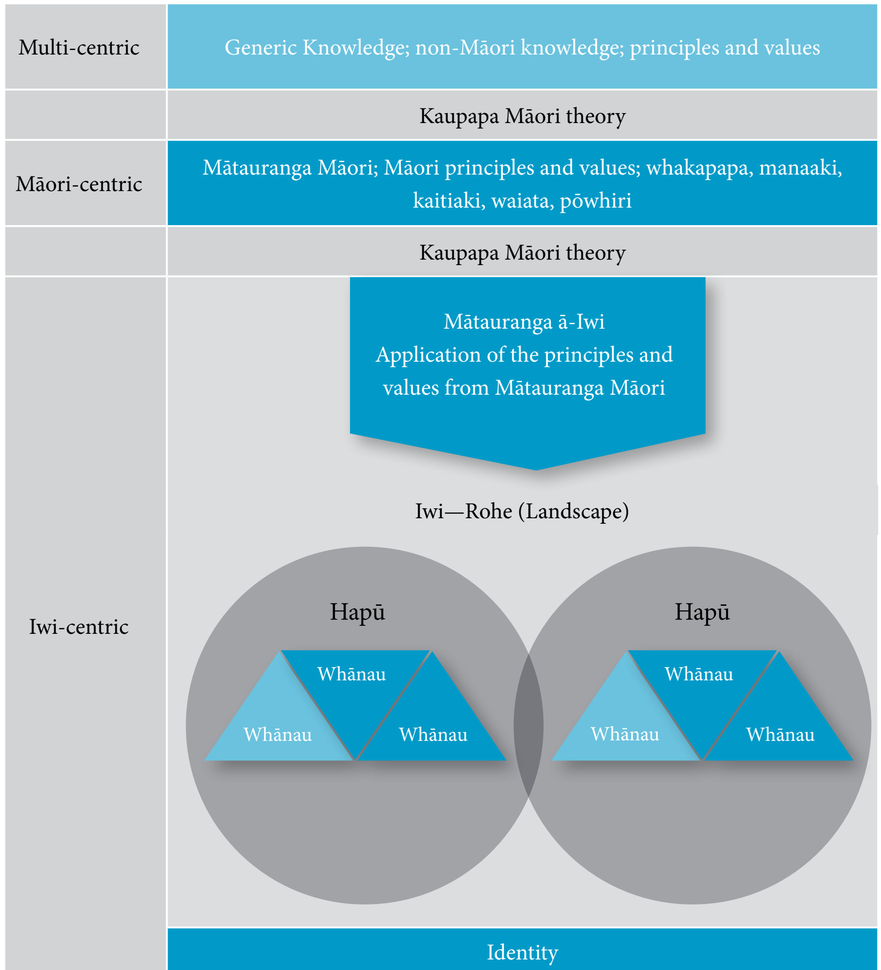
Researchers in the area of leadership, Jackson and Parry (2011), state "Leadership is essentially a cultural activity—it is suffused with values, beliefs, language, rituals, and artefacts" (p. 71). Thus, it appears more than coincidental that the successes of the 2012 and 2013 Chiefs' campaigns coincide with a change in coaching staff whose style is designed to be empowering, athlete-centred and a return to their cultural 'roots' unique to their franchise's local rohe (region). This is perhaps an area where the Chiefs, in comparison to their other NZ-based super rugby franchises, have excelled and led the way in that many of their franchise's core values, beliefs, and rituals are inclusive of mātauranga ā-iwi and mātauranga Māori. They have adopted and promoted a culturally responsive approach to their team's shared vision and core values which appear to have impacted positively on their overall winning performance. This chapter examines how mātauranga ā-iwi and mātauranga Māori were integrated into the Chiefs' team culture and values, and provides examples of how this was perceived to contribute toward a winning team culture and effective leader-follower relations (Jackson & Parry, 2011; Lussier & Achua, 2012).

Throughout this discussion Doherty's (2012) Ranga Framework is utilised as a Māori lens through which to examine the Chiefs' success using backward chaining. Alongside the Kaupapa Māori lens, a leadership lens is also applied through the integration of leader-member exchange (LMX) theory (Jackson & Parry, 2011; Lussier & Achua, 2012).

Terminology

Before beginning, some concepts require definition. Firstly, backward chaining is a term given to a process often used in physical education settings. Essentially, the process starts at the end and ends at the start. For example, when coaching a motor skill such as the pass in rugby, Wayne Smith uses the backward chaining process. His passing session in the online coaching resource, *The Rugby Site,* begins with the final flick of the wrist and fingers at the extremities. Then, he works his way up the arms to the triceps, in an activity called the 'punch' pass, and eventually finishes off at the core/hip area where he suggests the skill of passing should begin from. Similarly, this paper reverses the Ranga Framework (see **Figure 1**) lens by beginning at the foundational 'flax roots' level, then makes its way back to the top. This Ranga-reversal process can be related to the Māori whakataukī (proverb) *Mai i te pō ki te ao mārama* (From out of the darkness deep within the flax roots and into the world of light).

Figure 1: Doherty's (2012) Ranga Framework



In the order intended by Doherty (2012), the Ranga Framework begins with multi-centric or (generic, that is, non-Māori specific) knowledge at the top and works its way down to identity which underpins the framework at the foundational level. Along the way it passes through other layers flowing from multi-centric, generic knowledge to Māori-centric knowledge (mātauranga Māori), bridged by Kaupapa Māori theory

(KMT). KMT also buffers Māori-centric knowledge and iwi-centric knowledge (mātauranga ā-iwi). Lastly, the framework ends with identity which is embedded within one's tūrangawaewae (place of standing/belonging) situated at the bottom of Doherty's (2012) Ranga Framework—which is where the following section of this chapter begins.

Also, threaded into this discussion are the three notions of individual, relational, and collective identities from the LMX theory of leadership. Briefly, LMX theory attempts to explain how leaders deal with members or followers. According to LMX, leaders develop high-quality social exchanges with some of their members and low-quality economic exchanges with others. Research confirms that high quality social relationships are associated with positive follower outcomes like performance and commitment (Lussier & Achua, 2012, p. 246). Another aspect of LMX theory is that individual self-identity is about being unique and self-centred, relational self-identity is dyad-centred, about forming relationships with others, while collective self-identity is defined as that of the broader group (Lussier & Achua, 2012). In the context of this chapter, it could be assumed that the individual self-identity of each player is varied and diverse depending on their upbringing, and their cultural and ethnic associations, the relational self-identity is how members of the team form relationships with others inside and outside the team, and the collective self-identity is that of the broader group known as the Chiefs and all that this name/symbol encompasses.

Lastly, the LMX theory also suggests that leader-follower relationships evolve through three progressive stages. The initial stage is what Jackson and Parry (2011) term the 'stranger phase', whereby individuals' interactions are largely formal and driven by self-interest (individual) rather than the good of the group (collective). The next stage is 'acquaintance', a testing phase where leaders give followers greater responsibilities and the relationships (relational) developed become based around mutual trust and respect. Finally, the 'mature' phase sees a high degree of reciprocity between all parties (collective), where "leaders and followers become tied together in productive ways that go well beyond the traditional hierarchically-defined work relationship towards a transformational leadership relationship" (Jackson & Parry, 2011, p. 64).

With a deeper understanding of the Ranga Framework and LMX theory we can examine what impact mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā-iwi have had on the culture, identities, and outcomes of the Chiefs rugby team.

Tūrangawaewae and Identity—Deep Within the 'Flax Roots'

In the prequel to this publication, Doherty (2012) explains that tūrangawaewae "is achieved when a person [individual] is able to define their identity by linking themselves to the wider people of the tribe, their environment … and knowledge base" (Doherty, 2012, p. 31). Arguably, this statement can be said to be true for the 2012/13 Chiefs who defined their Chiefs' mana and identity by linking themselves (individuals) to the other people (relational) in their team, their franchise (collective), their wider environment (tūrangawaewae), and their knowledge base (mātauranga ā-iwi). This is evident in the opening quote of this chapter from Wayne Smith who stated that the team should play for their people and their region, a commitment which was reinforced for them when they completed a coast to coast voyage replicating Tainui's original settlement. According to Wayne Smith, another potentially negative event was turned into a positive and reinforced the place of the team in the community:

> Leading into the playoffs in 2012 we had nowhere to train [due to a swampy ground]. Schools and clubs came to the rescue. We rode bikes all around Hamilton to training which not only enhanced our fitness but gave us even greater presence in the city. (Wayne Smith, personal communication, 2013)

Wayne Smith has had both historical and ongoing successes with different teams over his career as a professional rugby coach (the Canterbury Crusaders, the All Blacks, and the Chiefs) and is also a well known advocate for adopting an empowering, athlete-centered approach to coaching (Kidman, 2005). Kidman suggests that an athlete-centred approach to coaching enhances athlete learning and development, especially in that it allows players to take a leadership role and ownership over forming and enhancing the team's culture. Wayne Smith's belief in the athlete-centred approach is evident in this statement about the Chiefs:

> Fundamentally, we wanted good buggers who would buy into something bigger than themselves. We wanted more than just a cultural change—essentially,

> creating a champion team is a spiritual act. Not everyone's cup of tea, but definitely ours! We sought an identity and have ended up honouring it. We wanted our behaviours to be specifically identifiable and upheld. Character was definitely … important … when selecting the team! (Wayne Smith, personal communication, 2013)

This statement also demonstrates his opinion that total buy-in to the cause (or collective ownership of the team's vision) must come from all parties within the team, individually and collectively. Smith's coaching philosophy also suggests that relationships between the team's management and players cannot simply be one-way traffic (transactional) or otherwise the desired outcome(s) will quite simply not manifest themselves. The other Chiefs' coaches including Dave Rennie (Head Coach), Tom Coventry (Assistant Coach), and Andrew Strawbridge (Skills Coach) also value the empowering approach.

According to Head Coach, Dave Rennie (2012), for instance, the coaching staff challenged their players in various ways and asked difficult questions of them, rocking them to the core as individuals and as a team. He suggests that together the coaches and players stripped everything back to the basics and built the franchise up again, inside and out, creating a formidable Super rugby power house not to be taken lightly in the modern era. Returning back to the basics, building the franchise up again, and creating a place of standing (tūrangawaewae) started in November 2011 when the financially struggling franchise had nowhere to train. A warehouse at the Ruakura Research Centre in Hamilton was discovered and it was decided that it could be (with a little imagination!) an ideal base for the team. The franchise, however, relied on the emotional and physical investment of the players to create this base and Wayne Smith believes this was a massive part of their ensuing success as a team:

> Given we were broke, the players and staff [and their families] had to do a lot of work to get this warehouse redesigned, restructured, refurbished, and up to scratch. Instead of rugby skills, we learned life skills. … the hardship and sweat (even some blood) we put into it meant we all had more skin in the game. … From adversity came this huge pride and mana that has driven us. We are all very proud of it. (Personal communication, 2013)

It is from this platform of tūrangawaewae, resilience, adversity, pride, mana, and hard work that they literally and figuratively built their Super rugby performance in 2012 and 2013. The coaches called upon the chiefs within them (that is, players' individual identities) and among them (that is, their relational identities) to work together to achieve their collectively determined goals (that is, their collective identity):

> What we have achieved so far has been based on … work ethic and working hard for each other … the boys have come up with a few concepts, we've looked at our roots … from a Māori perspective, we've looked at a lot of historical things, so we've got a lot of little elements in there that we think are important that the boys are aware of. (Rennie, 2012)

The significance of considering not only the relational and collective identities of the team, but also the individual identities of every player, however, should not be ignored. Wayne Smith, for example, acknowledges the importance of individual responsibility and achievement "… whilst there is no 'I' in TEAM, there is in WIN, so management of each individual is [still] critical to us [the Chiefs]" (Wayne Smith, personal communication 2013). The Ranga Framework and LMX theory also acknowledge the importance of individual identity and it is from this basis, that we can now consider what role mātauranga ā-iwi played in the culture and values of the Chiefs.

Mātauranga ā-Iwi

Mātauranga ā-iwi is about tribal knowledge which Doherty defines as "… the relationship between the tribe and its land base … specific to an iwi and its rohe" (Doherty, 2012, p. 26). The Waikato rohe has a large Māori population base, which is the reason the original Chiefs' team emblem was of the upper body of a Māori chief (see **Figure 2**). Since 2012 the Chiefs players have personalised the logo, giving it a name and, perhaps more importantly, an identity ('Jeff the Māori'). This unofficial figure has been connected to the land with legs, connecting him to his tūrangawaewae where he can stand and say 'this is where I belong'. The players have also imbued their own players' creed and set of behaviours on it and see this logo as symbolic of their

collective identity: "… the boys call him 'Jeff the Māori', so they have put legs on him and it is about what we're about in regards to being family and about earning respect and earning the right to play …" (Rennie, 2012).

Figure 2: The original *Chiefs* logo

Mātauranga ā-iwi is also evident in the naming of sub-groups or "mini-teams" within the team which Rennie (2012) explains are referred to collectively as 'Pā Wars' because they are named after various marae around the region. They have been given names such as Tūrangawaewae, Te Pūea, Pūkawa, and Ngāti Ranginui. The Tūrangawaewae marae, for instance sits alongside the banks of the Waikato river in the town of Ngāruawāhia and is highly significant to followers of the Kīngitanga movement because it is where the movement began and is the official residence of the current Māori King, King Tūheitia.

Further examples of mātauranga ā-iwi themes and practices evidenced at the Chiefs since 2012 can be witnessed in the words of Chiefs' Head Coach, Dave Rennie:

> Our attack and our defence are based around Māori themes … our defence is tainui in regards to that sort of big wave or wall in front. We call our attack stuff paoa … to strike, to attack … it's been really good. The boys have bought into it and enjoyed it and it's helped us to grow … Chiefs' mana. (Rennie, 2012)

In reference to the quote above, one of the historically and spiritually significant waka (vessels) that Māori voyaged to Aotearoa on was the Tainui waka which eventually settled in Kāwhia, a coastal village in the Waikato region, and Ngāti Pāoa is one of the main tribes in the Tainui and Waikato rohe where the Chiefs are based.

Another example of the Chiefs using Māori artefacts to reflect their core values can be seen in the use of a haka (war dance) and toki (axe):

> … we've got a toki that we give out to the player of the day … and the boys understand the significance behind that. A lot of those elements have gone a long way to creating the sort of culture we want here. (Rennie, 2012)

To date, the Chiefs are the only Super XV team in Aotearoa New Zealand to have their own haka (culturally significant dance) which Chiefs' player Hika Elliot says their players helped to compose (TV3 News, 2012). The team's haka incorporates a well-known whakataukī about the Waikato, *He piko, he taniwha.* Once again, like the opening whakataukī of this chapter, there are different layers of meaning for this proverb. Literally, it means that around every bend [of the Waikato river] there is a taniwha, a mythical creature imbued with cultural and spiritual meaning for Māori. In the Tainui rohe, the term taniwha refers, in a complimentary way, to chiefs suggesting that, in the Tainui, along the banks of the Waikato river, there are numerous chiefs.

A chief also refers to a person of tremendous influence, and this expression underlines the mana of the Waikato people. From the team's perspective, this whakataukī reflects their link to the region, to their supporters, and would also have meaning for the team internally. Perhaps this meaning suggests that every player has

the ability and responsibility to influence the team in a positive way. The incorporation of this whakataukī into their team haka and the use of the toki are symbols that, from an outsider's perspective, seem to reflect values that would be considered more generic to Māori such as whakapapa (kinship) and kotahitanga (unity). These generic concepts in tikanga Māori, along with others, will now be considered in more depth in relation to mātauranga Māori.

Mātauranga Māori

Though closely related, Doherty (2012) stipulates mātauranga Māori differs from mātauranga ā-iwi in that it accommodates the core values and principles that apply to all Māori. Essentially, each iwi (tribe) and hapū (sub-tribe) can have their own local definitions and applications of their own values and principles. Thus it would be somewhat naive to suggest a 'one size fits all' policy for global Māori values. However, Doherty also suggests there are some principles, beliefs and core values common across all Māori which he considers to be some of the fundamental values of mātauranga Māori for all iwi regardless of rohe: whakapapa (genealogy), manaaki (caring), kaitiaki (guardianship), waiata (song), and pōwhiri (formal welcoming ceremony). Some of these values along with others considered 'generic' to Māori culture will be illuminated in regards to how they are reflected in the Chiefs' culture.

Edwards (2012) explains that whakapapa and mātauranga Māori are inextricably linked as no conversation on mātauranga Māori is complete without discussing its relationship with whakapapa. Professor Whatarangi Winiata of Ngāti Raukawa, according to Edwards, gives a rather succinct explanation of the term whakapapa as the ability to "ground oneself …". "Whaka" he explains as "to make", and "papa" as "the earth" or "ground" (cited in Edwards, 2012, p. 48). The connections here to the Chiefs' region through the coast-to-coast voyage, incorporation of significant marae and waka into team names and tactics, the physical and emotional investment in creating a team base, and the symbolic grounding of 'Jeff the Māori' are clearly related to the concept of whakapapa. There are also clearly explicit attempts by the team to connect to the whakapapa of the Tainui rohe, where the team is based, through team rituals (for example, the haka) and artefacts (for example, the toki).

An example of manaaki i ngā tāngata katoa (caring for all people) and how the Chiefs had achieved effective 'buy-in' from the players and the wider community can be found in the team's haka which, as mentioned previously, includes the expression 'he piko, he taniwha'. The notion that 'around every bend is a Chief' is also inclusive of all cultures, not just Māori. According to their numerous online videos, it appears that, in the Chiefs' environment, it matters not if your ethnic background is Fijian, Tongan, Samoan, Cook Island, Māori, or New Zealand European/Pākehā. The message is culturally responsive to inclusion and caring, if you identify as being a Chief then it does not matter what your ethnic background is.

The concept of 'whanaungatanga' (relationships), which is closely related with manaakitanga, was also illustrated to be important to the team. Wayne Smith mentioned the role whānau (extended family) played in constructing their team facilities at the start of their 2012 season and leading up to the 2013 final. The players, coaches, and support staff brought along photos of family and loved ones and placed them on the wall called the 'Pā wall' which Rennie suggested was all related to a lot of the themes they had incorporated during the season.

As New Zealand Herald reporter, Patrick McKendry (2013), observed:

> As a device to concentrate their minds during the week, the Chiefs coaches had a Māori pā drawn on a wall at their Ruakura base. Inside the sketched village were attached photos of the players' families and friends - a powerful reminder of where they have come from and whom they were playing for.
>
> A copy was made and taken to their Waikato Stadium changing room on Saturday night. It was one of the last things they saw as they ran out onto the field …

Carrying on the theme or value of whanaungatanga, many of the team members also carried their children up onto the stage to receive their champions' medals after the final.

In terms of kaitiakitanga, the waharoa (gateway) at the Chiefs' home ground in Hamilton has two traditionally carved Tainui tīpuna (ancestors) watching over any,

and all, visitors and spectators into the stadium. According to Wayne Smith (2013), they also have two team waiata that they sing when the appropriate occasion arises.

Although not specifically identified by Doherty (2012) as all-encompassing, a further example of mātauranga Māori in action can be seen in another of the team's core foundational values kotahitanga (unity). This collective self-identity (Lussier & Achua, 2012) idea could also be indirectly attributed to the successes of the 2012 and 2013 Chiefs' campaigns through their interpretation of the whakataukī *Mā pango, mā whero, ka oti te mahi*, the use of the haka, and the unity emphasised between the team, their loved ones, the region, and the community.

Multi-Centric 'Generic' Knowledge

Lastly, we come to the top or beginning of the Ranga Framework which Doherty states "… is used to describe knowledge that does not come from Māori" (Doherty, 2012, p. 17). In this sense, generic refers to all forms of knowledge outside of mātauranga Māori, mātauranga ā-iwi, and Te Ao Māori (the Māori world view).

From an outsider's perspective, it proved difficult to distinguish any evidence from public sources that the culture of the Chiefs environment incorporated tangible or intangible facets of 'generic' knowledge. Not to say this type of knowledge was not highly valued or promoted in their team environment, more that these were not emphasised by the media or by the team members. Perhaps this is because they are the taken for granted 'norms' in a rugby context and not explicitly obvious because they are already so deeply ingrained into rugby culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Some of the comments made by the coaches in public forums and through personal communications to the author, suggest that the values and norms of rugby are not necessarily incompatible from mātauranga Māori concepts and values. In particular, the physicality that is often mentioned as a 'trait' of Māori was mentioned by both Wayne Smith and Dave Rennie as an aspect of mātauranga ā-iwi and mātauranga Māori that helped them to create a champion team, to promote a 'winning' culture, and to physically and emotionally encourage the players to invest in the team's vision and mission:

> "Mā whero …" could also mean with blood we get the job done—that would be really appropriate given how much the boys spill on the field! (Wayne Smith, personal communication, 2013)

> "… leisurely Māori were pretty brutal … ruthless … clinical … smart, so we adopt a lot of those values." (Dave Rennie, 2012)

Conclusion

From a Te Ao Māori perspective the Chiefs have been a shining beacon of success, not just on the field, but also off it, insofar as they integrate things Māori into their everyday routines and rituals. In the prelude to this publication, for example, Edwards wrote he would like to "… see Māori existing in ways that are unashamedly Māori … [that] living and being Māori has the opportunity to occur in daily engagement, in our work, in our relationships, in all facets of our lives" (Edwards, 2012, p. 46). Certainly, this appears to be so for all people (not just Māori) in the current case study at the Chiefs franchise.

In terms of LMX theory, it would appear appropriate to conclude that during their 2012 and 2013 campaigns the Chiefs' coaches and players enjoyed more than just low-quality economic exchanges (that is, transactional leadership). Indeed, it seems that through the incorporation of a clear identity (individual, relational, and collective), mātauranga ā-iwi, mātauranga Māori, and generic knowledge more closely associated with elite sport and the physical sport of rugby union, high-quality, social exchanges were developed and nurtured.

This, then, demonstrates transformational leadership in action (Lussier & Achua, 2012) and ultimately organisational success for the Chiefs franchise. Moreover, what this case study suggests is that the incorporation of mātauranga ā-iwi and mātauranga Māori is by no means detrimental to the performance of a professional sporting team. The adoption and promotion of a culturally responsive and inclusive approach to team culture, values and vision has had a positive impact on the performance of the Chiefs both on and off the field. It has also shown that Māori culture does count when it comes to contributing to a winning team culture and effective leader-follower relations.

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Māori-Tūhoe Epistemology: Sustaining Tribal Identity Through Tūhoe Performing Arts

Dr Tina Ngāroimata Fraser

He Kupu Whakataki

He mārama te kite ki roto i tēnei tuhituhi, kia mōhio ki a koe anō ka pai tō hīkoi ki roto i te ao whānui. Mā te pupuri ki ngā tohutohu a ō pākeke, ngā kuia o Tūhoe, mā te mōhio anō ki tō papatipu whenua e mau kaha koe ki te kaupapa nei, te mātauranga ā-iwi. Ko te tuakiri o tōu ake iwi, tō kāinga kōrero e tipu ai tō tuakiri whakatau i tō ngākau. Nā roto i ngā hīkoitanga o ngā tau, ki roto i ngā papatipu kōrero o tēnei tuhinga, ka tipu te Tūhoetanga e hono atu ana ki ngā purapura mātauranga o ngā taumata kōrero o Te Ahurei a Tūhoe, ka tipu taku matemateaone. Nā ēnei āhuatanga whakapākeke mai i ahau, ka kaha au ki te titiro ki taku ao e noho nei au ki Kānata ki te taha o ngā iwi taketake. He ōrite rātau, ngā iwi taketake o Kānata, ki a tātau, ki ngā iwi Māori; he rapu, he kimi, he whai oranga mō ō rātau kāinga, ā rātau kōrero ā-iwi, me te mātauranga ā-iwi. Koia tēnei ko tā tēnei tuhinga whakapae. Ko taua whakapae i tipu mai i roto i te aroha, koia tēnei ko tēnei tuhinga.

Introduction

On a beautiful drive out to Calgary, Alberta, Canada, and throughout the Rocky Mountains where the trees were green, the sun was so bright, the animals were roaming looking for attention, the beautiful streams and emerald lakes sparkled, the glacier and the snow-capped mountains glistened, the tourists were lurking, hikers and bikers were exploring and investigating the wonders of the land. With all this excitement, while traveling, I glanced over to my right side, looked up to a beautifully ice-capped moulded Indian[29] chief's image. The image was in the shape of a chief wearing a full head piece with a prominent astute facial expression. I suddenly became thirsty and pulled over to the glacier for a drink. As I got out of the car, heading for the glacier waters, I knelt down for a drink where I became so exhumed with emotions that I began to cry. The water was cold but so sweet; and as I glanced in the water, the Chief appeared from the mountain and softly spoke such sweet words "… You have come for a reason, not because you are thirsty, because you are hungry. You see, if you look closely into the water, you will see the many faces of our warriors who fought and died for our land, language, and our people. You will notice that the water you are drinking is the tears that belong to our people, cold but sweet. The sweetness represents beauty within the land, animals, water, plants, language, and many more … The coldness is the people who want to destroy the very essence of our being … native to the land, the first peoples[30] of Canada, the protectors of the Rocky Mountains, the knowledge holders of the traditions, protocols, customs, prayers, dances, and the songs. The experience you have gained in today's lessons will fill you up until you become hungry again, and after that, you must continue to search for higher knowledge."

Although this chapter is entitled *Māori-Tūhoe Epistemology: Sustaining Tribal Identity Through Tūhoe Performing Arts,* it is important for me as a Māori, Tūhoe woman, and someone who has lived abroad for many years, to set the context of where I am writing from, where I am today, and with hope that this chapter will reach the hearts and minds of many people who have relocated to other countries. What is important to note is the cultural knowledge possessed despite the location.

29 Indian is a term used by previous policy-makers within the Canadian Government. This term no longer applies to the general population. It is a derogatory term that relates to racism and oppression.

30 First Peoples are known to be the descendants of the original inhabitants of Canada and who have lived on the land since time immemorial (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development). Retrieved on 14 April 2013 from http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca

Life Long Journey

I began with a story of my spiritual journey while travelling through the Canadian Rocky Mountains to a "Healing Our Spirit Worldwide" conference in 2006. The story depicted a time of life changes, a plea for harmony and balance, and cultural revitalisation. Living amongst the Dakelh[31] Nation in Northern British Columbia, Canada, for forty years and being immersed in a world view similar to my growing up Tūhoe, I experienced trials and tribulations of knowledge which were both positive and negative. The teachings from Maungapōhatu to the Rockies as my kuia would say, "It takes a life-time to learn." On several occasions, I would return home to visit my whānau (family), hapū (kinship group), and iwi (tribe), but spent most of the time with my grandmother and great-grandmother. Their favourite questions upon arrival were: "Kua mōhio anō koe ki te kōrero Īnia?"; "He rite anō ngā Īnia i a tātou?"; and "I whānakohia ngā whenua o ngā Īnia e te Pākehā?" Somehow, I never really paid attention to their questions and, in a way, took it too lightly—but they were quite serious. I realised a few years later they were testing me. In other words, if I came home and couldn't answer their questions, what was the sense of my leaving home—meaning Ruātoki or Waiohau. Not once did they say to me, "Me hoki mai koe ki te kāinga." I can assure you from then on I paid close attention to what they were asking and always returned home with some information. Perhaps, they were hoping that I would return home speaking the Dakelh dialect. After their passing, it dawned on me just how much I missed their teachings and lessons, and learning from them. I also realised that I was missing an important component of my cultural identity and that was the situated learning. After all, I had learned most of my early learning of Māoritanga (Māori identity) andTūhoetanga (Tūhoe tribal identity) in the latter part of my teen years on the marae around the elders, learning the language, protocols, customs, traditions, and every day practices up until I left for Canada.

I was always captivated by my kuia's teachings and gentle reminders of "Kaua koe e wareware, nō Tūhoe anō koe." Those were all good points to make because my situated learning had shifted to Canada; learning and experiencing a different cultural style of knowing.

31 The Dakelh territory includes the area along the Fraser River from north of Prince George to south of Quesnel in British Columbia, Canada. The usual English name, Carrier, is a translation of the Sekani name for Dakelh people, Aghele. According to some elders, the term derived from the fact that when a Dakelh man died and had been cremated, his widow would pack around his bones and ashes during the period of mourning. http://maps.fphlcc.ca/dakelh

I had moved from Maungapōhatu, a place of my knowing and being, a rich culture that possessed ancestral knowledge and practices. It was a big decision to leave my whānau, hapū, and iwi—particularly my cultural practices. Not very many Māori people left their countries back in the days, and certainly not Tūhoe women. Māori identity emanates from the land. It is a place where self-awareness, mana (status), and importance originate (Bennett, 1979). Likewise, indigenous[32] people share a common belief that the land and environment play a major role in regard to knowledge. As briefly addressed by John Rangihau, "… the spiritual and emotional connection of the people to the land is central to their ways of being" (Rangihau, 1992, p. 158).

Setting the Stage … Looking, Listening, and Learning

The lessons learned from my place of being are what sparked my interest for exploring *Māori-Tūhoe Epistemology: Sustaining Tribal Identity through Tūhoe Performing Arts*. I remember attending the Tūhoe Festival back in the 70's when my kuia was tutoring one of the competing groups (Tūhoe ki Waiohau). I paid little attention to what was taking place before me. Who would have guessed that almost four decades later, I would find myself back home, thirsting for more knowledge and hungry for the rich culture I left behind. As I sat amongst the audience during the 2005 Tūhoe Ahurei,[33] my mind travelled back in time to my early years of learning. Some things had changed, and yet there were still remnants of previous cultural gatherings. Gone were the old faces of our elders—people whom I had cherished— aged were the faces of my once vibrant aunts and uncles; confident were the faces of the many nieces and nephews I had only seen as babies; and there was the next generation—fresh faces full of excitement and joy as they played around the adults, demanding money to purchase food, clothing, flags and DVDs. Silently, I acknowledged them all. These were the people who have kept my culture alive. They keep the home-fires burning for people like me. Now it was time for me to give back to my people.

After witnessing and engaging in Te Hui Ahurei, and upon returning back to Canada, in 2005, I was accepted into the PhD programme at the University of British

32 Indigenous peoples are the inhabitants of their own traditional lands, territories, space.

33 Tūhoe Ahurei is a biennial event celebrating Tūhoetanga. This term, Tūhoe Ahurei, is used interchangeably with Te Hui Ahurei, Ahurei, and Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe.

Columbia, Canada. Prior to my course completion, I was aware of what needed to be done. It had to be something that would benefit the community. This was going to be my gifting back, but I needed our community members and performers to be involved. This was not just about the performers but the people who supported the performers as a whole. Their voice and vision was critical to me because they are the people who lived via the experience of kapa haka (cultural performance). After seeking guidance from the community and the tutor, I returned home for the 2007 Ahurei where I was able to interview the elders, knowledge holders, and the youth. I relied heavily on community voices to fill in the gaps around changes that the festival had undergone, the emotions that performers were expressing, the depth of knowledge that went into the songs, and the interconnectedness of participants to their genealogical and geographical kinship ties.

The following sections are the voices of those I Interviewed for my research. These are their stories, their memories, their ways of knowing and being. All of the key knowledge holders interviewed were kapa haka performers and supporters. All direct quotes are identified as being the voice of a kaihaka (performer), kaitautoko (supporter), or kaiako (tutor).

The Learning Stage … Ways of Being

Some of the many common themes noted by the performers included:

- Tūhoe people owe their identity to Tūhoe Pōtiki and their tīpuna who fought hard for their land.
- The language, protocols, traditions, customs, and collegial sayings seem to be key to the performers who deemed themselves to be Tūhoe.
- The marae, shared by many, is a good place for learning about tribal identity. It gives people a sense of belonging to whānau and whanaungatanga. This is a place for celebrating each other's achievements, while at the same time showing humility, and taking an opportunity to learn about matemateaone (the notion that people and place are synonymous).
- Whanaungatanga brings out the good and challenging times. Building relationships, taking the time out for your family, and getting to know them personally is important to whānau.

- On a spiritual level, we feel and express emotions through songs and movements. We feel the land and see the faces of our tīpuna.
- Kapa haka encourages unity, self-healing, spirituality, and it builds our self-esteem so we can be proud people, Tūhoe.
- Our identity is embedded within our tribal stories; the legacy of preservation and sustainability. The stories are passed down from one generation to the next.

There is a Māori historical narrative that tells of a young warrior named Rata who wanted to build a canoe. He entered the forest and cut down a totara tree. The next day he returned to the forest and the tree had been re-erected. Eventually he discovered that the birds and insects were responsible. These forest beings explained that he (Rata) must first seek permission from Tāne (guardian of the forest). This story encouraged me to be more respectful of how I engage with my environment because all things are living and, thus, deserve respect.

The Learning Stage … Ways of Knowing

Our parents, grandparents, and ancestors are our biggest contributors of historical knowledge. Many performers made reference to learning by observing events on the marae during funerals, weddings, birthdays, and many other gatherings. Cultural discipline on the marae was also identified as a learning tool with reference being made to such things as roles and responsibilities, protocols, tikanga, and kawa. If we crossed the boundaries, you can be sure we would hear some of our kuia either yelling across the wharenui (meeting house) or just giving us 'the look'. Children were taught the process at an early age. If there were speeches, funerals, or other things going on we knew enough not to run across the marae. Many of the key knowledge holders spoke of how they learned about their environment growing up, how that environment nurtured and healed them, and how they learned from other forest dwellers such as the insects:

> … when I first learned about kawakawa leaves, I was shown what they looked like and later sent out into the forest to pick some. The leaves were a dull green colour and had holes in them where the insects had chewed. I always made sure

> to pick leaves without holes. Later, I was informed that those with the holes in them were the best leaves to pick ... because the insects only eat the best leaves. (Kaitautoko)

Much can be learned from the environment and we need to observe the animals, birds, and insects who are sharing the same space. As a child, raised on the marae, situated learning was a big part of life: "… being a child brought up on the marae, knowing your tūrangawaewae, your papakāinga, you learn to listen to what the elders are trying to teach you." (Kaitautoko).

For many performers, they enjoy participating in kapa haka. Songs have a way of bringing out the emotions and feelings of what our ancestors must have gone through. The songs, words, music, and singing are the mauri (life force) and mana of the group. The message contained in the songs allows people to hear the group as a hapū, a whānau, and iwi. Also, it pertains to whakapapa. One performer recalls driving down the road when she noticed an impressive looking plant, an idea for the group's costume. By utilising the environment in a spiritual manner brings the costumes alive during performance. You can feel the essence of ancestral knowledge through the kākaho[34] plant.

The Learning Stage … Ways of Teaching

The performers all agreed that kapa haka was the best place to learn language, build relationships, and communicate with one another during practices. Reiterating, we must first practise what we preach. Peripheral learning is one good method because sometimes people learn without realising it. This is evident as the young performers mimic the songs and the actions. Many mentioned how they enjoy taking their little ones to practice simply to expose them even though they are playing outside. The children hear the songs, often peeking from the doorway or window. The seed of desire begins with exposure:

> … I could leave my children at home if I wanted to so they don't get in the way when I am practising, but I choose to take them so they get to meet the other

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34 *Arundo conspicua*, or reed-grass.

> children, gain the experience and have some sense of what I am experiencing, and they can develop a hunger for wanting to learn about who they are as Tūhoe. (Kaihaka)

Kapa haka allows the group to come together to learn in a familiar and controlled environment, while practising the disciplines of haka. We learn the stories of our region and our ancestors in a friendly environment but discipline is always imparted. We have to keep in mind that we are practising for an event, Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe, and if we want the audience to know how serious we are about the stories we are sharing, then we have to condition ourselves to be disciplined. During practices the members of the group teach each other how to cook for large groups, clean, prepare food, sing, and perform with confidence. The trick to training a group is to get them to understand that everyone is responsible for each other:

> A performer is only as good as those they are performing with … a performer may know their entire bracket of songs but if the person next to them does not, then both performers look unprepared. So it is in the best interests of the more skilful performer to assist the newcomers. (Kaiako)

Aside from learning actions, choreography, words, singing, and stories, most recognise that there are other things you learn from kapa haka. Those things include emotional involvement—love, compassion, caring, trust, and passion. They also involve mana, ihi (essential force), wehi (awe), ownership, resistance, a sense of security and empathy.

The Production Stage … Piupiu as an Identity Framework

There is a common symbol of being amongst the Māori people of Aotearoa, that is a piupiu.[35] This section will give the readers a brief overview of how the piupiu is used as an identity framework. It is also a personal connection for me, not only as a previous performer, but as a young child who learned peripherally. I remember the many hours my grandmothers and great-grandmothers spent in the hot sun and/or the cold damp winters weaving such beautiful belongings. The gathering of the plants;

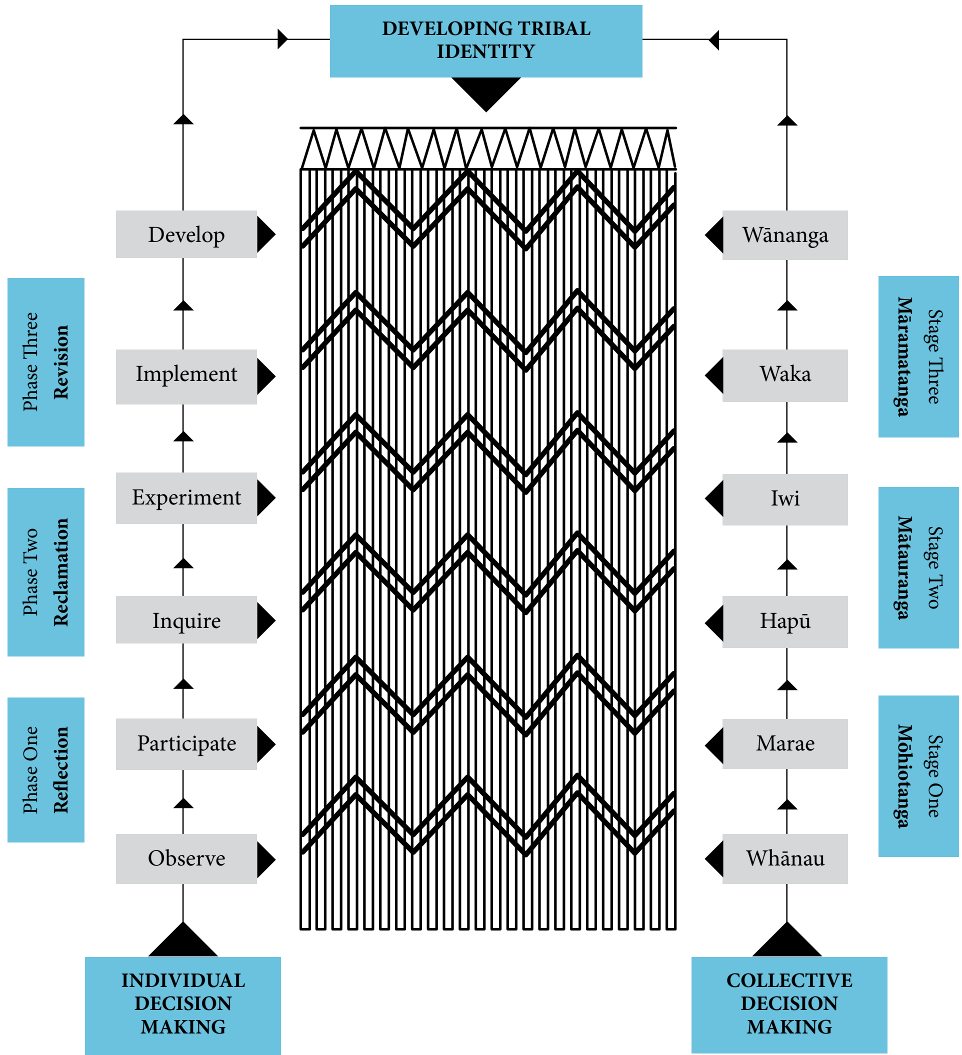
35 Piupiu—Also known as a grass skirt which is worn most commonly by Māori people. The skirt is made from a native flax plant called harakeke (phormium tenax). The plant grows abundantly in Aotearoa and plays a significant role in the operations of everyday Māori life.

the aroma that filtered through the air mixed with their *Pocket Edition* tobacco, the mussel or pipi shells they used to scrape the plant, the sweet conversations in te reo Māori (Māori language), and finally, their finished products. For example, floor or ground mats, baskets, and piupiu. The following discussion will demonstrate how the piupiu is used as an identity framework.

Prior to discussing the philosophy that underpins tribal knowledge and identity, I want to acknowledge the piupiu identity framework model and the many years of dialogue from Canada with my younger sibling, Hōhepa Tamehana. His many years of performing are what led us to using the piupiu as a framework. He is a long time performer, tutor, song writer, composer, and choreographer for Ngāti Haka/ Patuheuheu, and other performing arts group. The words within the model stem from those who are living as performers, or from the performing arts supporters. In this particular model, the woven band at the top of their piupiu represents the one thing that unites Tūhoe, that being Tūhoetanga. It is Tūhoetanga that determines the origins, nature, methods, and limits of Tūhoe knowledge according to Tūhoe. Each individual strand represents the community (whānau, hapū, and iwi), and displays a pattern not like the next. The patterns represent the diverse skills, knowledge, and understanding that we have as individuals, whether they are in oral traditions, genealogical, and/ or geographical knowledge, environmentalism. They also represent the ability to reciprocate and interact socially whereby we acquire knowledge and skills, and/or understanding from each other. As the person moves their body, the strands of the piupiu move in different directions; this is symbolic of the different paths we take as individuals, the journeys and experiences that we have. During the motions, it is not easy to see the pattern of the piupiu. Once the person becomes stationary, the strands all fall back into place displaying the full pattern. This represents the communities as a collective bringing their various skills and knowledge for the benefit of the tribe, thereby creating unification. The two feathers at the top stem from the huia[36] bird. In earlier times, the feathers were used to signify the importance of rank or social status. Within the identity framework, the huia feathers represent the practice of self-determination and self-governance of the people.

36 *Heteralocha acutirostris,* a now extinct bird which had prized tail feathers.

Piupiu as an identity framework[37]



37 Designed by Hōhepa Tamehana, 2005, for the purpose of my research.

To get a sense of how the piupiu is used as an identity framework, I will set the context in two parts. The first part will highlight the three phases with an explanation of individual decision-making based on reflection, reclamation, and revision. The second part includes the three stages of collective decision-making based on mōhiotanga (understanding), mātauranga (knowing), and māramatanga (enlightenment) that pertains to Tūhoe identity according to the performers, and community members.

Part 1

The **first phase** speaks to "Reflection". It is about who we are as Tūhoe tribal members. It depicts the people who have been raised within but who are now disconnected from their tribe, and those who have never had the opportunity to engage with, or who have found it difficult to enter into, their communities as a participant. What is important to note are the principles of whakapapa (genealogy)—the relationships between people. As it was identified by the performers, "… being Tūhoe is a right that is inherited through the blood of the forefathers" (Kaitautoko). It is a beginning stage, learning about who you are as a tribal member. Ngā kōrero pūrākau (tribal narratives)—the various stories passed down through songs, dance, and storytelling—are a way that connects the people to their ancestors. Also whakawhanaungatanga (family values)—a Māori cultural value esteemed amongst many Māori people who are away from their kinship ties, but who will perform amongst others despite their tribal affiliation. Deciding what Tūhoetanga is, and what it entails for the individual requires an individual's decision making to observe and participate. For example, an individual who is a first time performer will observe by sitting amongst the audience. Peripheral learning is an opportunity to gain knowledge by looking, listening, and learning. Being accepted as Tūhoe also requires an individual to participate by supporting the group. This may involve cooking, babysitting, and costume making. Once an individual gains confidence, he/she is more likely to apply their observations in practice.

The **second phase** applies to "Reclamation." This phase is similar to people who were raised away from their community but have maintained a connection by returning home for gatherings, funerals, weddings, birthdays, land claims, and festivals. In this phase, the experienced performers become responsible for

extra-curricular activities. Often they become the practitioners as assistant tutors, researchers, and organisers. The identified principles within this phase highlight whakapapa—a genealogical link between the people, environment, and land. This is normally done through their pepeha (a formal statement of their ancestral mountain, river, marae, tribal affiliation, chieftainship, canoe) and tikanga/kawa (protocols/procedures).

The **third phase** is based on "Revision", that is, people who were raised within the community, who are fluent speakers of the Tūhoe dialect, and who have been raised in Tūhoe ways of knowing and being. They are often the 'movers' and the 'shakers' within the tribe who are likely to challenge tribal identity with the intent of further development. The identified principle looks at te taiao (environment)—the pinnacle of understanding about who a person is as a tribal member, is te taiao. People who are raised on and by the land recognise that the environment is vital to their existence. Likewise, the land provides sustenance, traditional plants, and all things imbued with spirit. The trees are not just trees, they represent the lyrical sounds of the ancestors, their history pertains to many conversations, songs, chants, incantations, prayers, and many other forms of relationships, and interconnectedness of ancient knowledge. Many people in this phase have learned to read their environment, to observe the behaviours of the insects, birds, and animals, and are able to determine the best time for eeling, or to understand the moon cycles and the best time for picking traditional plants. When we, as tribal people, fight for the land, we fight for the language imbedded in the land which links the individual to their identity. What is Tūhoetanga without their tikanga and kawa as noted earlier in the second phase of reclamation? It is a way of uniting and engaging people in procedures that are governed by the marae. Much like the piupiu strands which flow in many directions, but once stationary the pattern is uniform as a collective.

Te reo ā-iwi (tribal dialect) is viewed as follows: "… life depends on breathing, speaking depends on breath. Therefore, every word that is spoken has life breathed into it and is acknowledged as a living entity" (Kaiako). The teaching, as most performers will tell you, should not be confined to the home but expanded out to public arenas. Te reo o te kāuta (informal language), te reo o te marae (formal language), and te reo o te tohunga (likened to the language of academics) are

important to Tūhoe as indicated by the *Tōku Ora, Tōku Tūhoetanga* (TOTT) document, 1985. Tūhoetanga also involves strategies such as implementation of tribal language programmes and resources, with the intent of tribal development. Being raised and fully immersed in the ways of Tūhoe, the people are able to identify changes that may affect traditional ways, while at the same time incorporating new knowledge to benefit the tribe. Because the people at this stage are grounded in their values, principles, and beliefs, they are able to articulate or fine-tune old and new knowledge. For example, they can create relationships and alliances within Māori, Polynesian, and other indigenous communities. This focus becomes Tino Rangatiratanga (Māori Independence), and Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe (Tūhoe Self-Determination) which they pursue with a rigor and passion that is reflective of who they are, as Tūhoe.

Ehara i te mea poko hou mai nei, nō Hawaiki mai anō.

What you see here is not new, it originates from Hawaiki.[38]

The above proverb can be interpreted in relation to the practices of the people. Developing practices is important to sustaining tribal identity, but there will always be a connection or presence of elements connected to the distant past of Māori.

Part 2

The next section of the piupiu identity framework is demonstrated in the three stages mōhiotanga (understanding), mātauranga (knowing), and māramatanga (enlightenment).

Hokia ki ō maunga kia puhia koe e Tāwhirimātea.

Return to your mountains so the god (Tāwhirimātea) of the winds will caress you.

The metaphor used to look beyond the horizon begins with possibilities, hope, and a vision-quest. As we lay the foundation of knowledge at the base of the mountain, it is our responsibility as a people to make the connections to our ancestors; to obtain and seek higher knowledge despite the location; to maintain our identities; to preserve our

38 Hawaiki is the original homeland of the Māori people.

language and our ways of being and knowing; and to continue building relationships. But, as and when needed, we must always return home to replenish our spiritual, energetic, and mental being.

One of the many ways to inform the inquiring and transforming mind is to reflect upon lessons taught. By identifying different levels of learning and understanding amongst performers, it can only be expected that we look at unique forms of evaluating and assessing. We, as individuals, must be open to self-motivation. If we introduce new methods and processes, we must be able to justify them. If we are unsure of our existing methods or approach to our cultural practices, it is important to seek clarification and validation from the whole. Challenging ourselves as individuals, and as a collective, we see the relevance of existence. For example, in kapa haka, the tutors are the evaluators and assessors of the performers. Within this process, come tribal roles and responsibilities. One just needs to ask, what is the legacy we are leaving behind? We continue the previous legacies left behind from our forefathers and pass the same messages to the next generations. This is reciprocal teaching and learning.

Conclusion

Finally, a suggestion put forward by a community member proposed that a legacy plan be put into place. I proposed a six step project plan that could be useful.

Step 1	Allocation	Choose an initial research team. Nominate a coordinator.
Step 2	Investigate	What will the costs involved in creating the project be? What is needed to sustain and maintain the project? Copyright/Intellectual Property Rights. Identify the need and importance of the project. Identify the projected outcomes.
Step 3	Discussion	Present the idea to the people. Give a report of the investigative findings. Explain what will be expected of the groups. Allow the people to have an input or to present questions.
Step 4	Design	Design the project according to community input perhaps, using a single kapa haka group to start. Invite people to be a part of the design team.
Step 5	Re-present	Re-present the design to the people for feedback and to give input.
Step 6	Implement	Implement strategies to ensure that knowledge is protected by creating ways to scrutinise how the resources are accessed, by whom, and for what purpose. Create processes that will make it easier for composers/tutors to log relevant information.

The proposed plan can be discussed during an Ahurei delegate meeting. This is important because there are many traditional chants that, through time, have lost the composer's true intentions or definitions of why a chant was written, and by whom. The information may include the year the song was composed, the year of performance, the name of the group and other relevant information.[39] Such data can

39 Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe is notable for its themes. For example, a theme such as Tōku Ora, Tōku Tūhoetanga (My Life, My Tūhoe Identity) may be presented to the performers and tutors. Tutors and composers then write songs about the theme to be performed at the next Ahurei.

be stored in an online database accessible globally via search engines with search related tags to make locating it easier. If a person wanted to research information on Te Rīwai Tapu (the sacred potato), they would enter the words into a search engine which would then display the names of all groups who have performed a composition regarding that topic.

In closing it is my hope that the words of our people will touch the hearts and minds of the readers, policy-makers, the leaders who continually work effortlessly and tirelessly to maintain tribal identity, and the people who keep the home fires burning.

E tipu ai a Tūhoe!

Tūhoe will endure!

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Walking in the Interfaces: A Story of Coming to Know

Dr Margo Greenwood

He Kupu Whakataki: Aku Kupu ki Taku Tama

Aaron, e taku tama, taku mātāmua, ko tō hiahia kia mōhio pai koe nō hea koe, nō hea tō whānau, me ngā kōrero tuku iho o tō whānau. E tuhi atu nei ahau i ēnei whakaaro ki a koe kia mōhio ai koe he aha ahau, tō māmā, i takahi ai ki tēnei taumata mahi, e tuhi atu nei ahau i nāianei. Ka tīmata nei ahau ki te tuhi i taku tuhinga kairangi, e kite ai ahau ka noho pakari aku whakaaro mōku ake, me taku hiahia kia pakari taku mōhio ko wai ahau me taku kaupapa. Nā roto i taku tuhituhi kairangi nei e kitea ai e ahau i tōku māia, tōku pakaritanga. Koia tāku e tuhituhi atu nei ki a koe, e taku tama, kia noho mārama mai ai koe ki te huarahi e whāia nei e ahau. Me taku tūmanako tonu e kite mai ai te hunga pānui i taku tuhinga kairangi e kitea mai ahau me aku mātāpono e tūhono mai ai rātau ki ahau, ahau ki a rātau. E hīkoi ngātahi ai tātau i roto i ēnei whārangi, kia whakamārama, kia uia atu, kia whakaaro noa me tō tātau whakangungu rākau mō te 'tiaki pai, whakapākeke pai' i ā tātau tamariki kōhungahunga.

Ka hihiko katoa taku ngākau kia piri pono atu ahau ki a koe Aaron, me taku ako mai i ētahi atu tāngata. Ko te hononga ki ētahi atu te mauri tau o aku whakaaro e tipu ai te puna kōrero o aku whakaaro.

Nō roto ahau i ngā ao e rua, ko taku māmā he tauiwi, ko taku pāpā he tangata whenua taketake o Kānata. Kia mārama ahau ki tēnei hononga ka tipu te tuakiri ki roto i ahau ko wai ahau. Ko tēnei tuhinga upoko āku, he āta whakahuihui mai i ngā taumata ikeike kia rapua ngā akoranga tika, pono, ātaahua hei whakapākeke pai i ā tātau tamariki kōhungahunga hei kāinga kōrero mō āpōpō, haere ake nei ngā tau.

Opening: A Note to My Son

This is an excerpt from the larger research study upon which this chapter is based. It is a start to my relationship with you, the reader.

> I am writing this note to you, Aaron, as my eldest son. You have always wanted to know more about your roots, about your family, and your history. I am also writing this note to you so that you will understand how I came to be in this place, in this time, doing this work. The journey of writing this dissertation has strengthened, and continues to strengthen, my understanding of myself and the topic I seek to learn about. It is in this relationship of learning that I position myself by writing these notes to you about my learning. I also hope that readers of this dissertation will gain enough information about who I am so that they may enter into a relationship with me. We may then walk together through these written pages, describing, questioning, wondering, and learning about what 'good care' of young indigenous children is.
>
> I have not included my whole life history here but have chosen those pieces that I think are most relevant. Even as I write these memories, I am cognisant of always being in a relationship as I learned, and continue to learn, from others, like you Aaron, and the world. This concept of relationships permeates my being so that these stories become important in you knowing and understanding my work. They also illustrate my beliefs about reality—we live in a sea of relationships with each other, with the world and all that is in it. This view of reality then influences me throughout my life, including this study right down to why I chose my

research question and what I did to learn about it. I will tell you more about this later. And so I begin.

I have lived all of my life in two worlds. I was born of an English mother and an Indian father in the years following World War II. That makes me a person of mixed blood by today's Canadian norm; using yesterday's, I would have been called a half-breed. Colonial legislation, even until present day, prescribes who is an Indian and who is not. This external determination of identity only serves to confuse and frustrate. Understanding this and the importance of identity to the cultural continuity of our people provides me, both personally and professionally, with the motivation to question our being in the world.

Introduction

The year 2005 marked the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the First Nations Inuit Child Care Initiative and Aboriginal Head Start Programmes in Canada. These formalised early childhood programmes were designed to provide access to affordable, quality child care to support parents who were working or attending school, to provide early intervention services to Aboriginal children and their families, and to enhance child development and the school readiness of Aboriginal children. This was also the year that I undertook my doctoral research, a study that examined the impact of these on-reserve First Nations early childhood programmes on our children by asking questions like: "Are the programmes doing what they were intended to do?"; "Are the children learning what parents and communities believed it was important for them to learn?"; "Do government and community policies and strategies support the development and implementation of the programmes?"; and "How can other indigenous peoples' experiences inform the development and implementation of early childhood programmes and services in the Canadian context?"

In all this work, I was reminded of an elder's question that was posed when we were developing one of the early childhood programmes. She asked, "Are we creating residential schools in the hearts of our communities for our little children who are even younger than I was when I went to residential school?" This question strengthened my commitment to supporting these programmes and ensuring that

they would imbue our children with their culture, their language, and their traditions, customs and protocols, thereby ensuring cultural survival and continuity. The question also prompted me to look to others who had made this journey before us, to learn from them, and to share with them.

Te Kōhanga Reo offered such a place from which to learn. The Māori of Aotearoa/New Zealand had established the Te Kōhanga Reo Trust in the early 1980s whereby kōhanga reo (language nests) were set up in various communities. These early childhood settings had been created at the direction of the Māori kaumātua (elders) and with very limited assistance from the Department of Māori Affairs (Fleras, 1983). Te Kōhanga Reo was, and continues to be, a 'grassroots' movement that builds upon the social and cultural constructs of Māori society.

Anishinaabe artist and performer, Shandra Spears (2005), says that the world is made up of stories. These stories form our understanding of the world, our relationship to it, and every aspect of our learning about it. There are, according to Spears, "many stories to tell". This chapter is an excerpt from a much longer narrative that chronicles my doctoral research undertaken with indigenous people in both Aotearoa/New Zealand and Canada. Thus, the words in this chapter simultaneously tell a story of an academic research endeavour, as well as coming to understand other cultures and, in that, understanding more about my own.

The personal story I tell here is written from my place as a woman of Cree ancestry, as an indigenous scholar, and as an advocate for children and families. I present it as an illustration of the concept Research is Ceremony (Wilson, 2008), and in the context of advocacy for bicultural competence as an important goal for inhabitants of a world in need of peace and social justice. There is no single truth. Instead there are many ways to know and be in the world, as seen in diverse cultures around the globe (Little Bear, 2000). In this rich diversity, I am convinced that valid research with other individuals and collectives relies on the construction of mutually respectful relationships. This conviction is anchored in an indigenous knowing that espouses the connection of all beings and things, thus demanding relational ways of undertaking research and creating new knowledge.

This chapter is the outcome of the generous gift of relationship and knowledge offered me by the Tūhoe people and others who travelled with me on this journey of coming to know.

The Journey Begins: Preparing to See and Learn

Entering Community

I met Tina Ngāroimata Fraser at the urging of her husband. He knew that we both worked in early childhood and shared a commitment to it. Through my relationship with Tina (and later her brother, Hōhepa, and her whānau) I entered Aotearoa/New Zealand and the traditional lands of the Tūhoe. In this journey, Tina was culturally responsible to her whānau (extended family), her hapū (kinship group), and her iwi (tribe) for my actions while in Aotearoa/New Zealand. She and her brother were at my side throughout the whole research process. As Tina was responsible, so was I. I drew upon my own elder's teachings, and those of my grandfather, to establish respectful relationships and to honour the gift of knowledge being given to me by trying to understand and experience the lives of the people.

Prior to our departure, Tina began to teach me necessary protocols for engaging culturally and respectfully with Tūhoe people. I wrote a letter of request to Tina's father, a respected kaumātua. The letter described the place where I was born and grew up, and my ancestors three generations back. It also contained a request to learn from the people so that the knowledge gained could inform my current work with communities and governments in developing First Nations and Aboriginal early childhood programmes and services in Canada. The answer was "yes".

Arriving in Aotearoa/New Zealand

I was introduced to Aotearoa/New Zealand through participation in a pōhiri (a welcoming ceremony) held at a Māori run health centre in Auckland—I would experience the same ceremony the following day as I entered the lands of the Tūhoe. We, Tina and I, were welcomed by a woman who sang a chant to which Tina responded with an ancient chant given to her by her mother. This part of the welcoming ceremony is known as the karanga. Once this chanting was complete, we,

along with other members of Tina's family, walked into the building and were seated in a row of chairs facing our hosts. Tina's family took over from here. There were whaikōrero (speeches) followed by waiata (songs). Long after the ceremony, I asked why there were songs after each speech. I was told that when Māori speak in ceremony, they are in a sacred realm and the songs are meant to purify, or lift any sacredness from, the whaikōrero (formal speech) as well as connect us to the ancestors. I, too, had to give a speech—a speech about myself and why I had come to Aotearoa/New Zealand. The closing of the ceremony was a round of hugs and hōngi (where you touch your forehead down to your nose with the other person) for everyone. I learned that the hōngi is a sacred action—it infers that you both take in the same air and as such are one.

Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe (Gathering of the Tūhoe Nation)

Observing and understanding kapa haka (Māori performing arts group) preparations and final performance at Te Hui Ahurei[40] was intended to ready me for my visits to some Tūhoe kōhanga reo. Hōhepa knew that the knowledge contained within the preparations and performance itself would also be evident in these kōhanga reo. There is an underlying philosophical knowing that threads its way through the community structures and activities supporting and reinforcing cultural protocols and practices. One of those events is Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe.

Te Hui Ahurei, a cultural festival specific to the Tūhoe tribe, is intended to encourage Tūhoe tribal members to return home—to the home fires, where they can regenerate their knowledge of being Tūhoe. The festival embodies the traditional kapa haka of the Tūhoe and mirrors the protocols of the marae. There are 12 brackets (or sections) for groups to compete in. Many attendees of the Ahurei equated the festival to a biennial kōhanga reo for adults where Tūhoe gathered together for a time of celebration, learning, sharing, and caring. This gift of knowledge helped me to recognise what I was experiencing and why I was experiencing it in the manner that I did. What follows is a recounting of Hōhepa's teaching that prepared me and added to my understanding of Te Hui Ahurei.

40 Tūhoe Ahurei is a biennial event celebrating Tūhoetanga (Tūhoe cultural identity). This term, Te Hui Ahurei, is used interchangeably with Ahurei and Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe.

Each performance begins with a choral piece, the waiata tira. The choral piece can be written on anything and has no actions. It is judged on how well the group sing together, how diverse their harmonies can be, and whether or not they portray that sound in accordance with the words of the song that they are using.

The second item is the whakaeke or entry onto the stage. The entry is written about who you are, your sub-tribe, or it can be an acknowledgement to whoever is hosting the festival. This is where the majority of your choreography is—in the entry. You are judged on how well you execute that choreography, how well you work together as a group, and whether or not the actions and choreography are appropriate to the words that you use.

Third is the wero. The wero is part of the welcoming process. A Māori challenger comes out and he lays down a peka (branch), which is laid in a specific way. When they have the welcoming ceremony on the marae (traditional meeting complex), the challenger puts down the peka for the people that are coming onto the marae. If it is picked up by the visitors, then they come in peace. If the visitors do not pick it up, then they come in war. The wero is judged on how well the individual person completes this process. When the warrior turns around to slap his thigh, that means that the person has picked up the token to say that they (the group) may come in peace; the group can then follow.

Following the wero is the karanga, or call of welcome. A girl or woman must do the karanga. She calls three times: the first call goes out to the manuhiri (guests, the people that are coming onto your marae, the visitors); the second call is to the dead who they bring on with them, their dead, so that the spirits of their dead can be united with the spirits of our dead—that we mourn our dead together and they be made as one.

The men's haka-pōhiri or peruperu (postural dance) is the fifth item. Once complete, the haka is followed by the third karanga which asks the visitors to settle. The karanga is to let them know, "You can now relax, you're part of us".

The sixth section is called the rau rākau, the woman's welcoming dance, and is done with leaves. The woman leader will lead the women and bring them up to the front of the stage. They do their welcoming dance, te rau rākau.

> The whaikōrero, or male speech, follows as the seventh item. The welcoming speech is based on specific reasons for being at that festival.
>
> Once the whaikōrero is completed, the mōteatea or traditional chant is performed. These are the old songs referred to as the waiata koroua because they are the old men's songs.
>
> The ninth item to be performed is the waiata-ā-ringa or action song that is written on a topic of your choice.
>
> The poi follows next. The poi is the women's dance and also refers to the name of a ball on one end of a string. The poi was originally invented by the men to strengthen their wrist muscles for use with their weapons.
>
> Eleventh, following the poi, is the haka, the men's war dance. The haka portrays a story often on a controversial subject.
>
> The last item is the whakawātea, or exit off the stage. This item is characterised by its focus on choreography. (Hōhepa Tamehana, personal communication, 2005)

Learning From the Kōhanga Reo

Implementation of the kaumātua's dream for language revival and ultimately the survival of a people, hinges on the whānau and its inherent right and responsibility to make decisions concerning the wellbeing of their children. The whānau is the structure upon which the administration of te kōhanga reo is built; it is part of the whakapapa that forms the foundation for Te Kōhanga Reo movement. It is not by mere circumstance that the parents of children attending kōhanga reo are offered the opportunity to learn with their children. As Smith (1987) writes:

> … Te kōhanga reo was established in response to Māori concern about the imminent loss of their language. In order to address this loss, te kōhanga reo established very strong whānau bases, so that families could learn the language together, and so that the teaching and learning of Māori language was facilitated in a supportive, loving, and caring environment. (p. 13)

These learning opportunities are grounded in a set of principles that identify the rights of children and family and also articulate the obligations of the broader collective in the care of children. The five guiding principles are:

1. It is the right of the Māori child to enjoy learning the Māori language within the bosom of the whānau.
2. It is the right of the whānau to nurture and care for the mokopuna.
3. It is the obligation of the hapū to ensure that the whānau is strengthened to carry out its responsibilities.
4. It is the obligation of the iwi to advocate and negotiate for, and to resource the hapū and whānau.
5. It is the obligation of the government under the Tiriti o Waitangi[41] to fulfil the aspirations of the Māori people for its future generations.

(Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board, 1995, p. 4)

Hōhepa, Tina, and I had identified two potential kōhanga reo sites—one urban, and one rural—both located on traditional Tūhoe territory. Although situated in different locales, these kōhanga reo were guided by Tūhoe kaupapa in their language and their implementation of the programme. I created an invitation letter introducing my study and inviting each kōhanga reo to participate. These letters were hand delivered to the potential study sites by Hōhepa who also answered any questions they had. It is important to note that I first met Hōhepa on one of his many trips to Canada, and from that time I had reviewed my study many times with him including how the community would be involved and what the processes for data collection would be. From these conversations I learned cultural protocols and acceptable social behaviours for engaging with communities. He learned about the study and why it was important to hear people's stories about the nature and goals of the kōhanga reo and how they could inspire other indigenous people around the globe. Both sites we had selected agreed to participate in the study. What follows is a description of one of those sites and select findings from both sites.

41 Treaty of Waitangi

We, Tina and I, were invited to the morning session of the kōhanga reo. Upon our arrival, we entered into a large open room with murals on the walls. To one side hung a large aqua-blue fish, it was handmade, painted by the children. This fish matched their sea mural. Each sea creature had a name label in Māori beside it. On the other side of the room hanging from the ceiling was a net with kai moana (food from the ocean). In the middle of the room, also on the ceiling, was Matariki (Pleiades, a star constellation). We sat on benches in a corner of the room. The children were seated on the floor in a semi-circle with the kaiako (teacher) and kaimahi (helper) assisting the toddlers and infants. The children sang a welcome song and a performed a haka. The kaiako then told the children who we were and why we were there. She referred to us as aunties. Following a circle pattern, some of the children came over to talk to us, but I could not speak Māori so I could not communicate verbally. One little boy took considerable time to show me a new truck he had brought from home that morning (I learned this later from the kaiako).

Later in the day, when I got to visit with the parents and caregivers, I wrote their words down and, in some cases, I recorded them so I would not forget. I wrote a personal journal at night. I used writing as a way to concretise what I was learning about my research questions and equally about myself and my learning. I spoke with Tina and Hōhepa about what we had experienced that day. In all of this, I was mindful of my role as an academic researcher and as an outsider to the community. I adhered to all the appropriate ethical protocols as set forth by the academy. And yet, what was most important to me was that I maintained integrity in the relationships I formed, and that I honoured people's gifts of knowledge.

Training

Later that morning, when the children went outdoors, I had the opportunity to have individual conversations with the kaiako and kaimahi. These conversations, like our snack time, had to take place in the kitchen away from the children because we were conversing in English. I had prepared semi-structured questions to ask the kaiako and caregivers as a way to start our conversations about the workings of the kōhanga reo. It was in one of these conversations I learned that before formal training became a requirement for te kōhanga reo employees, the CEO of Te Kōhanga Reo

National Trust, Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi, decided that kōhanga reo children were entitled to all the benefits that other early childhood programmes enjoyed, including trained teachers. With this in mind, a little red book, and later, a little blue book were developed by the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust. These were the first training guides for te kōhanga reo.

The little blue book had a series of questions that focused on a person's character. They were designed to ascertain what it is about you that makes you want to be in the kōhanga reo (Caregiver, 2005). In these early days, after successfully answering the questions, a teacher had to have his or her book signed off by the kaumātua. This attestation by the kaumātua held the kaiako (teacher) responsible for the mokopuna and the language. (Community Administrator, 2005)

Language and Identity

In the afternoon, of the same day, I had conversations with parents. Individual parent interviews were scheduled by the kaiako. These conversations were to take place in the staff room away from the children so again, they would not hear us conversing in English. The centrality of language to all things Māori cannot be overstated. Language, in all its constructions and meanings, is the cornerstone of cultural knowledge and identity. This is what I learned from the people I visited with. One parent told me that, "… the concept of language isn't just about speaking Māori; the language is the whole context of our lives" (Parent, 2005). These words of a young parent mirrored those of Tangaere's (1997) description of a kaumātua's words at the 1979 conference in Wellington:

> A people without their own language has no power. According to the Māori the language is sacred because it was given to the ancestors by the gods and linked the people to Ranginui and Papatūānuku. The Māori language has a life force and a spirit; it is the central touchstone for the culture. (p. 8)

Parents emphasised the importance of their children knowing exactly who they are. That meant knowing their culture, their tribe (Tūhoetanga —Tūhoe ways of being), their tikanga, and their whakapapa as a way to distinguish individuals and bloodlines.

> It's also the love that is shown … It's what we term whakawhanaungatanga (our wholeness) … my ancestors meet with your ancestors. It's about my rivers … identifying with your rivers and being one; and being able to do that. When I speak of that, it's almost being in the same place as people and being one breath. That's the identity I speak about in language. (Parent, 2005)

All of the parents and caregivers underscored the importance of whānau to children's growth and development. They told me how the kōhanga reo had taught their children about family, of embracing the concept of whānau, and of bringing family closer together. And for those who do not have strong family ties, the kōhanga reo taught them about whānau so that one day that child may grow up to embrace those values with his, or her, own children at some stage as they become adults. The centrality of family was evident in the very structure of the kōhanga reo with responsibility for what is taught, how it is taught, and how the programme is administered resting with the whānau. In this, I saw the philosophical principles of Māori knowledge expressed in the social structures and transmission of Māori knowledge.

Bicultural Possibility

Parents' desire for children to be able to prosper in both worlds did not detract from their commitment to their Māori language and identity, and in fact, in some cases illustrates the challenge of maintaining that commitment. When asked about school readiness, parents agreed that that was something they wanted for their children along with te reo (the language). Despite her family's cautions about her children not being able to do their numbers or the alphabet if they attended the kōhanga reo, one parent told a story of finding the exact opposite to be the case. A parent and community member, now a principal in a primary school, after years of teaching in a kōhanga reo said:

> Getting them ready for the rudiments of teaching in a primary school: yes … I wouldn't labour the children into doing it through the day in terms of the fundamentals of reading and listening. We wouldn't go down that track until just before the child was due to go to school. Other aspects of school readiness happen anyway as a result of activities in the kōhanga.

> I'll teach them how to [be in school]. You just give them the language … if you can do that for me then that child is 90% on the way down the track to learning … with oral language comes written language. The more oral language they have, the more written language they will have. (Community Member, 2005)

At base, parents, caregivers, and community members stressed the vital importance of bicultural considerations in childhood development, particularly in the area of language fluency and school readiness. The idea of bicultural considerations has personal resonance for me—it has equipped me to be successful in multiple realities, in both my personal and professional life. I continue to come to understand those identities that exist within me and to know how important those understandings are for children. Elder, Ellen White, sums up that importance:

> To young people my grandparents always said—You'll do all right if your hands are both full to overflowing. One hand could be filled with the knowledge of the White man and the other could be filled with the knowledge of your ancestors. You could study the ancestors, but without a deep feeling of communication with them it would be surface learning and surface talking. Once you have gone into yourself and have learnt very deeply, appreciate it, and relate to it very well, everything will come very easily. They always said that if you have the tools of your ancestors and you have the tools of the White man, his speech, his knowledge, his ways, his courts, his government, you'll be able to deal with a lot of things at his level. You'll not be afraid to say anything you want. A lot of people keep back—they say,—Oh, I might hurt them—I might say something. When your hands are both full with the knowledge of both sides, you'll grow up to be a great speaker, great organizer, great doer, and a helper of your people. (cited in Neel, 1992, p. 108)

Our conversations and visits were over; we were done for the day. We were again invited to share food with the staff. It was at this time that I gifted each person I spoke with a painting done by one of our local indigenous artists from back home, along with a larger canvas for the kōhanga reo itself. The gifts were not meant as payment but rather to honour and show respect for the knowledge that was shared with me.

Closing Thoughts: Reflecting on What I Learned

These closing paragraphs are meant to reflect on what I have learned and how I learned it. Telling this story means engaging myself to understand the relationships I experienced as I thought how this new learning would (and does) influence my work in early childhood at home. I raise my hands to those who taught me, the kaumātua, the whānau of the kōhanga reo I visited, and to Tina, Hōhepa, and their whānau who brought me to Aotearoa/New Zealand. All of these people shared in my journey and each played a significant role in the experiences I learned from. I am grateful.

The kaumātua's dream of preserving the language gave birth to the kōhanga reo for children and their families. The social cultural structure of whānau formed the foundation upon which the kōhanga reo was built. The desire to preserve and ensure the continuity of te reo, in all its richness, directed what was taught and how children were taught. I often heard the kōhanga reo being referred to as the beginning of a movement, a movement that was both decolonising and self-determining. I learned that the very existence of the language and the people is a decolonising strategy. Graham Smith had said to me early on in this work, and I am summarising here, that nothing is apolitical when it comes to identity and citizenship for young indigenous children; "… early childhood is a contested place, a place of struggle, and a place of de-colonisation" (Personal communication, G. Smith, Spring, 2007). I now have a much better understanding of what that means.

Conclusion

Finally, it is important to revisit how it is that I undertook this research—how I came to know. I go back now to where I began. I am even more convinced that research across cultures relies on engaging in mutually respectful relationships that are anchored in a social, cultural, and spiritual knowing that emerges as you experience the phenomenon you are studying. This way of learning demands an openness and willingness to see and to hear new things, in new ways. It is about reciprocity and giving of oneself, about sharing, and about responsibility. I was responsible not just to myself and the university but, more importantly, to the people I was learning from and to my ancestors that stood beside me. I was responsible to my teachers for the

opportunities and gifts they had given me. I am responsible to use those gifts in a "good way" for my children and for those who are yet to come.

For the Children of the Mist:

The mist is rising from the hills and what I have learned becomes clear.

And what I have yet to learn is in the mist for another day.

Meegwetch.

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Indigenous Epistemology: Spirit Revealed

Manulani Aluli Meyer

He Kupu Whakataki

Ko tēnei mea, ko te mātauranga ā-iwi, arā atu anō tōna whānuitanga, tōna ritorito whakaaro. Ahakoa he aha, kei konā anō tōna whānuitanga—kei waho atu rā mō tēnei kaupapa te mātauranga taketake ā-iwi o te tangata. Ko te huarahi hei whai mā tātau katoa, ngā iwi taketake o te ao, he rapu, he whakatipu huarahi e ora ai te mātauranga ā-iwi. He whakatū taumata kōrero, taumata tūhono kōrero hei rapu i te māramatanga mai i ngā kokonga kāinga katoa o te hinengaro e mau ai te rongo o te māramatanga o te mātauranga ā-iwi. Whāia ko te rito o te whakaaro, whāia ko te hā o te whakaaro, whāia ko te kunenga kia kitea, kia mārama, kia ora. Kua tae ki te wā kia whakawhānuitia te mauri ora, te mauri tū, te mauri whakatāhu, te mauri whakaoho kei roto i te wai Māori, wai takutai moana, te āhuatanga o te momo tangata e mau ai ki roto i tana reo kōrero. Tērā pea, mā te mōteatea, mā te kōrero whakataratara, mā te

māramatanga, me te titiro ki te kōingo o te whakaaro. Koia te kaupapa o tēnei tuhinga whakatau.

A'ohe pau ka 'ike i ka hālau ho'okahi.

Knowledge is infinite, effulgent, and never-end.

Knowledge is more than what we think it is. *It is much more.* Now, how to discuss it within the 'one-truth' epistemology[42] currently entrenched in our psyche. How to detail the vital but collapsing distinction between universality and uniformity with the wisdom of specificity affirmed in experience. This is the challenge of our time. Here is a new, old way to envision this through the mounting impossibilities found in all current social systems. Here is a doorway into indigenous knowing, and here is where *spirit is revealed.*

Indigenous epistemology, or what endures with regard to knowledge systems, clarified itself with the succinct truths of Yupik anthropologist Oscar Kawagley, Tewa educator Gregory Cajete, Ngā Puhi theologian Māori Marsden, Tongan writer Epeli Hau'ofa, and Lakota world scholar Vine Deloria Jr. It also flourished within native people of India in the mystical writings of the Upanishads, Patanjali, Nityananda, Ramana Maharshi, Krishnamurti and many others. "You must experience the inner significance of the thing seen" (Nityananda, 1996, p. 196). Persian poet Jelaluddin Rumi also helped to bring us back to the kind of thinking and feeling that kept meaning alive, and knowledge transformative, as translated in Barks (1997):

Stars burn clear all night.
Do that yourself,
and a spring will rise in the dark
with water your deepest thirst is for.

This different understanding of epistemology began with my own Hawaiian people. It came from listening to those grounded in *na mea waiwai* (the depth and richness

42 The 'one-truth' epistemology describes an Aristotelian position—one cannot hold two opposite truths to be true simultaneously. This notion ultimately dismisses Quantum Science findings, that is, the Uncertainty Principle.

of our own knowledge traditions). It was delivered through song by those who understood the emotion of rains, and why stones were gendered. It arrived from those who sailed vast open oceans with veracious acumen and mythic curiosity. The idea that native people have a unique way of engaging with the world birthed *cultural empiricism*[43] without apology. It was almost too obvious—this notion that sensuality is culturally instructed and geographically situated within a quantum plenum.[44] Clarity grew from under blue sky and within clear water as beaches and streams nourished my understanding and dreams, and detailed noa huna (the secret insights from seen/unseen sources). It came from 'ike mo'olelo', (our stories and the consciousness), but it was the practising of our own ideas found in our own language that instructed my thinking the most.

Ulu a'e ke welina a ke aloha.
Loving is the practice of an awake mind.

It is time to expand the discussion of knowledge with a more ancient capacity linked to land, water, people, and language. Time to extend knowing beyond cognitive accumulation perfectly rendered in textual form. Here is a space for mindfulness to enter the academy via chant, insight, and spirit. We are long overdue for intelligence that recognises patterns of continuity and remembers the purpose of culture—*best practices of a group of people specific to a place, over time*. Here we begin to simplify an ethic of truth-telling inclusive of subjectivity and all its spectacular potential beyond the bias and conflict of interest systems I have neither invented nor ascribe to. Here is where consciousness transforms from an inside longing for meaning, into an outward expression of relevance. Here is where we begin: with indigenous epistemology.

Indigenous Epistemology

Ma ka hana ka 'ike.
Knowing is through experience.

43 Cultural empiricism is knowledge gained via sensory modalities shaped and directed by one's culture.

44 In philosophy a plenum is space entirely filled with matter.

We begin this journey from text into context, into the place where principles are practised and simultaneously tied to the needs of place and people. Do you see the common-sense coherence of that idea? Light travelling into this space requires simplicity organised around purpose. What is it? What is our purpose for knowledge? What is the distinction between knowledge, knowing, and understanding—between mātauranga, mōhiotanga, and māramatanga? Here is where ancient ways of knowing begin to make sense. Function is vital with regard to knowing something. A daring proposition indeed!

So let us outline seven universal ideas discovered in the specificity of my own Hawaiian knowledge world view. They set a stage for indigenous epistemology that continues to thrill and confound, instruct and scold, lift-up and challenge:[45]

- Knowledge that endures is a spiritual act that animates and educates.
- We are earth and our awareness of how to co-exist has always been present.
- Our senses are culturally shaped offering us distinct realities.
- Knowing something is bound by how we develop a relationship with it.
- Function is vital with regard to knowing something.
- Intention shapes our language and simultaneously creates our reality.
- Knowing is embodied and in union with cognition.

Because of the depth and breadth of each category, this article will only sketch briefly the first epistemological characteristic—the spiritual nature of knowledge. As each theme operates as a hologram, detailing one will give the reader a glimpse into all the others (Meyer, M. 2013). This is the nature of enduring patterns of knowledge—they are whole, but parts of the larger expansive whole (Wilber, 1995). One cannot see a new paradigm on the horizon unless the individual concepts are described and the mind can make sense of the new image, and then a whole (k)new[46] world opens up to us. Here is the 'event-horizon'[47] of science ("Event Horizon", n.d.). Here is the future of

45 First detailed in Meyer (2003).

46 Mahalo to Dr. Shane Edwards of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa for this idea of (k)new. It supports the notion that we are in a time of remembering and forging ahead with familiar principles within new forms—(k)new.

47 In general relativity, an event horizon is a boundary in space/time beyond which events cannot affect an outside observer. In layman's terms, it is defined as the point of no return. For the purpose of this article, an 'event horizon' means that we are at a point where epistemology will change, must change, because of the needs of our time.

hermeneutics seasoned with the spice and kick of inevitability. Yes, why not bring in the grace and wisdom found around our own kitchen tables?

Knowledge that Endures is a Spiritual Act that Animates and Educates

Here is the pivot of indigenous epistemology and the main focus of this article—the idea that spirituality is at the core of what knowledge is sounds more mythic than logical. Such is the contradiction of our times: to speak of an implicate order with an explicate lexicon. How, indeed, does one describe apples with an orange vocabulary?

The Oxford Dictionary of English (Stevenson, 2010) describes the adjectival use of spirituality in the following ways:

- relating to or affecting the human spirit or soul as opposed to material or physical things;
- having a relationship based on a profound level of mental or emotional communion;
- (of a person) not concerned with material values or pursuits relating to religion or religious belief.

As a noun, the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* describes spirituality as 'something that in ecclesiastical law belongs to the church or to a cleric as such'; the *Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary* says, 'the quality that involves deep feelings and beliefs of a religious nature, rather than the physical parts of life' and online dictionaries provide definitions such as: 'property or income owned by a church' (Word.net); and 'property or revenue of the church' (Dictionary.com); and Wikipedia explains:

> The term **spirituality** lacks a definitive definition although social scientists have defined spirituality as the search for "the sacred" where "the sacred" is broadly defined as that which is set apart from the ordinary and worthy of veneration. The term "spirituality" is derived from the Latin spiritualitas. It means to be put in motion, to be a living person, and being driven. In a Biblical context it means being animated by God. ("Spirituality", n.d.)

Many interpretations exist for spirituality—such is the nature of maturing knowledge systems. Some definitions make it a noun, others an adjective. We are not discussing spirituality as property owned by a church, or feelings of a religious nature, or ecclesiastical law, or as Biblical text. For the purposes of indigenous epistemology: 'Knowledge that endures is a spiritual act that animates and educates' is more synergistically tied to the Oxford definition 'relating to or affecting the human spirit or soul as opposed to material or physical things'; and to the Latin spiritualitas meaning, 'to be put to motion'—what animates us; what makes us a living person. Of course, this second definition was rendered by Wikipedia, the organic intelligence movement dismissed by mainstream academia. Why, pray tell, is that? Why again do we not go directly to the 'whakapapa genesis'[48] of an idea and then make up our own minds?

> I like to deal with spirituality from a functional methodology by describing what it **does** to me and to some other people, and how it changed my life and transformed me, rather than struggling with what it is. (Gong, 2013)

Now, pepper in radically unique world views steeped in distinct languages, landscapes, rituals, and traditional values and you have the script for a philosophical blockbuster! Is there any wonder clashing views of knowledge were inevitable in the making of new societies shaped more often by conquest than by collaboration, by imposed religion rather than by choice, and finally by foreign languages erasing conceptual ways in which to understand the world? Text became the new context and an odd consciousness, fashioned from epistemological remnants, trying to make sense of itself outside mono-cultural familiarity and geographic intimacy. We are in this world now, and the animating principle for how knowledge is valued still remains that which gives it meaning and makes us a 'living person'. It is indeed that 'which is set apart from the ordinary and worthy of veneration'. Let us take a look into these aspects of knowing something that have remained for a reason.

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48 *Whakapapa genesis,* discussed by Te Haumihiata Mason, infers that knowledge, ideas, skills and practices come from a specific source if they were indeed indigenous (aka: enduring). April 10, 2013, He Waka Hiringa, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa: Masters of Applied Indigenous Knowledge, Mōhiotanga Kōnae Ako, Hamilton.

Aloha as a Knowledge Hologram

Ko te whare o te Aroha ko te wairua.

The dwelling place of Aroha is wairua.

(Mere Simpson, personal communication, June 6, 2013)

Aloha is our true intelligence. That is an epistemological idea. It is time to bring forth the essence part of form and the true rigour found in knowledge systems that have endured—indeed, thrived— despite tremendous and heart-stopping odds. It is a telling that will inevitably bring forward ideas, synonyms, and principles to extend a life-force struggling under the weight of dual systems found in our predictably empirical world. It is time to lighten the load of knowledge systems with loving intelligence that recognises wholeness. It is time to be rigorously definitive of the affective realm in facets of knowledge production and exchange. Why not begin to detail the 'dwelling place of aroha' as the space where reason evolves? Like an infant waiting to be fed, don't you think it's time to pick up this child to raise and nourish with the food of the ancients? The separation of the mind from the body, and the body from feeling, and feeling from awareness, is the point here.

Aloha is the intelligence with which we meet life.

(Olana Kaipo Ai, personal communication, September 4, 2001)

Here is an idea that changes all others; a healing that helps detail a wider, deeper, and effulgent discussion of what enduring knowledge systems entail. Here is the third facet of a world-wide trilogy I have learned to call an epistemological hologram. It was the most accurate way to include wailua (spirituality) already present but dismissed because of the politics and scholarship of the day. It is the simplest way to detail enduring, indigenous epistemology:

Table 1: Holographic Trilogy of Enduring Knowledge Systems[49]

Physical	Mental	Spiritual	Source
Perception	Conceptualisation	Remembering	Yoga Sutra
Mana'oi'o	Mana'olana	Aloha	Native Hawaiian
Techne	Episteme	Phronesis	Aristotle
Objective	Subjective	Cultural	Karl Popper
External	Internal	Transpatial	Ken Wilber
Mōhiotanga	Mātauranga	Māramatanga	Māori
Instinct	Intelligence	Intuition	Hale Makua
Empiricism	Rationalism	Mysticism	Ken Wilber
Facts	Logic	Metaphor	Mike McCloskey
Gross	Subtle	Causal	Ken Wilber
Seeing	Hominisation	Convergence	Teilhard de Chardin
Technical Rationality	Hermeneutic Rationality	Emancipatory Rationality	Henry Giroux
Consumer Intelligence	Re-creative Intelligence	Creative Intelligence	Molefi Asante
Hearing	Thought	Meditation	Buddhist
Life	Mind	Joy	Upanishads
Tinana	Hinengaro	Wairua	Māori
Force	Power	Liberation	David Hawkins
Looking	Seeing	Awareness	Shireen Maged
Knowing	Knowledge	Understanding	Manu Aluli Meyer
Coarse	Subtle	Secret	Buddha
Vuku	Kilaka	Yalomatua	Una Nabobo-Baba
Sensing	Presencing	Realising	C.O. Scharmer
Ways of Knowing	Ways of Being	Ways of Doing	Veronica Arbon
Voice	Thought	Silence	Rumi
Classic	Relativistic	Unified	Brian Greene
Dense	Dynamic	Still	Nityananda
Tamas	Rajas	Sattva	Upanishads
Interpretation	Mythic Maturation	Gnostic Revival	Taupouri Tangaro
Measurement	Reflection	Witnessing	Manu Aluli Meyer
Ike (to see)	Ike (knowledge)	Ike (revelations)	Native Hawaiian
Duality	Non-duality	Wholeness	Ken Wilber
Emotion	Feeling	Awareness	Spinoza
Pleasure	Happiness	Bliss	Osho
Temporal	Noetic	Ineffable	William James
Sensing	Thinking	Awareness	Eckhart Tolle
Matter	Consciousness	Super-consciousness	Vedic texts
Experiencing	Processing	Awareness	David Hawkins
Literal	Kaona	Noa Huna	Pilahi Paki
Whānuitanga	Hōhonutanga	Māramatanga	Hirini Moko Mead

49 All descriptors in this list have been collected during a life-time of experiences and readings, and kept as journal entries without citation. The list itself is self-evident of its own function and efficacy and is made coherent through this collective display. The quantity shown here is meant to clarify the quality of the idea—that enduring knowledge is mutually causal. It purposefully crosses disciplines and brings us into whole thinking inclusive of physical, mental and spiritual capacities that ultimately and simultaneously exist for, with, and because of each other. Complementarity, non-locality, and non-seperability are three post-quantum science descriptors for this phenomenon. Ko au, ko koe; ko koe, ko au. *I am a part of you; and you are part of me. We are part of everything together.*

This list was gathered from a life-time of experience. Table 1 as knowledge is self-evident. It is organised in this manner so patterns can be seen. What do you notice? Take your time. Read it slowly. Organising knowledge in a physical, mental, and spiritual manner is not a new idea. Ken Wilber (1995) refers to this trilogy as The Big Three. Pythagoras described it as the three Principias. Swiss Renaissance alchemist, Paracelsus, called it the Three Levels of Self. Hale Makua, Hawaiian elder-mystic, called it the Three Souls. Vedic texts referred to this trilogy as the Three Categories of Nature (Meyer, 2013). This list changed my life as a Hawaiian philosopher-practitioner. It was the main insight shared with colleague Dr. Selina Akhter—spirituality is a critical perspective in post-modern epistemology.[50]

Collecting the ideas in Table 1 helped me see and detail a world beyond the horizon of mainstream thinking. It helps me recognise multiple truths and I now see the role and purpose of awareness. This trilogy places classroom learners back into real time with authentic dialogue, and formative and summative assessment strategies that affirm their own sense of meaning by exploring their own interpretations of it. I am done colonising student minds with my own good intentions.

I have learned to let go of whether there are three, four, five, or 64 categories in this holographic trilogy. It is not a theory or number being described here—it is a pattern of thinking instructed from thousands of years of thought and experience, and from people in the business of waking up. This list is organised so we can begin to think more seriously of the role of spirit and all its synonyms: awareness, joy, wholeness, metaphor, māramatanga, aloha, and the more ineffable qualities of life within knowledge.

Ua ʻikea i ka mauli ola.

All is known through the source of spirit.
(Pulama Collier, personal e-mail communication, November 8, 2012)

A spiritual understanding of life brings forth the wholeness that already exists. Why are we not more engaged in this kind of scholarship? Truly. Why not? Why do we not

50 This idea was shared by Dr. Selina Akhter of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Lecturer for Tohu Paetahi Ngā Poutoko Whakarara Oranga—Bachelor of Social Work (Biculturalism in Practice). August, 2012.

see our dreams as an expression of another kind of rigour? Why not include joy in how we approach writing assignments? The problem as I have experienced it has been with words and who controls their meaning. The word up for discussion is knowledge and the meaning is something we do not all agree with. Here is the tension of society. It is as the Yoga Sutra warned us over 800 year ago:

> Word, meaning and perception, tend to get lumped together, each confused with the other; focusing on the distinction between them with perfect discipline yields insight into the language of all beings. (Hartranft, 2003, p. 106)

Here is the work of our time. We are focusing on the difference between word, meaning and perception, and of knowledge and as indigenous epistemology sharpens with the inclusion of wailua, so does our resolve. Fear lessens and a longing for wholeness keeps this discussion moving forward.

Understanding Wholeness

In this ancient culture there is no good, there is no evil.
There is only positive and negative, and everything has both positive and negative.
(Alex Pua'a, Molokai, personal communication, n.d.)

Lidu Gong, mystic librarian for Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's Manukau campus, found 47 definitions for indigenous knowledge and the common ground they all shared was holistic (Gong, 2013). This journey to understand indigenous epistemology thus became the search for wholeness, and we moved into energy, wailua, frequency, consciousness, and non-duality. This sojourn is not for the light-hearted or rigid-minded. It asks us to suspend our disbeliefs in the potential of structures driven by vision, conscious subjectivity, visual text, succinct orality, and unpredictability. We have long-ago entered a post-quantum world where these ideas have been critically dissected by a growing industry of science writers, research projects, and illuminating movies. Insights of our mutual causal interconnectedness have come as no surprise to indigenous practitioners and scholars grounded in natural systems. It has been the challenge of the past twenty-plus years to describe it to others, this world of the unseen manifesting itself with every glance of our consciousness.

> The negative polarity for the scholar is theory. The positive polarity for the scholar is knowledge. This reveals that true knowledge cannot be acquired through theory. It can only be acquired through direct experiential knowing. (Makua, 2003)

It is time for the positive polarity of scholarship. Don't get stuck in moral metaphors—we are discussing energy rising and the insights from Hale Makua, a beloved Hawaiian seer. Here is the return to common sense and why good medical surgeons, social workers, home builders, and relationships take time to develop through experience. The idea of wholeness is actually the practice of it. This is why indigenous knowledge is now needed in society. It is knowledge gained through generations of direct experience and with many insights lifted from oratory exchanges, debates, wānanga (robust discussion and learning), and shared histories. Our knowledge is found in songs, chants, children's games, wind names, dances that are cartographic, and in ancient oli (chants) describing our whakapapa, the stars, and our coral. It is stitched to clothing and speaks to us from every carved image. Observable knowledge is now the priority for a planet desperate for meaning.

> All our super meta-physical experiences in life must be brought down—past the philosophical and intellectual levels—into embodied living practices to be of any real use to humanity because in so doing, when one touches that consciousness even for a split second, you render Divine everything you do on this plane thru your life's practice. (Kereti Rautangata, 2013)

Here it is. Wailua is found in the quality of our life's practices. Pointing to ideas is not enough. It is found in how we inhabit these ideas. It is found in the quality of our relationships. Why wouldn't this include knowledge? It was best described by Hineāmaru Rōpati (2013) of Papatūānuku Marae: "My wairua and my sense of aroha were always full, nourished, and ignited by the wairua of my kaumātua and kuia—my version of effulgent coherence." And thus she learned. Here is the spiritual aspect of knowing something and why perhaps this kind of aroha at the centre of life makes it worthwhile. Don't you think it's time to recall this kind of knowing and have it re-enter our schools?

Indigenous Epistemology and Consciousness

> The point here is that this something—construction of matter or construction of beauty, systems of thought or systems of action—end up always by translating itself into an augmentation of consciousness, and consciousness in its turn, as we now know, is nothing less than the substance and heart of life in process of evolution. (Teilhard de Chardin, 1959, p. 178)

It has always been about consciousness. Always. The academic milieu is slowly recognising consciousness as a field of study; this discipline will bring to the foreground the soul of knowledge. We are in this process of evolution now and we must get it right: knowledge is more than what we think it is. It is the same idea that came one night while sleeping at the Old Government House on the campus of the University of Auckland in 2005 during my sabbatical. I was at that time reading Francesca Fremantle's work on the Tibetan Book of the Dead or, more accurately, *Liberation through Hearing.* An ulaleo—a night voice Hawaiians see as a positive omen—woke me and I wrote down the following message: *Death does not limit us; our thoughts on death limit us.*

Yes, it is the same with epistemology: *Knowledge does not limit us; our thoughts on knowledge limit us.* Change the thinking, change the idea—thus the trilogy of Mind, Body, and Spirit. Here is a simplified mechanism that has stepped from antiquity to engage future complexity within a consciousness we have access to via quantum and causal understanding. Mehemea nā te wairua i tohu, arohia (If guidance comes from the spirit, pay heed to it).

Ha'ina mai ka Puana: The Story is Told

Kanu nei au, aia iā ʻoe ka ulu.

I plant and the growth is yours.

And so it has begun. Indigenous cultures are indeed needed for these volatile times. Why? Because when we walk into a room, our thinking changes it; but we must be clear about how we differ. This distinction was the point of this article. Wailua is

this difference. This essay was meant to be a primer to introduce some (k)new ideas of indigenous epistemology so you recognise and remember something. Knowledge that endures is a spiritual act that animates and educates. It is. It truly is. This idea was summarised as a holographic trilogy: physical, mental, and spiritual. It was brought forward by whole-minded thinkers singing their truths with inspiring harmony and through their own mōhiotanga.

> Our fate will depend on how we understand and treat what is left of the planet's surpluses—its lands, oceans, species, diversity, and people. The quiet hub of the new movement, its heart and soul, is indigenous culture. (Hawken, 2007, p. 22)

The push for collaboration is thus on. As older systems are detailed and patterns of knowledge are recognised, be wary of the nostalgic pull of 'culture' and the caricature of our people's ideas. Our contexts have changed and we no longer share the same understanding of language, ideas, stories, or tikanga (cultural practices). Slow down all discussions and include cultural practitioners who are not theorists, but knowledge-keepers. We must bring different people into our spaces to support the change that is upon us. We must be rigorous about the role wailua has in knowledge development and exchange. The world waits for this kind of integrity forever animated through and by the relationships we have with land, sky, ocean, water, ideas, and people. Remember, it's the quality of our relationships that will help us evolve. This kind of intelligence is not simply indigenous, it is basic common sense. How we express it then becomes the distinction of cultures and the purpose of our lives. It is summarised in this Hawaiian 'olelo no'eau:

Ua ola loko i ke aloha.

Love gives life within.

Love is imperative to one's physical, mental and emotional welfare.

Here is the ngako of indigenous epistemology, here is the essence:

Amama ua noa.

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Collective Label of People from the Pacific Ocean Proper

Professor Sitaleki ʻAtaʼata Finau, Siʼata Tavite, Daleki Fole Finau

Professor Sitaleki Finau

He Kupu Whakataki

Ko tēnei upoko kōrero e rapu ana i te mana pupuri kōrero mai i ngā tāngata whenua o ngā moutere o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa. He whakaara i ngā reo o ngā iwi i tipu mai i ngā takutai moana, i waenganui i ngā ngaru whakapukepuke o Tangaroa. Kua roa hoki tō rātau reo e kore e arotia ana, e whakamanatia ana. He tuakiri tō te mātauranga moana kia noho hei mana tikanga ā-iwi, hei mana whakairo hinengaro. Engari kei roto i tēnei tuhinga e kōrero ana ka haere mai tēnā momo tangata me tēnā momo, ā, ka takahia te puna mātauranga o ngā iwi i tipu mai i roto i ngā ritorito o te moana. He reo whakaora tēnei, he reo whakatipu mana kaitiaki tēnei, he reo whakatinana kia kitea ai te wā kāinga o ngā moutere, o ngā moana tai pari, tai timu. He kāinga kōrero ake tō te tangata whenua. Koia te kaupapa o tēnei tuhinga, hei whakaoho i ō tātau whatu ki te reo o te moana, o te tangata, o te ngākau, he reo ā-mātauranga, ā-iwi o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa.

Fakamatala Fakanounou

Ko e tau'ataina fakakalatuā, ke mo'ui mo nofo fakatatau ki hoto anga tupu. ʻOku fakamalumalu mo fakafotunga ai e nofo founga mo'ui makehe mo mavahe mei he tokolahi, ʻo fakatatau pe ki he poloposio ʻo e tokolahi ʻo ha falukunga kakai kuo nau fili ke nau mo'ui pehē. ʻOku tautefito eni ʻi he ngaahi fonua, hangē ko Aotearoa, ʻoku nofo fakataha ai e fa'ahinga kakai mo matakali mei he ngaahi feitu'u kehekehe mo e ngaahi to'onga mo'ui mo kalatua kuo kehekehe. Ka neongo eni ʻoku kei fiema'u ke ʻoua ʻe uesia mavahe ʻa e mo'ui kei fakaholo nofo melino mo fekoekoe'i ʻa e kakai he Tahi Pasifiki.

ʻOku ʻiai tokua e hoha'a ki he ʻai ke fakahingoa taha pe ʻa e kakai mei he Pasifiki. Ko e ilifia na'a melemo nai ai honau makehe mo faikehekehe mo e toenga ʻo Aotearoa. ʻOku ʻiai e tokanga ki he tolonga mo tupulaki e ngaahi kalatua tāutaha mei he fanga ki'i fatunga kakai kuo nofo mafola holo he tukui motu ʻi he Pasifiki. ʻOku fiema'u ke ohi mavahemvahe e ngaahi lolenga fakmotu ni ke vakai n'a nau pulia ki he vavā. Ko e hingoa taha e kakai Pasifiki, ʻoku kau ia ki he fakangaholo ngaue ʻi he fakapolitikalē, mo ha fokotu'utu'u mo fakalele ngauē'angā, ʻo fakatau tefito ki he nofo hili paea ʻi mulī.

Ko e pepa ni ko ha fokotu'u ke tau fekumi mo felotoi ki ha hingoa ʻe taha ke ui fakalukufua ʻo kapui ai e kakai mei he Tahi Pasifiki, ka kei tekefua pe honau kehekehe mo e ʻuuni fotunga anga tupu tāutaha, ke tupulaki mo tu'ulāhoko ai pe ki he kaha'ū.

Ko e nofo mavahe mo ngaue fakafo'ikalatuā, ʻoku mahu'inga ke fakafepaki ki he fulutāmakia e: si'isi'i mo femolimoli'i, he sikeili ʻo e lahi pea taki taha kaī; pea mo e faka'i'ī fika'a e tokolahi fakapolitikalē, ʻa ē ʻoku ne lolotonga fakafe'atungia'i ʻa e nofo hili he tukui fonua mulī. ʻI he ʻafangatukū, ʻoku fiema'u ke mahino pē e anga tupū, mo'ui, mo e ʻelito e fiema'u fakasino, ʻatamai mo e laumalie ʻa e kainga mei he "Tahi Motuā" mo e "Konitineniti Pulū he Vahanoā", ki he toenga ʻo Aotearoa.

ʻOku fakafehokotaki ʻe he Tahi Pasifiki e: fa'ahinga kakai, ngaahi kongafonua, mo ʻuūni kalatua makehekehe 'o fakakaungamalie ai ki ha "Tu'u Fakataha ka e Tō Tāutahā!"

Ko e fa'ahinga founga tu'u makehe ko eni ʻe lava ke tupulaki ai ʻa Aotearoa mei he ngaahi lelei e fakapasifikī, faka'ikonomika, kalatua, mo ʻenau ngaahi founga mo'uī mo lolengā. Ko hotau tuku fakaholo ia, ʻoku ne fo'u hotau kita, tala hoto tupu'anga mo tukungā.

Introduction

What's in a name?
That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.
(William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, 1600)

For some time now the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands have been identified collectively with a variety of labels, some nice and some not so nice. This variation is due to legitimate and rational reasons, including, but not limited to, the following: cross-cultural interpretations in a multilingual and multicultural world; the mood and occasion at the time of the labelling; who is labelling Pacific people—for whom and why, when, and where; and not least, the purpose and origin of the label.

These aspects of naming in many ancient Pacific (Pasifika) civilisations necessitated the identification of 'go to' individuals, families, gods, and groups, who provided names on demand, for all occasions and all seasons. They also legitimised names for general or special cases. All of these names would be specific and exclusive to the named person, object, place, occasion, group, etc. These people are part of all Pasifika communities and are located within the fabrics of their societies.

The 'go to' people had collective labels identifying them for their very essential and special contribution to societal cohesiveness and order. In Tonga, the fahu system (Finau, 1982, pp. 880—883) provides a framework for locating 'go to' people for naming at the community levels. At the overarching societal level, the naming privileges followed the traditional ranking system with names coming from the highest relevant rank to those below. Those who provide names or fakahingoa (to name) were called, in my village of Masilamea, the fakaui (literally, the caller, the namer; to make a call; to provide a name; and/or to deliberately call out instructions or news). The calling out (uiaki), to pass on instructions and messages, is now an official function of the town officers to let villagers know of village meetings (fono), working bees (toungāue), or other village notices (fanongonongo) (Finau, 1983, pp. 511—516).

The fakaui is now needed in New Zealand to decide, or at least to provide a mechanism on how to decide, how the inhabitants from the Pacific and their descendants and dependants should be collectively identified. Three fundamental questions immediately emerge: why do people from and of the Pacific need a collective identifier?; who will decide that one is needed?; and how will New Zealand go about this?

Nationally, the Government has taken the bull by the proverbial and produced a collective label through its bureaucratic fakaui mechanisms, and now we are officially and collectively identified as 'Pacific Peoples'. This has been done for administrative and political expediency. At the multi-ethnic, multilingual, and multi-ply levels of Pacific communities there are debates for and against the appropriateness of this collective label and the mechanism of naming. There is even some resistance to having a Pacific common identifier in New Zealand, let alone the world (Mila-Schaaf, 2009, pp. 19—39).

The Pacific intellectuals, academics or not, and ethnic groups, do not have a single agreed stance. The latter have preferred their ethnic-specific identifiers. At the community level there is a tendency for ethnic groups to prefer the specific name of their group or geographical origins of their various countries, for example, Pukopukans, Masilameans, Lauans, Micronesians, Chuukese, Alofi Southerners, Manuans, Malaitans, and so on. There is a proliferation of localised, village, and island groupings among the Pacific communities, thus making a collective label for 'economy of scale' purposes very cumbersome and confusing, especially when we include mixed marriages and liaisons.

In New Zealand/Aotearoa (or Aotearoa/New Zealand), there is national indecision on its own national collective labels and their use, for example, New Zealanders, Aotearoans, or Kiwis; Māori or Tangata Whenua; Pākehā or European; the Crown or Government; Auckland, Aokalani, or 'Okalani. Democratic decisions on these collective labels have yet to be made. In the meantime, some serious animated discussions and disagreements have ensued, especially on place names, such as Whanganui or Wanganui. We expect no less for, and from, Pacific people, complicated

with the persistent national and global ideologies on: efficiencies of the economy of scale; individualism; free choice; free markets; and the arrogance of big numbers (distorting and biasing averages). The limited English social and language literacy has further confused comprehension. There is no doubt—New Zealand needs a fakaui! The need is for the politics and sensitivity of naming, and, subsequently, identity.

It is essential for Pacific people to exercise cultural democratic rights to discuss and choose how they may collectively be addressed respectfully, and respectively. If we fail in this, then Pacific people continue to be called a myriad of discriminatory, mispronounced 'nice' words (Finau & Finau, 2006).

What is a Name?

The word "name" comes from Old English '*nama*', akin to Old High German and Sanskrit '*namo*', Latin '*nomen*', and Greek ' *ὄνομα (onoma)*. A name is a word or term used for identification. It is a proper noun or proper name, representing a unique entity (such as Pasifika, John, Suva, Si'ata Tavite, or Toyota), as distinguished from a common noun, which represents a class of entities (or non-unique instances of that class, for example, city, planet, person, or corporation).

In English, proper nouns are not normally preceded by an article or other limiting modifier (such as *any* or *some*), and are used to denote a particular person, place, or object without regard to any descriptive meaning the word or phrase may have (for example, a town called 'Newtown' may be, but does not necessarily have to be, a new, and recently built town). Which nouns are considered proper names depends on the language. For example names of days and months are considered proper names in English, but not in Spanish, French, Swedish or Finnish, where they are not capitalised ("Nouns", 2014).

The power of a name and its value has long been immortalised in prose, poetry, and religious ceremony. Everyone recognises themselves by name. The question is: how does a name influence character? A name is the grouping of sounds or several letters of an alphabet, or other symbols, which represent the identification of a person, place, or an object (Cumming, 2013).

The one thing which separates human beings from the animal kingdom is the human mind, which has the ability to reason on a conscious level. To think consciously, one must use language. This point is not generally appreciated but it is vitally important in the Pacific (Taumoefolau, 2011, pp. 67—99). It is impossible to think without language. In the case of languages which have alphabets, letters are placed in a definite sequence. Any alphabet is an alphabet because symbols are recognised by their form or sound in a definite order. Change the order and confusion results.

However, there are more than just sound and alphabetical symbols to language. What is it that language expresses? Is it not intelligence? Is not intelligence a mental power? We learn through education, using language to develop intelligence which is recognised as mental growth. The link between human intelligence, mind, language, and the order of the letters in the alphabet is the key to measuring mental growth and solving the major problem of mental discord and imbalance. This is part of the challenge of providing a collective identifier for Pacific people. Many do not, or would not, understand the Pacific vernacular languages and have spent their intellect in verbal gymnastics to maintain their linguistic ignorance and their personal confused mixed blood lines (Mila-Schaaf, 2009), rather than making a choice to belong to the Pacific people and to behave, think, and sound accordingly. This is a nightmare for the fakaui.

One should not be oxymoronic about names as in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet.* In this soliloquy, Juliet lamented Romeo being a Montague, and then wishfully conjectured that "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet". That is, what *should* matter is what something *is*, not what it is *called*. But then deep down, she knew, that *"O, be some other name!"*, that is, having a label other than the Montague label would have enhanced their cause!

Juliet: Tis but thy name that is my enemy;
Thou art thyself, though not a Montague.
What's Montague? It is nor hand, nor foot,
Nor arm, nor face, nor any other part
Belonging to a man. O, be some other name!
What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet;
So Romeo would, were he not Romeo call'd,
Retain that dear perfection which he owes
Without that title. Romeo, doff thy name,
And for that name which is no part of thee
Take all myself.

(William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II scene ii, 1600)

So the name matters after all! So let it be with a collective label and identifier for the multicultural ethnicities of the inhabitants of the Pacific Island Countries and Territories and their descendants, regardless of where they are, and when, or how, they got there.

What is in a Name?

In this case it's not just a name but a collective identifier for the complexities of Pacific people in New Zealand initially and, perhaps, globally later. Names can identify a class or category of things, or a single thing, either uniquely, or within a given context. This is sometimes called a proper name. Other nouns are sometimes, more loosely called names; an older term for them, now obsolete, is "general names" ("Nouns", 2014).

The use of personal names is not unique to humans. Dolphins also use symbolic names (Owen, 2006). Individual dolphins have distinctive whistles, to which they will

respond even when there is no other information to clarify which dolphin is being referred to.

Caution must be exercised when translating, for there are ways that one language may prefer one type of name over another. A feudal naming habit is used sometimes in other languages: the French sometimes refer to Aristotle as "le Stagirite" from one spelling of his place of birth; and English speakers often refer to Shakespeare as "The Bard", recognising him as a paragon writer of the language. Finally, claims to preference or authority can be refuted—the British did not refer to Louis-Napoleon as Napoleon III during his rule.

One of the hardest and most important parameters that will help a name to be successful is that the name should be easy to remember, purposeful, and be retained in the readers' or listeners' minds. A clever, memorable name can get the edge into the 'inward eye' over other names. The name may be an integral part of a political process, for example 'Pacific Peoples'. This is the politics of naming.

The most common mistake made when naming is making it sound like other names around in the environs but without much distinctive, simple uniqueness, for example, Pacifica, Pacific, Pacificans, Pasifiki, and Pasefika. These are based on anxiety and political correctness about whether the new name will be taken seriously. In reality, it is critical for a name to stand apart from the competing names and to look at the competitors as examples of what to avoid.

A name should feel like asking someone on a date. You should worry about it. You should be nervous. You should be afraid it might be taken the wrong way. You should be afraid of rejection. Indeed, sometimes you will be turned down; but when the answer is "yes", you'll be glad you were bold enough to ask. 'Pacific Peoples' is begging to be replaced! 'Peoples' is grammatically incorrect and does not appear in the dictionary as such—it's 'fresh off the boat' (FOB) English.

Traditional brand naming wisdom long held that a name should describe quickly to people your purpose. These days, there are plenty of sources to help others figure out what you do. You don't need to be named with a grammatically doubtful mouthful,

such as 'Pacific Peoples', because one will find you by searching Google, or by looking up the name. People will often know who you are before you ever talk to them.

Another aspect of a name is that it can be grammatically used in different contexts with minimal changes to pronunciation, spelling, or meaning—for example, Pasifika and Pacific which are proper nouns but also adjectives, as in Pacific or Pasifika peoples. Instead of trying to overburden the name by making it do everything at once, take advantage of other ways to explain it, by doing something such as creating a website, writing a leaflet, or maybe designing a logo. These would liberate the name from being used to engage and fascinate potential friends, partners, and brokers.

One should avoid spaceless names. It was clever the first half dozen times it was done. After that, it was trite. Examples of what to avoid: SimpleFire, MessageOne, TeamWorks, PacifiCare, FedEx, AutoZone, RadioShack, JetBlue, BlackBerry, etc. If the name is to signify spaciousness, then signify vastness but not spacelessness and shapelessness, for example Oceania, Moana, Blue Continent, and Sea of Islands.

As for "Tech Power Synergy" names ("Nouns", 2014; Cumming, 2013), they were saturated even before the dot-com era, so the chances of using them effectively are almost non-existent now. Some examples of what to avoid might be: Viacom, Sysco, Intel, Centex, Cinergy, as well as e-anything, i-anything, or anything.com. Some admirable names may include: Skype, Pasifika@Massey, Broad Daylight, Cruel World, Breadbox, Front Porch, Left Field, and Clutch.

An appropriate Pacific people's collective name, label, and identifier must reflect the different multicultural ethnicities of the Pacific. There must be an understanding of, and feeling for, the physical, psychological and social diversity of the Pacific and its responses and heritage to date, to signify and maintain the identity of people(s) connected by the Pacific Ocean in a 'Sea of Islands' ("Epeli Hau'ofa", n.d.), or in the 'Blue Continent' (Kuartei, 2011).

The following section is a selection and summary of a wide variety of documentations demonstrating the diversity of the Pacific, the 'Blue Continent' and 'Our Sea of Islands'. These have been gleaned and collated from public information on the internet using the search words: Pacific, Oceania, Pacific Countries and Territories,

Pacificans, Pasifika, Moana, Moana Nui, South Seas, and other such terms. This précis of Pacific diverse realities—its colourful, tortuous, and tumultuous history, and its psychosocial environments—must be part of this discussion so we are inclusive of the unwilling, part-time Pacific people, and those who are Pacific people of and for convenience. This descriptive section about the Pacific is an essential prerequisite because the knowledge of the Pacific and the 'Pacific Way' or 'Pacificness' necessary for naming considerations expected from a fakaui cannot be taken for granted from all Pacific people. They are burdened with, and embroiled in, raging debates about: whether they are New Zealand-born or raised; fresh off the boat (FOB); rich and poor; English and vernacular skills; cultural affiliations and detachment; political correctness and Pacificness; and intellectual leadership with or without academic clout (Mila-Schaaf, 2009; Taemoefolou, 2011).

Précis of the Eurocentric Pacific History

The term Oceania was coined as Océanie ca. 1812 by geographer Conrad Malte-Brun. The word Océanie derives from the Greek word ωκεανος (ōkeanós), ocean. Important human migrations occurred in Oceania in prehistoric times, most notably those of the Polynesians from the Asian edge of the ocean to Tahiti and then to Hawaii, Aotearoa, and Rapa Nui (Pearce & Pearce, 2010). These authors tracked the progress of this prehistoric migration using science and mathematics to cast new light on this final human expansion. Their book focuses on two undeveloped areas of research, showing how oceanography and global climate change determined the paths, sequence, timing and range of migrations. Though the book has an oceanographic base and Pacific prehistory as its focus, it is interdisciplinary, for example, genetic inclusive research has established Halmahera, the largest of the Spice Islands, rather than Taiwan, as the ancient Polynesian homeland.

Geoffrey Irwin also reviewed the exploration and colonisation of the Pacific. He suggests that the exploration was rapid and purposeful, undertaken systematically, and that navigation methods progressively improved (Irwin, 2010). The prehistoric exploration and colonisation of the Pacific is concerned with two distinct periods of voyaging and colonisation. The first began some 50,000 years ago in the tropical region of the South-eastern Asian islands, the continent of Australia and its Pleistocene

outliers in Melanesia and it was the first voyaging of its kind in the world. The second episode began 3,500 years ago and witnessed a burst of sophisticated maritime and Neolithic settlements in the vast remote Pacific. This phase virtually completed human settlement of the planet apart from the ice-caps.

Pacific 'Discovery'

Moana, Moana Nui, Pacific Ocean, or Oceania was sighted by Europeans early in the 16th century, first by the Spanish explorer Vasco Núñez de Balboa who crossed the Isthmus of Panama in 1513 and named it Mar del Sur (South Sea). The current name, Pacific Ocean, was initiated by the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan during the Spanish expedition of world circumnavigation in 1521. He encountered favourable winds as he reached the ocean and called it *Mar Pacifico* in Portuguese, meaning 'peaceful sea'. Pacific is based on the Latin word "Pacifica", meaning calm or peaceful.

In 1519, Magellan and a crew of 270 men set sail from Spain on their around-the-world voyage in five small vessels including his flagship *Trinidad, Concepcion, San Antonio, Victoria*, and *Santiago* (NASA, n.d.). It took the fleet, or at least three remaining ships, 38 days to navigate the strait around South America. Upon entering the Pacific Ocean, Magellan mistakenly thought the Spice Islands were only a short voyage away. Nearly four months later, in March 1521, he and his crew finally reached what is now known as the Philippines. A few weeks later, he was fatally wounded in a dispute among Philippine tribes. Only one ship, the *Victoria*, and 18 of Magellan's original crew members returned to Spain, thereby completing the first circumnavigation of the globe. Although Magellan's route proved impractical for the spice trade, his voyage has been called the greatest single human achievement on the seas, disregarding the many previous voyages of colonisation by Pacific inhabitants (Pearce & Pearce, 2010; Irwin, 2010).

In 1564, Spanish explorers crossed the Pacific from Mexico led by Miguel López de Legazpi, a Spanish conquistador who established one of the first European settlements in the East Indies and the Pacific Islands in 1556 (de Morga, 2004). For the remainder of the 16th century, Spanish influence was paramount, with ships sailing from Mexico

and Peru across the Pacific Ocean to the Philippines, via Guam, and establishing the Spanish East Indies. The Manila Galleons operated for two and a half centuries linking Manila and Acapulco, in one of the longest trade routes in history. Spanish expeditions also discovered Tuvalu, Marquesas, Solomon Islands, and New Guinea ("Spanish Expeditions", n.d.). These were now deemed 'discovered' by Europeans but were already settled by Pacific people, who presumably had also discovered these island before the Europeans' 'discoveries'!

Imperialism in Oceania

Imperialism is "the creation and/or maintenance of an unequal economic, cultural, and territorial relationship" ("Imperialism", 2009). The term 'imperialism' should not be confused with 'colonialism' because imperialism operates from the centre, it is a state policy, and is developed for ideological as well as financial reasons. Whereas colonialism refers to the "implanting of settlements on a distant territory"; colonialism is nothing more than development for settlement or commercial intentions (*International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences,* 2008). Along with advancements in communication, Europe developed its military technology. This technology gave European armies an advantage over their opponents, including those in the Pacific.

While the United States did not have a traditional empire before the 20th century, it nevertheless exerted tremendous power over other countries, sometimes through the use of military force, but more often from behind the scenes, just as in the earlier phases of many of the earlier empires. In 2005, the United States had 737 military bases in foreign countries, according to official sources.

Growing imperialism during the 19th century resulted in the occupation of much of Oceania by European powers, and later, the United States and Japan. Although the United States gained control of Guam and the Philippines from Spain in 1898, Japan controlled most of the western Pacific by 1914 and occupied many other islands during World II. However, by the end of that war, many former colonies in the Pacific had become independent States.

Virtually every part of the Pacific was at some point annexed by a foreign power—there was no major European settlement. The smallness of most Pacific islands, their lack of resources, and low strategic importance, meant that during the 19th century they were not targets for large-scale immigration nor were they involved in substantial military activity. The majority of Europeans in most of the islands were colonial administrators, missionaries, or traders.

Environmental Issues

This ocean's endangered marine species include the dugong, sea lions, sea otters, seals, turtles, and whales. Current major environmental issues include oil pollution. In terms of natural hazards, the Pacific Ocean is surrounded by "The Ring of Fire".[51] When the El Niño phenomenon occurs, the warm equatorial counter current kills the plankton that is the primary food source for anchovies. This consequently damages local fishing economies and starves resident marine birds that rely on the fish for food.

The Great Pacific Garbage Patch, also described as the Pacific Trash Vortex, is a gyre of marine litter in the central North Pacific Ocean ("Great Pacific", n.d.). The Patch extends over an indeterminate area. It is characterised by exceptionally high concentrations of pelagic plastics, chemical sludge, and other debris. The existence of the Great Pacific Garbage Patch was predicted in a 1988 paper, from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) of the United States.

The Patch formed gradually as a result of marine pollution gathered by oceanic currents. The Garbage Patch occupies a large and relatively stationary region of the North Pacific Ocean bound by the North Pacific Gyre or the horse latitudes. An estimated 80% of the garbage comes from land-based sources and 20% from ships. Ship-generated pollution is a source of concern since a typical 3,000 passenger cruise ship produces over eight tons of solid waste weekly, much of which ends up in The Patch. Plastic wastes enter the food chain or decompose within a year of entering the water, leaching toxic chemicals such as bisphenol, PCBs, and derivatives of polystyrene. Charles Moore has estimated the mass of the Great Pacific Garbage Patch at 100 million tons.

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51 For further information on the "Ring of Fire", see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pacific_Ring_of_Fire

Some of these long-lasting plastics end up in the stomachs of marine birds and animals, and their young, including sea turtles and the blacked footed Albatross. Besides the particles' danger to wildlife, the floating debris can absorb organic pollutants from seawater, including PCBs, DDT, and PAHs. Aside from toxic effects, some of these cause hormone disruption in animals and the plastic pieces are also eaten by jellyfish, which are then eaten by larger fish. Humans then ingest the toxic chemicals with the fish. Marine plastics also facilitate the spread of invasive species that attach to floating plastic in one region and drift long distances to colonise other ecosystems.

There is no country, with a seat on the United Nations, which has claimed any responsibility for The Patch, and therefore no action has yet been taken to clean it up.

Conclusion

Pasifikans is the nominated collective proper noun identifier for the traditional inhabitants of the 'Sea of Islands' or 'Blue Continent'. Although it's of European derivation, it encompasses the endured historical, colonial and imperialistic heritage, the blood, sweat, and tears from which we have risen to be a modern people to be reckoned with; and we continue to inhabit the diaspora and the tough, unpredictable physicality of the Pacific environments. That resilience will find us a fakaui mechanism to carry us to collective and ethnic specific immortality.

Pacific means Peace!

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Historical and Moral Arguments for Language Reclamation

Professor Ghil'ad Zuckerman

He Kupu Whakataki

Kei te patua, kei te whakakorea, kei te whakangarotia ngā momo reo kōrero o te ao whānui. I roto i ngā tau i whakaeketia ai ngā tāngata whenua taketake o te ao whānui, ka murua ngā whenua, ka murua ngā tikanga, ka murua, ka whakakoretia ngā reo tangata whenua hoki ānō nei he reo kore kiko! Koia te āhua i kitea ki roto o Ahitereiria mō ngā iwi taketake moemoeā. Ko tō rātau momo reo i āta turakina ki raro kia whakangaroa atu. Whāia ko tēnei upoko kōrero e whakarārangi ana i tēnei o ngā mātanga reo e whai whakaaro atu ana kia taria ngā hautapu whakaora, ngā āhuatanga whakaora kei roto i te reo kōrero o ngā iwi moemoeā o Ahitereiria ka whakatipu, ka whakamana. E kōrero ana tēnei upoko ina mau ana tō reo, e mau ai ō pūkenga kōrero mana tikanga ā-iwi, mana whakairo hinengaro, ā, e taea ai e te tangata te whakaputa ake i ōna ake whakaaro mō tōna anō ao. He reo ātaahua kei roto ake anō i te reo o ngā tāngata whenua taketake o Ahitereiria. Mā tēnei tuhituhi e whakaara mai te huarahi kua whakaritea, kua tūhono hoki ki ngā momo reo o te

ao whānui e rapu ana kia ora te reo mātauranga ā-iwi o te reo o te tangata whenua moemoeā o Ahitereiria.

> Language is an archaeological vehicle, full of the remnants of dead and living pasts, lost and buried civilisations and technologies. The language we speak is a whole palimpsest[52] of human effort and history. (Russell Hoban, children's writer, 1925—2011, cited in Haffenden,1985, p. 138)

Port Lincoln, South Australia, Australia, 18—20 April 2012: Professor Ghil'ad Zuckermann (middle back row) with participants in one of the Barngarla Aboriginal language reclamation workshops.

Introduction

Linguicide (language killing) and glottophagy (language eating) have made Australia an unlucky country. These twin forces have been in operation in Australia since the early colonial period when efforts were made to prevent Aboriginal people from continuing to speak their language in order to 'civilise' them. Anthony Forster, a 19th century financier and politician, gave voice to an ideology of colonial linguicide which was typical of much of the attitude towards Australian languages:

52 Something reused or altered but still bearing visible traces of its earlier form (Oxford Dictionary of English, Third Edition 2010).

> The natives would be sooner civilized if their language was extinct. The children taught would afterwards mix only with whites, where their own language would be of no use—the use of their language would preserve their prejudices and debasement, and their language was not sufficient to express the ideas of civilized life. (Report on a public meeting of the South Australian Missionary Society in aid of the German Mission to the Aborigines, Southern Australian, 8 September 1843, p. 2, cited in Scrimgeour, 2007, p. 116)

Even the then Governor of South Australia, George Grey, who was relatively pro-Aboriginal, appeared to partially share this opinion and remarked in his journal that "the ruder languages disappear successively, and the tongue of England alone is heard around" (Grey, 1841, pp. 200—201). What was seen as a 'civilising' process was actually the traumatic death of various fascinating and multifaceted Aboriginal languages.

It is not surprising therefore that out of 250 known Aboriginal languages, today only 18 (7%) are alive and kicking, that is, spoken natively by the community children. Blatant statements of linguistic imperialism such as the ones made by Forster and Grey now seem to be less frequent, but the processes they describe are nonetheless still active. This is particularly so if one looks at the so-called 'Stolen Generations' between approximately 1909 and 1969 whereby the children of Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent were removed from their families by the Australian Federal and State government agencies and church missions under acts of their respective parliaments.[53]

Approximately 7,000 languages are currently spoken worldwide. Ninety-six percent of the world's population speaks 4% of the world's languages, leaving the vast majority of tongues vulnerable to extinction. This can be a thoroughly disempowering process for their speakers. Linguistic diversity reflects many things beyond accidental historical splits. Languages are essential building blocks of community identity and authority. However, with globalisation, homogenisation, and 'Coca-colonisation' (cf. Americanisation) more and more groups will be added to the forlorn club of the powerless lost-heritage people. Language reclamation will become increasingly

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53 For more detail about this, watch *LINGUICIDE VS WELLBEING: The Revival of the Barngarla Aboriginal Language of Eyre Peninsula, South Australia: Andy Park interviews the Barngarla community of Port Augusta. (SBS, 5 minutes).*

relevant as people seek to recover their cultural autonomy, empower their spiritual and intellectual sovereignty, and improve their wellbeing.

Revivalistics—including Revival Linguistics and Revivalomics—is a new trans-disciplinary field of enquiry studying comparatively, and systematically, the *universal* constraints and global mechanisms on the one hand (see Zuckermann, 2009), and *particularistic* peculiarities and cultural relativist idiosyncrasies on the other. These things are apparent in linguistic revitalisation attempts across various sociological backgrounds all over the globe (Zuckermann & Walsh, 2011).[54]

Revivalistics combines the scientific study of *native* language acquisition and of foreign language learning: language reclamation is the most extreme case of *foreign* language learning. Revivalistics involves far more than Revival Linguistics. It studies language reclamation, revitalisation and renewal from various angles such as law, mental health, sociology, anthropology, politics, education, colonisation, missionary studies, music, dance, theatre, and even architecture.

Why Should We Invest Time and Money in Reviving Languages?

Ethical Reasons

Australia's languages have not just been dying of their own accord, as many Australians and non-Australians believe. Many of the languages were destroyed by settlers of this land. We owe it to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to support the maintenance and revival of their cultural heritage, in this instance, through language revival. To quote Nelson Mandela: "If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart." Every person has the right to speak their mother tongue, and to express themselves in the language of their ancestors—not just in the language of convenience that English has become.

Language death means not only the loss of cultural autonomy, but also of spiritual and intellectual sovereignty. Cultural knowledge perishes, and with it the direct

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54 For more detail, watch *NATIONAL IDEOLOGY, LANGUAGE RECLAMATION AND HYBRIDITY: The Hebrew Revival: British actor Stephen Fry interviewing Prof. Ghil'ad Zuckermann.* (BBC, 7.5 minutes).

connection to ancestors through language, often resulting in feelings of anger or isolation. Through the prejudices of colonists, much pride and cultural autonomy was lost along with heritage that can never be reclaimed. Through supporting language revival, we can right some small part of the wrong against the original inhabitants of this country (Australia) and support the wishes of their ancestors with the help of linguistic knowledge. We can appreciate the importance of indigenous languages, and recognise their importance to indigenous people and to Australia.

An enactment of a new governmental statute-based *ex gratia* legislation ought to be established in order to pay compensation for the lost Aboriginal languages. The proposed legislation can be colloquially called *Native Tongue Title*, modelled upon the established concept of 'Native Title'—the recognition by Australian law that some indigenous people have rights to, and interests in, *their* land that come from their traditional laws and customs. Deontologically, the Australian government ought to compensate indigenous people not only for the loss of *tangible land*, but also for the loss of *intangible langue* (language). Such legislation will recognise the indigenous people's and peoples' rights to revive or maintain their languages, and the compensation money can be used to support reclamation and linguistic empowerment efforts. The enactment of new legislation would help reinstate the indigenous people's authority and ownership of their cultural heritage. One should also note that in case of linguicide, it is much harder to prove continuity in Native Title cases. In other words, indigenous people whose language was killed are less likely to gain Native Title rights.

Despite being aware of the people-land-language trinity, I propose that, ontologically, the loss of language is more severe than the loss of land. When the land is lost, it is still there, albeit mined or abused by others. When a language is lost, even though the ownership (rather than usership) still exists, the language is gone, together with cultural autonomy, spiritual and intellectual sovereignty, ideas, values, and experiences.

Australia ought to learn from New Zealand:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander vernaculars should be defined as official languages of their states, territories, lands.

- Signs (Linguistic Landscape) should be both in English and in the local indigenous language.[55]
  To elaborate, language revival would be greatly enhanced by creating linguistic landscapes around Australia. For instance, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander vernaculars may be defined as official languages of their region, territory, or land. Some countries with minority indigenous populations have adopted an indigenous language as one of their official languages. New Zealand presents te reo Māori (the Māori language) as their official language along with English and New Zealand Sign Language *(Māori Language Act 1987)*. People can speak Māori in legal proceedings with interpreters, and Māori is taught in most schools. There are two particularly important claims by Māori relating to te reo Māori. These are WAI 11 and WAI 262 claims to the Waitangi Tribunal (set up in 1975 to hear claims relating to Crown violations of the Treaty of Waitangi). It is worth reproducing these defining extracts here.

WAI 11 (Year: 1985)

Claimants: Huirangi Waikerepuru and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo.

Claim: That the Crown had failed to protect the language (a taonga/treasure) as required by article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi. (Article 2 guarantees to Māori the right to keep their lands, forests, fisheries and all their treasures (taonga). It was noted that: Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro tāua, pērā i te ngaro o te moa. (If the language be lost, man will be lost, as dead as the moa.)

The tribunal found in favour of the claimants: When the question for decision is whether te reo Māori is a 'taonga' which the Crown is obliged to recognise, we conclude that there can be only one answer. It is plain that the language is an essential part of the culture and must be regarded as 'a valued possession'.

Recommendations in summary: Legislation enabling use of te reo Māori in the courts by anyone who wishes to do so; establishment of a body to supervise and foster the use of te reo Māori; ensure all children who wish to learn Māori can do

55 For more information watch Māori presenter Scotty Morrison interviewing Professor Zuckermann on Te Reo Māori: http://tvnz.co.nz/marae-investigates/extra-full-interview-professor-ghilad-zuckermann-video-5100435 (TVNZ, 17 minutes)

so with financial support from the State; develop broadcasting policy that acts on the Crown's obligation to recognise and protect the language; bilingualism as a prerequisite for any positions of employment with the State Services Commission.

WAI 262 (Year: 1991)

Claimants: Haana Murray (Ngāti Kurī), Hema Nui a Tawhaki Witana (Te Rarawa), Te Witi McMath (Ngāti Wai), Tama Poata (Ngāti Porou), Kataraina Rimene (Ngāti Kahungunu), and John Hippolite (Ngāti Koata)—on behalf of themselves and their iwi.

Claim: Relates to the place of Māori culture, identity and traditional knowledge in New Zealand's laws, and in government policies and practices.

Tribunal findings include: Establishment of new partnership bodies in education, conservation, and culture and heritage; a new commission to protect Māori cultural works against derogatory or offensive uses and unauthorised commercial uses; a new funding agent for mātauranga Māori in science; expanded roles for some existing bodies including Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission), the newly established national rongoā body Te Paepae Mātua mō te Rongoā, and Māori advisory bodies relating to patents and environmental protection.

Findings relating to the language: The Crown's support for revival of the language should include (1) effective policies, appropriate resourcing, and steps towards the provision of public services in te reo as well as English; (2) the provision of programmes—including Māori-medium education—that are highly focused and effective, and appropriately resourced; (3) an expanded role and powers for Te Taura Whiri (Māori Language Commission), including powers to require public sector agencies to produce Māori language plans (in consultation with iwi), and to approve those plans, and powers to set targets for training of te reo teachers, approve education curricula for te reo, and otherwise hold public sector agencies accountable for their responsibilities towards the language.

In South Africa, the post-apartheid constitution dedicates section 6 of chapter 1 to language preservation and language rights. After the linguistic losses caused by apartheid policies during the decades of the white supremacist regime, South Africa recognises nine indigenous languages as official languages of the state alongside English and Afrikaans, calling upon the state to adopt "practical and positive measures" to promote indigenous languages, the status of which "historically diminished". Specifically, section 6 calls upon local authorities to promote the use of indigenous languages even in public bodies. Finally, the constitution mandates the establishment of a Pan South African Language Board, which has recently started a project of revitalisation of the Nluu language of the San people.

In Norway, the protection and promotion of its indigenous language, Sámi, are extensively safeguarded by the *Sámi Language Act 1990*. Like the Australian indigenous population and the Māori, the Sámi people were in a colonial relationship with the Norwegian state (Magga, 1994). The Sámi were forced to assimilate into the dominant Norwegian culture, and were not allowed to buy land unless they spoke Norwegian in their homes. However, attitudes towards the Sámi have changed gradually since after WWII. Civil rights activism by Sámi organisations influenced the government to recognise the official status of Sámi people and their language. The *Sámi Language Act* which was passed by the Norwegian Parliament in 1990 guarantees the Sámi people's rights to communicate in Sámi. The obligation to respond in Sámi extends to public bodies, courts, police, hospitals, and churches. Furthermore, in the Sámi administrative area, children have the right to receive education through the medium of Sámi.

Aesthetic Reasons

Australia was once linguistically diverse, but this diversity has been vanishing rapidly. Most of Australia's approximately 250 original languages are falling asleep, or have already become 'sleeping beauties'. The linguist Ken Hale, who worked with many endangered languages and saw the effect of loss of language, compared losing language to bombing the Louvre:

> When you lose a language, you lose a culture, intellectual wealth, a work of art. It's like dropping a bomb on a museum, the Louvre. (Ken Hale, *The Economist,* 3 November 2001)

A museum is a repository of human artistic culture. Languages are even more important since they store the cultural practices and beliefs of an entire people. In Australia, information relating to food sources, surviving in nature, and dreamtime often passes away when language perishes.

A study by Boroditsky and Gaby (2010) found that speakers of Kuuk Thaayorre, a language spoken in Pormpuraaw on the west coast of Cape York, do not use 'left' or 'right', but always cardinal directions. Kuuk Thaayorre speakers are constantly aware of where they are situated, and this use of directions affects their awareness of time.

Different languages have different ways of expressing ideas and this can indicate which concepts are important to a certain culture. To demonstrate this variety, here are a few unique words from around the world:

- *Mamihlapinatapai* is a word in the Yaghan language of Tierra del Fuego in Chile and Argentina. It refers to 'a look shared by two people, each wishing that the other will offer something that they both desire but have been unwilling to suggest or offer themselves'. This word can be broken down into smaller parts, or morphemes, thus: *ma-* is a reflexive/passive prefix (realised as the allomorph *mam-* before a vowel), *ihlapi* [ihapi] 'to be at a loss as what to do next' (the lexical root), -*n* stative suffix, -ata achievement suffix, and -*apai,* a dual suffix, which has a reciprocal sense with *ma-* (circumfix).
- Persian *nakhur* is a 'camel that will not give milk until her nostrils have been tickled'.
- *Tingo*, in Rapa Nui (Pasquan) of Easter Island (Eastern Polynesian language), is 'to take all the objects one desires from the house of a friend, one at a time, by asking to borrow them, until there is nothing left' (De Boinod, 2005).

  Such fascinating words should not be lost as they are important to the cultures they are from and beautiful to outsiders. Through language maintenance and reclamation we can keep important cultural practices and concepts alive.

Utilitarian Benefits

Language revival benefits the speakers involved through improvement of wellbeing, mental health, and cognitive abilities. It reduces delinquency and increases cultural tourism. Language revival has a positive effect on the mental and physical wellbeing of people involved. Participants develop a better appreciation of, and sense of connection with, their cultural heritage and tradition. Reacquiring their ancestors' tongue can be an emotional experience and provide people with a strong sense of pride and identity. As the Aboriginal politician Aden Ridgeway said, "language is power; let us have ours!" (Ridgeway, 2009, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 November). Small changes can impact people in big ways. A participant at a Barngarla Aboriginal language reclamation workshop in May 2012 (Port Lincoln, Eyre Peninsula, South Australia) wrote that she found learning the language 'liberating', that it gave her a 'sense of identity', and that 'it's almost like it gives you a purpose in life'. Another participant said: 'our ancestors are happy'.

There are various cognitive advantages to multilingualism. Several studies have found that bilingual children have better non-linguistic cognitive abilities compared with monolingual children (Kovács & Mehler, 2009) and improved attention and auditory processing:

> The bilingual's enhanced experience with sound results in an auditory system that is highly efficient, flexible, and focused in its automatic sound processing, especially in challenging or novel listening conditions. (Krizman et al., 2012)

Evidence shows that being bilingual or multilingual can slow dementia, improving quality of life for many and reducing money spent on medical care. In a recent study, it was also found that decision-making biases are reduced when using a second, in this case non-native, language:

> Four experiments show that the 'framing effect' disappears when choices are presented in a foreign tongue. Whereas people were risk averse for gains and risk seeking for losses when choices were presented in their native tongue, they were not influenced by this framing manipulation in a foreign language.

> Two additional experiments show that using a foreign language reduces loss aversion, increasing the acceptance of both hypothetical and real bets with positive expected value. We propose that these effects arise because a foreign language provides greater cognitive and emotional distance than a native tongue does. (Keysar et al., 2012)

There are severe problems with mental health amongst Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. According to the National Survey of Mental Wellbeing, 40% of Australians (not necessarily indigenous) suffer from a mental disorder at some stage of their life. Furthermore, 20% of participants experienced some kind of mental disorder in the past 12 months. In comparison, 31% of respondents aged 15+ participating in the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey (NATSISS, Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008) had experienced high or very high levels of psychological distress *in the four weeks leading up to the interview alone* (ABS Publication 4704.0). This is 2.5 times higher than the rate for non-indigenous Australians. Language reclamation increases feelings of wellbeing and pride amongst indigenous people. Many of them are disempowered because they 'fall between the cracks', feeling neither *white fellows* nor in command of their own Aboriginal heritage. As Fishman (1990) puts it:

> The real question of modern life and for RLS [reversing language shift] is … how one … can build a home that one can still call one's own and, by cultivating it, find community, comfort, companionship and meaning in a world whose mainstreams are increasingly unable to provide these basic ingredients for their own members. (cited in Fishman, 2006, p. 90)

It has been shown that people involved in indigenous language reclamation see an improvement in non-language subjects, linked to educational empowerment and improved self-confidence. Educational success directly translates to improved employability and decreased delinquency. Approximately $50,000 per language per year was provided in 2010—11 by the Australian ILS (Indigenous Language Support) to 78 projects involving 200 languages. The cost of incarceration is $100,000 per person per year and the cost of adolescent mental health $1,395 per patient per day.

Cultural tourism already represents an important part of Australia's economy with many tourists wishing to learn about indigenous cultures during their stay. Aboriginal

and Torres Strait Islander cultures represent part of Australia's image overseas and greatly contribute to the tourist dollar.

We need to help preserve and revive these languages, and protect cultural knowledge in order to maintain this point of attraction. This tourism not only benefits the economy, but can also provide work and opportunities for indigenous people.

Conclusion

Establishing revivalistics in Australia and New Zealand is turning indigenous Antipodeans into experts of language revival, making language reclamation, revitalisation and renewal part of their cultural identity. They will then be able to assist others in language revival. Language revival itself, therefore, has the potential to become an important part of indigenous pride, bringing many benefits to the wider community. It can help promote awareness and understanding of indigenous languages and cultures. By improving mental health and social cohesion through language reclamation projects, we can decrease the amount of money spent on ill health and social dysfunction. Language revival can aid in 'closing the gap' and encourage cultural tourism whilst enriching Australia's and New Zealand's multicultural society.[56]

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Enhancing Indigenous Distinctiveness Through Research

Dr Jelena Porsanger

He Kupu Whakataki

Whakapakari i tā te tangata taketake mā te mahi rangahau.

Ko te tūāpapa whakatakoto o tēnei upoko kōrero a Dr Jelena Porsanger o te whare wānanga o Sámi i te papa tipu whenua o Norway e tino whakahau ana ia kia ara ake ngā taumata rangahau mai i ngā tāngata whenua taketake ake. Ko aua pito mata kōrero ko ngā whakaaro ake, momo mātauranga nō roto ake i ngā tāngata whenua, i ngā tirohanga taketake kia noho tonu te hā o te kōrero ki waenganui o ngā ariā mātua kōrero o te whenua taketake. Ki te whāia tēnei taumata whakaritenga e kitea ai te noho tahi mai o tā te Māori, o tā te tangata whenua o Sámi mō ā rātau uepū rangahau whakatipu mātauranga. Ko te reo me ngā tikanga taketake o te iwi ake te waka kawe i ngā pokapū tūhonohono mātauranga, kei konei ka kitea te māramatanga, te whakaaro nui, te whakaaro hōhonu. Kei roto i te reo taketake, me ana hononga ki ana momo mātauranga ake, ka tipu whakaritorito mai te oranga tonutanga o te puna mātauranga

ki roto ake anō i a koe. He rerekē tēnei āhuatanga ki ngā momo rangahau a tauiwi. Koia te tuhinga whakatau o tēnei upoko nā Jelena Porsanger, he whakaara i te mana whakatipu rangahau hāngai pū ki ngā ariā mātua o tā te tangata whenua whakarite. He kāinga kōrero tēnei tuhinga whakatau a Jelena hai whakamana i te āhua o te rangahau a te tangata whenua taketake haere ake nei.

Introduction

What do Sámi and Māori research have in common? I believe it is a basic methodological foundation: our indigenous peoples' interests, knowledge, and experiences must be at the centre of methodologies and of the construction of knowledge about Sámi and Māori people (Rigney, 1999). Yet our research shall meet international and national academic requirements. Still, Sámi and Māori research draws inspiration and epistemological novelty from our indigenous languages and cultures, thus enhancing our indigenous distinctiveness.

My first encounter with Māori research was in the early beginning of this millenium, a year after publication of Linda Tuhiwai-Smith's (1999) famous book on indigenous methodologies. This book has had an unquestionable influence on indigenous research worldwide, as well as on my own research priorities and views.[57] In 2003, I became acquainted with the world of the Māori of Aotearoa. I spent almost a half a year in Aotearoa to learn more about indigenous research and to test my methodological considerations about Sámi research. Since that time relationships between Māori and Sámi research circles have grown stronger. A couple of years ago a cooperation agreement was signed between Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi in Whakatāne (New Zealand) and the Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu (Northern Norway), where I have a privilege to be Vice-Chancellor.

You have to travel a half of the globe to get from Sámiland, which is called Sápmi in one of Sámi languages, to Aotearoa. It is a long way, but yet we have common values and priorities in research, and can enrich each other's research traditions by diversity of views and approaches.

Looking at the night sky in Aotearoa I realised that the images on the moon

57 In my doctoral dissertation (Porsanger, 2007) I proposed a Sámi research methodology and applied it to evaluation of source materials for the study of indigenous Sámi religion.

were upside-down for me. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the people of the southern hemisphere are accustomed to seeing the moon images in this way. Indeed, it is possible for the same phenomenon to change its appearance depending on where one is looking at it. No-one can claim to have acquired the only possible correct perception and understanding of such a phenomenon, because it is one's position that determines, to a considerable extent, what one can and cannot see. The expression *moon images* can be used as a metaphor to describe the position of an indigenous scholar in research. It is also a figure of speech for the diverse contemporary indigenous world, in which there is a range of distinct indigenous ways of seeing the same thing or phenomenon. It is also a metaphor for indigenous methodologies, which derive from our distinctive indigenous epistemological world and which enhance our distinctiveness.

Indigenous Theorising

Indigenous research follows the established canons of academic work, but still it has characteristics and qualities that make it different from the mainstream research. Some scholars might be sceptical towards indigenous methodologies and might claim that such a definition is ideologically justified. Such critical opinions are welcome, because diversity of opinions and arguments are enriching the academic debates. It is important for the growing new generation of indigenous students and researchers to be challenged by a diversity of opinions. This is part of research training and development of indigenous theorising. During the last two decades, being involved in indigenous higher education and research, I have been witnessing a rapid growth of a young generation of indigenous students and researchers, who are eager to learn about, and develop, novel indigenous research methodologies. Every year, I receive dozens of letters from students and young researchers all around the world, referring to an essay on indigenous methodologies (Porsanger, 2004). Students express their intellectual satisfaction after learning about indigenous methodologies, which "… make visible what is special and necessary, what is meaningful and logical in respect to indigenous peoples' own understanding of themselves and the world" (Porsanger, 2004 p. 107). According to the well known statement by Linda Tuhiwai-Smith, "…there is a need to center our concepts and world views and then come to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes" (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999, p. 39). This is an essence of indigenous research which enhances indigenous distinctiveness.

As I have argued elsewhere, their production of new knowledge shall be based on new approaches and concepts that derive from indigenous cultures and epistemologies. There is a need to theorise on the basis of indigenous concepts. Such research will be able to compete with the traditional academic research. Even more, such indigenous research will give a fresh breath and will indeed enrich the academy. But this requires the development of our own theorising, which in turn is possible if and when we achieve intellectual independence (Porsanger, 2010).

Methodologically Contested Present

During the last few decades, indigenous scholars have, in my opinon, experienced the most exciting and challenging time, being actively involved in the "methodologically contested present" (Denzin & Linkoln, 2008, p. 4). The writers of this publication apply this term to the historical moment 2000—2008 in North America's qualitative research. This historical moment of the methodologically contested that the present is full of excellent contributions by many brilliant indigenous scholars challenging the established research paradigm.

In my view, the period of the methodologically contested present in Sámi research started almost about 40 years ago with the ground-breaking contribution by a Sámi philosopher Alf Isak Keskitalo. In 1974, at the Seventh Meeting of Nordic Ethnographers in Northern Norway (Tromsø Museum), Keskitalo gave a remarkable presentation about research as an inter-ethnic relation. He addressed the then prevailing asymmetry in research between the Sámi and the Nordic societies. This article, originally published in Norwegian, was 20 years later published in English (Keskitalo (1976), 1994). The mid-1970s seem to be the beginning of the empowerment of Sámi research, which has since been growing stronger. Keskitalo's contribution has influenced subsequent generations of Sámi scholars, especially after its publication in English, which made his article widely available to international Sámi research circles. In the history of thoughts and indigenous research worldwide, this contribution is worth mentioning. Keskitalo argued for a paradigm shift and the use of a Sámi theory of knowledge.

Denzin and Lincoln (2008, p. 4) described the current historical moment in qualitative research as "the future", which asked "that the social sciences and the

humanities become sites for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalization, freedom, and community". Alongside these research challenges, the established research paradigm of natural sciences has been increasingly questioned in indigenous context, especially in connection with traditional knowledge. Much has happened in indigenous research since 2008, when Denzin and Lincoln described the moment of the "current future". In many parts of indigenous world indigenous scholars still find themselves in the very moment of the methodologically contested present, which North America's qualitative research has already passed, according to Denzin and Lincoln.

Indigenous Concepts and Theorising

Theorising about and on the basis of indigenous knowledge, the use of indigenous epistemologies and conceptual thinking will certainly result in production of new knowledge that indigenous communities need. Thus, research is both enhancing distinctiveness, and empowering indigenous communities, keeping in mind that research outcomes are reported back, which is the main indigenous ethical research principle (about indigenous research ethics, see Porsanger, 2008).

In the history of thought, many concepts which have their origin in indigenous traditions are nowadays widely accepted and employed in various academic disciplines. For instance, in the study of religion, one can mention the concepts of *shaman* (from the Evenki language, one of the Tungusic languages of Siberia), or *mana* and *taboo* (from mana and tapu in Polynesian traditions).

Many indigenous concepts were "discovered" by outside scholars studying indigenous spiritual and religious traditions. These concepts have been recognised as precise and meaningful concepts that describe the foci of the studied phenomenon, and are nowadays part of both research and everyday language.

The notion of "discovery" related to research on indigenous peoples and their traditions has been a much discussed issue among indigenous scholars around the world, especially during the last decades (Tuhiwai-Smith L., 1999; 2006; Smith G., 2003; Kuokkanen, 2009; also Porsanger, 2004; Frichner, 2010; Tauli-Corpuz et al., 2010). The notion of "discovery" has its roots in the way of thinking about indigenous

people as different, exciting, unknown—to use some positive connotations related to otherness—it is worth mentioning that a list of references to the negative connotations, for example, those of superiority, logical/illogical, primitive state of mind etc., might be very long. Academic "discoveries" made on the basis of indigenous epistemologies, as for example in the case of the term *shaman*, are often inventive and even profound, but after a while indigenous concepts begin to be filled with content consistent with the other epistemologies and conceptual understandings. Most of the academic "discoveries" about indigenous traditions are made on the basis of epistemologies outside their own. These "discoveries" may be met with scepticism by the indigenous people themselves. It has been pointed out that what academic circles may consider as a "discovery" might not meet the standards of legitimate knowledge or pass the verification tests set up by the indigenous people studied (Berkes, 2008, p. 15).

Understanding a particular indigenous tradition by the use of concepts which derive from the very same tradition and language is a sound starting point for indigenous theorising (Porsanger, 2011a; 2011b). This kind of theorising is concerned with indigenous understandings, meanings, connotations and connections. Many indigenous scholars found inspiration in their indigenous ways of thinking, when attempting to use indigenous concepts as analytical tools as, for example, Kaupapa Māori theory. One can select words from the level of the object language, which in semantics and logic is the ordinary language used to talk about things in the world. This contrasts with meta-language, an artificial language used by linguists and others to analyse or describe the sentences or elements of the object language itself (Porsanger, 2007, p. 4—5).

In order to develop indigenous theorising, there is a need for special research methods that may be, and usually are, innovative for the "traditional" academy. One has to rely on ways of analysing which are appropriate and meaningful in a particular indigenous context. For example, the Yupiaq scholar Oscar Kawagley illustrates an indigenous Yupiaq research approach with the help of the Yupiaq concept tangruarluku (to see with the mind's eye). This concept stems from Yupiaq epistemology and, in Kawagley's words, it "transcends that which we can perceive with our endosomatic sense makers and illustrates how a Native perspective may provide a way of bringing the so-called mythical subjective world and the objective scientific

world together" (Kawagley, 1995, pp. 144—145). A Sámi researcher, Rauna Kuokkanen (2009, p. 213), argues that indigenous concepts "… seek to emphasize the possibility of conducting research according to perspectives and values stemming from indigenous communities—research that reflects and thus reinforces indigenous culture more than just at the level of the research topic". Thus, Kuokkanen links epistemological and ontological questions and value systems.

Kincheloe and Steinber (2008, p. 144) believe that analysis of the epistemological patterns that emerge in a variety of cultural contexts have a great potential to reveal "… new understandings of the world", which materialise in reinterpretations of the "way things are." These understandings are certainly not new for the bearers of indigenous knowledge. However, in the analytical process of knowledge production these understandings and interpretations can be regarded as new knowledge, which is the most desirable outcome of indigenous research (see also Porsanger, 2011a; 2011b).

Indigenous methodologies "seek to 'reenchant' social inquiry with its sacred and spiritual connections to social life" (Lincoln & Denzin, 2008, p. 563). Lincoln and Denzin propose "research design strategies that honor native lifestyles and wrest social science away from a dominant and domineering Western model of use and commodification" (ibid.). Indigenous research enhances distinctiveness, when indigenous knowledge is challenging the established research paradigm, providing researchers with concepts and meanings:

- Indigenous knowledge inspires the use of new concepts originated from indigenous epistemologies.
- Indigenous knowledge has a great potential to change power relations in research, and influence education on all levels.
- Indigenous knowledge requires revision of a code of conduct and pre-requisites for research in indigenous context.

A Code of Conduct

A lot has been said and written about research protocols in indigenous context and about requirements for scholars on indigenous issues. Scholars, indigenous and non-indigenous alike, are bound to follow national research ethics and protocols in their respective countries. Nevertheless, establishment of generally accepted research protocols in indigenous contexts seem to be the awaited as part of one of the biggest tasks of indigenous research, that is, indigenising of the academy.

Indigenous research principles across national borders, have been developed and endorsed by networks of indigenous institutions of higher education such as WINHEC (World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium) in 2011. These Research Standards (principles) are, according to my knowledge, the only cross-nationally accepted principles for indigenous research, and they are to be adhered to by member institutions in different parts of the world:

> Researchers from within indigenous societies or external to same must… hone their knowledge and skills in order to work respectfully and collaboratively with indigenous knowledge and within the relationships of all. Elders and Knowledgeable others can also be the researcher, the advisors, or the focus of research and they too are required to maintain deep obligations to their knowledge and the balance of all within the environment as they engage within the research. (WINHEC, 2010, p. 5)

These standards embrace individual researchers, local indigenous elders, respected knowledge holders, research process and practice (enacting research), organisational practice (facilitating research), and community practice (linking research). Standards also refer to four core issues which must be negotiated: Respect, Reciprocity, Reliability, and Relevance. These four 'R's were first presented in 2010 for the International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Peoples in New York at the seminar on *Development with Culture and Identity: Articles 3 and 32 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Porsanger, 2010). Formulation of these key issues were inspired by fundamental questions about research processes, expressed by Tuhiwai-Smith (1999, p. 10). Questions and postulates which are worth considering in indigenous research can be structured as follows:

Respect

- What is a minimum requirement for participation in indigenous research?
- Consultation and/or collaboration with the studied indigenous people/community.
- Clarification of the role to be played by the studied people/community in the research.
- Indigenous ethical considerations: local power relations.
- How can paternalism be avoided?
- How will the research outcomes be disseminated?

Reciprocity

- What negotiation processes are required for a research project, starting from the initiation of the research, through to how the research is conducted and to the dissemination of the research outcomes?
- Who will carry out the research?
- Who is responsible for the research outcomes (any impact, positive or negative)?
- Positive change as an objection.
- What is the role of indigenous community/communities?

Reliability

- What are the factual requirements to a researcher's skills (language, cultural competence etc.)?
- Who owns a research project?
- Whose interests does it serve?
- Who will benefit from it?
- Objectivity of research: both for the indigenous and academic worlds.

Relevance

- Whose research is this?
- Who says "it is relevant"?
- Who has designed its questions and framed its scope?
- Were indigenous communities involved?
- What data can and must be used?

Following the indigenous research standards might sound like a heavy burden, but these standards are challenging the hegemony in the academy. As a Hawaiian researcher, Renee Pualani Louis (2007, p. 130) puts it: "The doors previously open for doing research on an Indigenous community in the name of science are closing. And very soon, these doors will be shut for good". Also Lincoln and Denzin (2008, p. 564) argue, referring to, among others, Marie Battiste (2008), Sandy Grande (2008) and Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999), that researchers shall be "… willing to bend themselves to the rule of law that indigenous peoples have crafted for themselves and their own protection". Thus, research is enhancing indigenous distinctiveness because it is supposed:

- to ensure that the intellectual property rights of indigenous people will be observed
- to protect indigenous knowledge from misinterpretation and misuse
- to demystify knowledge about indigenous people
- to tell indigenous peoples' stories in their voices
- to give credit to the true owners of indigenous knowledge
- to communicate the results of research back to the owners of this knowledge, in order to support them in their desire to be subjects rather than objects of research
- to decide about their present and future
- to determine their place in the world.

Following these methodological issues, research will strengthen indigenous peoples' identity, which will in turn support indigenous peoples' efforts to be independent: not only legally, politically, or economically, but first and foremost intellectually (Porsanger 2004, 2010).

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Ka tāpaetia tēnei pukapuka me ngā pātaka kōrero katoa ki ngā mokopuna o te ao whānui. E riro ai ko te mātauranga Māori me ngā mātauranga o ngā iwi taketake hei puna whakaū i ngā mātauranga ātaahua, hohonu o tātau katoa.

This publication is dedicated to all mokopuna (grandchildren) across the globe. Māori knowledge and indigenous knowledge is a source of wellbeing in beauty and scholarship for humanity.

Enhancing Mātauranga Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge is a collaboration of intellectual discourse by Māori and indigenous scholars on transitioning mātauranga Māori and indigenous knowledge into the 21st century. This publication follows *Conversations on Mātauranga Māori*—the thought provoking collection of critical essays celebrating mātauranga Māori, launched in July 2012.

In this publication, writers discuss the regeneration, transmission and reclamation of indigenous knowledge through the creation of a climate that embraces the sharing of unique knowledge sources. The process of indigenous knowledge growth, transition, and transformation is an ambiguous journey. *Enhancing Mātauranga Māori and Global Indigenous Knowledge* ensures the journey is not confined to a single perspective, but is connected to various distinctive and indigenous ways of viewing knowledge.

NEW ZEALAND QUALIFICATIONS AUTHORITY
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